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# A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

*Edited by SIR J. A. HAMMERTON*

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Complete in six volumes with  
about 1000 maps & illustrations

*Volume VI*

ARMISTICE AND AFTER

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*London*

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## *PREFACE TO SIXTH VOLUME*

**T**HE sixth and concluding volume of *A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR* carries on the story from the acceptances of the armistices to the end of 1933, thus making the work the most complete record of its kind in existence. Although the thunder of the guns is no longer brought in imagination to the mind of the reader, the subject matter of this volume is as full of interest and possesses as definite a value as that of any of its five predecessors. Its illustrations, too, are at least equal in interest to those in the earlier volumes.

A group of eight chapters deals with the making of peace and the immediately ensuing events, such as the march of the Allied troops into the Rhineland and its occupation by them. Other chapters in this group describe the peace conference, review the terms of the treaty of Versailles, and the treaties made with Austria, Hungary, and other belligerents, and relate the story of the foundation of the League of Nations. In this last-named chapter appears the text of the Covenant of the League, a document to which writers and speakers make constant reference to-day.

The signing of the peace treaties in the summer of 1919 did not solve all the problems that arose out of the war; far from it. Two of them, Reparations and Disarmament, remained vexed questions of the day for another decade and a half, and were then unsolved. A chapter on each of these subjects tells the story from 1919 to the end of 1933, when the payment of reparations and war debts had for all practical purposes ceased and the disarmament conference had broken down. Running parallel with these chapters are two others which give a rapid but informative sketch of the history of the world from the conclusion of the war to the end of 1933, when the world seemed to have seen the worst of the economic blizzard that began in 1929.

While statesmen in Paris were hammering out the details of the settlement, important events were taking place at home. Demobilisation was the chief of these, and the transfer of some

millions of men from military to civil life was by no means the least formidable of the difficulties that confronted the government of the day. It provides the subject of a special chapter in this volume.

The other contents of the volume are of a more general nature, but are equally germane to the plan which the editor has kept in mind from the beginning. The work of the medical services and of the women could hardly be omitted if the book were to be a complete record of war-time activities. Chapters on the employment of animals and the weapons used in the war are perhaps less essential, but their interest and value are undoubted.

To many people the account of the measures taken for the defence of the homeland will make a more particular appeal. Especially will it engage the attention of those who, living on the east coast of England had personal experience of bombardment from the sea and may still remain unconvinced of the impossibility of a successful sea-borne invasion of Britain on a large scale on some future occasion: an imaginable catastrophe as to the realization of which expert opinion is even yet not unanimous. The geography and the strategy of the war afford material for special studies.

Four other chapters are devoted to the deeds of the regiments, constituting a series that will give delight to young and old and revive proud memories in the minds of many. The last two chapters contain a brilliant exposition of how the efforts of Great Britain and her Allies saved civilization, and an account, unique in its kind, of the various memorials to the fallen that have been erected, both at home and abroad. A more fitting conclusion of the work could not be imagined.

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# A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE GREAT WAR

## *Volume VI*

### CHAPTER 1

## The Approach to Peace

**A**t the close of 1917, as we have seen, there was some tentative talk of peace conditions, emanating from Germany. These had obviously been of a character which the Allies could not entertain except on the hypothesis that it was beyond their own power to retrieve anything that had been lost, and any disposition to acceptance of them could only have been construed as an admission of defeat. In the late months of that year the Allied hopes raised by the summer campaigning had been not indeed destroyed, but undoubtedly damped; it was doubtful whether the Italian stand on the Piave could be maintained, and though the Brest-Litovsk treaty had not yet been signed, Russia as a belligerent allied power was definitely off the board; the German western front, though it had been pressed back a few miles, gave no indication anywhere of a tendency to break; and the release of German troops from the entanglement in Russia to reinforce the western front was merely a matter of time. The Central powers had, in fact, recovered that confidence in the completeness of their own coming victory which had been shaken during the three summer months.

The allies, however, did not share that view. The American armies, it was true, would not be ready to take the field for months to come, but when they did arrive, they would more

## THE APPROACH TO PEACE

than turn the balance if it should still need to be turned. Germany, to achieve success, must do so before their arrival; and, meanwhile, neither the Russian collapse nor the winter check to their own advance had convinced the Allies that they could not win even without the Americans. In any case, they had already been fighting for forty months, and all that they had done and suffered would be sheer waste if the war ended with Germany in a stronger position than ever to renew her aggression whenever it might please her to do so.

France and Russia had been forced to fight for their lives. But Great Britain from the outset, and the United States later, had entered the war primarily—whatever secondary motives may have influenced them—to maintain universal principles of civilization which must be embodied in any peace terms. Their reply to the overtures was made in January, 1918, by Mr. Lloyd George and by President Wilson; and in both cases it took the form of a re-statement of war aims and of the conditions essential to an admissible peace. It must be remarked, however, that while both of them foreshadowed the creation of what afterwards materialised as the League of Nations, both of them were concerned mainly with the territorial adjustments and securities from time immemorial the staple content of peace treaties.

On January 5, 1918, then in an address to trade unionists, Mr. Lloyd George published his peace terms. Among them were the independence of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro; the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France; the independence of Poland; Home Rule for the Slav races of Austria-Hungary; the restoration of Italian and Rumanian territory to Italy and Rumania; Turkish possession of Constantinople and internationalisation of the Dardanelles; recognition of the nationality of Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine; the placing of German colonies under administrations acceptable to the natives; reparation for injuries done in violation of international law, and establishment of a League of Nations.

President Wilson on January 8, 1918, delivered a message to Congress, in which he reduced the programme of the world's peace to the following fourteen points:

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

## THE FOURTEEN POINTS

2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

3. The removal so far as possible of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace, and associating themselves for its maintenance.

4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

5. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all Colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

6. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs, as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

7. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is for ever impaired.

8. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.

10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among

## THE APPROACH TO PEACE

the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous development.

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored, Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea, and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically-established lines of allegiance and nationality, and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

13. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

14. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political and territorial independence for great and small States alike.

These famous fourteen points were not drawn up as terms of surrender for an utterly defeated enemy. They were chosen, as President Wilson explained in the course of his speech, with a view to appealing to the prostrate Russian people and inspiring them to withstand the dreadful exactions of the Central Empires. Even more particularly and directly was the programme of fourteen points devised by its author with the design of driving a wedge into the political structure of Germany by encouraging Socialist and Liberal elements to maintain in practice the peace resolution of the Reichstag, and exhibit the military party as the only obstacle to universal democracy and lasting peace.

It will be remarked that the French premier, M. Clemenceau, took no part whatever in these attempts to influence popular feeling in Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary. M. Clemenceau, while delighting that the British government proclaimed that the war could not end without Alsace and Lorraine returning to France, considered that the President of

## AMERICA'S POSITION

the United States went dangerously far in trying to obtain by oratory what could only be achieved by fighting. The French point of view was that for all immediate practical purposes the German government and the German people were one and indistinguishable.

The soundness of this view was proved by the way in which the majority parties of the Reichstag received the accomplished fact of the subjugation, disruption, and exploitation of Russia when the Brest-Litovsk treaty was signed on March 3, 1918. Except by a few German Socialists of the Independent Party, the conquest of Russia, with the total digestion of all the enormous realm of the Tsar as envisaged by the German government, was received by the whole German people with entire equanimity and approval.

President Wilson's declaration, however, demands further attention here, because at a later stage the Fourteen Points, though with reservations as to their interpretation, were suggested by Germany as a basis for peace negotiations and admitted by the Allies as a basis for the peace-terms to be dictated to the defeated enemy—which was not altogether the same thing. In formulating the Fourteen Points, the American president clearly designed to show that he was in accord with the British prime minister, though it was his rôle to lay more stress on ideas and less on practical details than his British colleague. It was always his part to emphasise the position that America, unbiassed by any desire for gain, had entered the war as the champion of lofty political and moral principles, because Germany had at last made it clear it was her deliberate will to set them at naught; and so, that her victory would be destructive of civilization. He envisaged the victory of the Allies as the unqualified victory of those principles, which certainly included a good deal to which none of the other Allies would have been ready to pledge themselves except perhaps as pious aspirations when they entered the fray; such as the first and the fourteenth points, both of which were to become fundamental, while the third and fourth points were little more than indications of ideals which everyone would wish to see realized while no one knew how they were to be attained.

Still, everyone could conscientiously accept them with their qualifying phrases which each would interpret in terms of its individual conceptions of its own military and economic security.

## THE APPROACH TO PEACE

The second article was capable of violently antagonistic interpretations; did the president intend therein to revert to the pre-war doctrines which the British had always denied in theory and repudiated in practice whereas America had consistently affirmed them until her entry into the war taught her to approve the blockade of Germany? If he did, the article was certainly one to which Great Britain would never assent, though she might make concessions to the American view.

The sixth article dealing with Russia, though it would probably have been endorsed at that moment, was rendered nugatory by the events of the next six months; but that was a risk which was expressly acknowledged in the article itself. The rest of the articles, as generalisations, were acceptable enough, being non-committal in respect of details—as to which inter-Ally pledges had been made when America was still cherishing her own aloofness, and those pledges could not now be ignored without the assent of the parties to whom they had been given. The adjustment of those details would certainly be an extremely difficult problem. On its broad general lines, however, the formulation of the Fourteen Points was calculated to consolidate the Allies, while it was obvious that a Germany still confident of victory, would have nothing to do with them.

For six months after the declarations of Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, in January, 1918, peace proposals and peace pronouncements were in abeyance because those six months were the most critical period of the fighting. Germany believed that she could force a decision and win before the Americans could take an effective part in the fighting line. She no longer had anything to fear from Russia. In the east, though Allenby had entered Jerusalem, Turkey had by no means crumpled up. In Italy the Italians, after the rout of Caporetto, had turned to bay and were holding their ground on the Piave, but on that front it could only be said that there was a deadlock which was not likely to be ended by anything but a decision on the western front—though with the apparent odds for the time being rather in favour of the Austrians. In fact, both sides were obviously preparing for a life-and-death struggle on the western front; and both sides were sufficiently confident to reject any peace-terms which would not be at least a practical confession of defeat on the part of the enemy.

## WILSON'S FRESH DECLARATION

When the next move was made by President Wilson, on July 4, there had still been no decision, and there was still no practical change in the attitude of either side to peace proposals—except so far as both sides had hardened. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk had strengthened the German position in Russia, but the prospect of an Austrian break-through on the Piave had faded out. On the western front the German grand attack delivered in March had hurled the Allies back, but had just fallen short of piercing their line. The final thunderbolt had been launched in May; but the offensive in Champagne was still raging; the issue of it was still on the knees of the gods—although, significantly, the first of the American forces were by this time in the fighting line.

It was in these circumstances that President Wilson made the fresh declaration which substituted a four-point programme for the original fourteen points. At the Fourth of July celebration at Mount Vernon, the burial-place of Washington, the president laid down a new and more rigorous policy of peace. After stating that the enemy's plot was written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy, he renounced all negotiations for a compromise with "the blinded rulers of Prussia." Reducing his programme from fourteen to four points, he definitely named the following ends of the war:

First, the destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world, or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

Second, the settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

Third, the consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct towards each other by the same principles of honour and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States, and in their relations with one another, to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

## THE APPROACH TO PEACE

Fourth, the establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit, and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

All lures to the supposed Liberal elements in the hostile camp were dropped. They were no longer offered, by the United States spokesman, freedom of navigation in war, adjustment of colonial claims, and escape from general war indemnities. All that President Wilson offered the enemy in another remarkable speech was force without stint and without limit. He rightly felt he had been betrayed by the German majority parties, which had first resolved on a peace without conquest, when their country was in danger, and then had consented to an enormous scheme of political and economic subjugation when the danger seemed to have passed.

Between this and the president's next historic utterance on September 27 the entire situation had changed. Foch's victory offensive and the German retirement began on July 18. From that time the retreat had been continuous; the Americans had occupied St. Mihiel; on September 27 the British penetrated the Hindenburg line; in the east Allenby had won the battle of Mejjido and was already invading Syria; the Bulgars had just been shattered in their last fight. But there had still been no wholesale surrender, when the president made the following pronouncement, the clear object of which was to provoke a German revolution, or at least a thorough political transformation. He came forward with a five-point programme, introduced by an attack upon the German government. The following is the part of his speech of which the enemy afterwards tried to make use to escape the consequences of defeat:

We are all agreed that there can be no peace obtained by any kind of bargain or compromise with the Governments of the Central Empires, because we have dealt with them already, and have seen them deal with other Governments that were parties to this struggle at Brest-Litovsk and Bukarest.

They have convinced us that they are without honour, and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle, but force their own interest. We cannot come to terms with them. They have made it impossible. The German people must by this time be fully aware that we can-

## WILSON'S FIVE POINTS

not accept the word of those who forced this war upon us. We do not think the same thoughts or speak the same language of agreement. It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the tacit implications that are involved in it.

1. The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that knows no favourites and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

2. No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

3. There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

4. And, more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League, and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

5. All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.

The confidence with which I venture to speak for our people in these matters does not spring from our traditions merely but from the well-known principles of international action which we have always professed and followed.

The date of this pronouncement was September 27. The first of the surrenders which bear the title of Armistice—that of Bulgaria—was already being negotiated, but did not in actual fact take place finally till September 30. In the last four days of that month it would seem that the infinite self-confidence of Ludendorff for the first time wilted. A fortnight earlier, no one was even suspecting the coming of Allenby's thunderbolt at

## THE APPROACH TO PEACE

Mejiddo; no one was suspecting that what looked like a stalemate in the Balkans was only the prelude to a decisive twelve days' campaign. The Bulgars were even being encouraged to expect German reinforcements. But neither the débacle in Palestine nor that in the Balkans, nor the two of them taken together, would have sufficed to shake Ludendorff if he had not at that precise moment lost confidence in the stubborn discipline of the German troops which in the two long months of retreat "according to plan" had never broken down.

When after a brief pause the attack of the Allies was renewed all along the line on September 26, there were ominous signs that the strain on the German soldiery had at last reached breaking point. On the 29th, the British were driving irresistibly through the supposedly impregnable Hindenburg line, Bulgaria had gone, Turkey was going. Some days earlier there had been indications of panic in the Fatherland, a run on the banks significant of the failure of the popular assurance of victory. If demoralisation was setting in, it would progress rapidly as the knowledge spread that the German harvest had been so bad that the country could hardly face the risk of another prolonged period of blockade. On that day, September 29, Ludendorff secretly informed the grand committee of the Reichstag that the war was lost. On October 1, after several consultations, Prince Max, heir to the grand duchy of Baden, was appointed chancellor for the purpose of negotiating peace, the majority party supporting him.

Prince Max was a fierce reactionary, who at times pretended to be a democrat, and laughed at the people he deceived. He was a violent opponent of the peace resolution of July, 1917, but was supposed to be a favourite of the former American ambassador in Berlin. This was the reason why he was appointed negotiator. He came to Berlin with the scheme for making such a statement of German war aims as would be likely to excite the attention of President Wilson. To his dismay he was informed by Ludendorff that there was no time for any further intrigues, as the army was breaking up, and an armistice must be arranged within forty-eight hours. This panic statement entirely upset the prince's peace policy. After trying to struggle against the views of Ludendorff, supported by Hindenburg, he accepted the situation. He became political chief of the German Empire on October 1, bringing some of the leading

## A GERMAN OFFER

socialists of the majority party into the government, according to the plan proposed by Ludendorff. On his own initiative, Prince Max then endeavoured to induce the emperor to abdicate, in the hope of avoiding serious disturbances. The military authorities, however, would not agree to this measure, arguing that, if carried out, the armies would break up.

In the night of October 4 the new German chancellor sent, through the Swiss government, a request to President Wilson to open negotiations for peace with belligerent states on the basis of the Fourteen Points' programme stated in the address to Congress of January 8, 1918. The Austro-Hungarian government and the Ottoman government also forwarded about the same time a similar request to the president of the United States, mentioning the pronouncement of September 27 as well as the fourteen points of January 8. The chancellor Prince Max also referred to the pronouncement of September 27 in his speech on the peace negotiations.

President Wilson did not reply to the Ottoman proposal. He informed the Austro-Hungarian government he could not adhere to his early programme of peace, because the national independence of Bohemia and Slovakia had already been recognized by the United States, thus annulling one of the fourteen points. To the new German chancellor there was despatched a delaying reply, asking whether Prince Max was speaking merely for the Imperial authorities who had conducted the war, and whether all hostile forces would be withdrawn from occupied territory before the cessation of arms. On October 12 Dr. Solf, the new German foreign minister, answered that the majority party of the Reichstag supported the actions of the new chancellor. The president's proposal with regard to the invaded territory was agreed to in principle, with the suggestion that a mixed commission should be appointed to arrange the withdrawal.

Further protracting the preliminaries of negotiation, President Wilson, on October 14, sent a note to the German government raising doubts in regard to the democratic character of the new German government. He insisted that the arbitrary power of the German emperor should be abolished, and remarked that the sinking of passenger ships at sea and the wanton destruction of cities and villages in France and Flanders were not consonant with the peace proposals being made.

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As a matter of fact Ludendorff had recovered from his panic within a week of the opening of the parley. Prince Max was informed by the German military authorities that they had been mistaken in the judgement which they had formed with regard to the situation at the front. Yet the German staff must have known perfectly well that the submission of Bulgaria, the imminent surrender of Turkey, and the collapse of Austria, which all of them knew could not be averted, must leave Germany isolated, and in an utterly desperate position.

This extraordinary change of mind on the part of the German army command was known to President Wilson and the chief ministers of the Associated Powers. It was announced by the torpedoing, in the morning of October 10, of the mail steamer running between Kingston and Holyhead, and by the resumption of horrible gas and high-explosive bombardments of the newly-liberated Flemish and French towns and villages. The deportation of people in occupied territory was resumed, together with the general destruction of buildings, with a view to creating the last trail of desolation behind the retreating invaders. Definite news was also received by the Allied governments of the restored confidence of the enemy high command.

As was afterwards explained in the German constituent assembly, Ludendorff had at first been completely overcome by the fact that his armies were beginning to run away from the British forces. When, however, he found that his troops were standing firm against the American attack, and withdrawing in order in Flanders, while showing some signs of stiffening along the Selle river against Sir Henry Rawlinson's and Sir Julian Byng's armies on October 13, he determined to fight to the bitter end. Hindenburg remained more doubtful of the German power of resistance, yet he, too, proclaimed that the German army and the German fleet would never surrender. The old field-marshal, however, had the wisdom to order that all unnecessary destruction should cease, and while refraining for a time from interfering with his more energetic colleague, he showed some sympathy with the apprehensions of the German majority socialists, and gradually became an advocate of their views.

It was well that he did so. For something had suddenly been broken that could not be repaired. Ludendorff could not restore the spirit of either the German army or the German people.

## GERMAN PROPAGANDA

Having terrified his nation by his first urgent appeal for an armistice at any price, he could not prevail against the feelings he had excited. He started a frenzied propaganda among the troops and the public, the most remarkable item of which was the "Durchhalten oder Untergehen" number of the popular weekly paper the *Illustrirte Zeitung*. In its "Hold On or Go Under" issue, prepared, under military control, in the second week of October for publication towards the end of the month, an attempt was made to scare the people into a determination to fight to the death.

There were pictures of German workmen being driven by whips to enforced labour in France and Flanders, of flaming German towns and ravaged farms, by which the God of War, no longer Teutonic, was striding; of German Michael being crushed by the heel of Britannia. On the front page was a drawing of a crowd of unarmed, wounded soldiers, working women, and aged men, gathered by night under a street lamp, listening to an excited popular orator crying "The fate of Germany is in the hands of all of us!" In the articles the working classes were told that the defeat of their country would end all the great schemes for social progress. The peasants were informed that famine and disease would follow military disaster. Clerks were reminded that work and food would be lacking, while merchants and manufacturers were told they would be bankrupt. Appeal was made to the self-interest of every class.

Far from reviving the courage of the forces and populace, the propaganda of desperation completed the demoralisation of the country. In action the tendency to run or surrender increased, the troops arguing that it was useless to get killed when peace was coming. Yet the negotiations for an armistice had to be maintained, or absolute collapse was inevitable.

The aim then of the government of Prince Max was to prolong the preliminaries until the military situation was clarified by the successful retreat which the military authorities promised to accomplish. So on both sides there was a diplomatic slowness in exchanging views. On October 20 Dr. Solf, the German foreign minister, blandly proposed that the actual standard of power on both sides of the field should form the ground of the armistice arrangements. He, however, condescended to the assertion that responsible parliamentary government had definitely replaced the old military policy of Germany.

## THE APPROACH TO PEACE

President Wilson changed his tactics, and gave a quick reply. He accepted the assurance that the Germans had adopted a representative system of government, and, while claiming for the victors unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace, he communicated to the Allies the request for the opening of negotiations on the terms of his address to Congress of January 8, 1918. On October 24 the Supreme Council of War at Versailles began to consider the American fourteen points in connexion with the terms of the armistice to be imposed upon the enemy. The proceedings, prolonged for a fortnight, were partly a solemn farce and partly an anxious debate. The farce arose from the fact that the German High Command no longer admitted defeat, and did not intend to submit to the conditions of surrender which at first it had implored. The anxiety was due to the clash of views between the Franco-British representatives and the American representatives over the question of the freedom of the seas and claims to indemnification.

While these points were being debated, the military authorities of Germany brought complete disaster upon their country by trying to use the fleet to save the army. Amid violent demonstrations at Kiel, submarine flotillas were sent out to wait in ambush for the British Fleet. Then the order was given for all the German High Sea Fleet to put out to sea on October 31. The practising of manœuvres in the Bight of Heligoland was all that was intended, so the seamen were informed. No one was deceived by this absurd explanation. Suspicion was further aroused by the fact that most of the older married officers were given leave. Stewards overheard talk by commanders of the coming battle to the death. Far more coal was taken in than was required for manœuvres. To calm the men they were then told that no desperate fleet engagement was intended, but that the ships of the line were steaming out to cover a raid.

The immediate result was mutiny among the seamen, who saw what was intended and flatly refused to fight. The number of naval officers who sympathised with the mutineers was considerable. They did not see why they should perish unavailingly to save an army that could no longer even retreat in good order. When an attempt was made to reduce the men to discipline at Kiel, the revolution broke out. By November 4 Kiel was the centre of a Soviet movement, despatching missionaries of revolt through Germany. Infantry brought to Kiel were either won

## AN ALLIED MEMORANDUM

over or disarmed, and cavalry forces approaching the port were met with machine gun fire and defeated or converted.

In these circumstances, with the German fleet put out of action by its own men, and the German army broken into two pieces by the Ardennes Forest and beginning to flee in disordered fragments towards the Rhineland, the Western Allies opened negotiations with the enemy. On November 5, 1918, Mr. Robert Lansing, the American secretary of state, communicated to the German government the following memorandum of observations received from the Allies:

The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government.

Subject to the qualifications which follow, they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses.

They must point out, however, that Clause II., relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must therefore reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the Peace Conference.

Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed.

The Allied Governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from air.

"I am instructed by the President," said Mr. Lansing when forwarding the memorandum, "to say that he is in agreement with the interpretation set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted. I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German Government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government and to communicate to them the terms of an armistice."

## CHAPTER 2

### Armistices on all Fronts

**W**HEN Mr. Lansing's communication was sent to the German government, Germany was already the only enemy-belligerent in the field. Her isolation had been a foregone conclusion ever since the Bulgarian surrender on September 30, but in the last week it had become an accomplished fact through the successive surrenders of Turkey and Austria on October 30 and November 3. To these three episodes—the armistice with Bulgaria, with Turkey, with Austria—we turn before completing the story of the German surrender.

By a sudden and unexpected advance which began on September 15, the allied troops—notably the Serbians—in the Balkans, under the command of General Franchet-d'Espérey, in a ten days' campaign, decisively split the Bulgarian line into fractions. The Bulgarians realized that to attempt further resistance would be worse than useless; the only course open to them was to make overtures for an armistice; and on the night of September 26, 1918, a superior Bulgarian officer, under a flag of truce, arrived at the headquarters of General Franchet-d'Espérey, and requested, on behalf of General Teodoroff, in chief command of the Bulgarian armies in the absence of General Jekoff, the commander-in-chief, who was ill and undergoing treatment in Vienna, an armistice for forty-eight hours to permit the coming of two delegates with a view to defining the conditions of such an armistice and eventually of peace. The delegates were to be M. Liaptcheff, the minister of finance, and General Lukoff, the commander of the Bulgarian 2nd army. They were stated to have the authority of the Bulgarian government behind them, as well as that of King Ferdinand.

From General Franchet-d'Espérey's reply it appeared that Teodoroff's letter was dated September 25, and was sent to General Milne who forwarded it to the Allied generalissimo. Suspecting that the Bulgarian request might be a *ruse de guerre* to allow the regrouping of forces or the bringing up of reinforcements, General Franchet-d'Espérey answered that he could not

## BULGARIANS AT SALONICA

grant either an armistice or a suspension of hostilities, which might interfere with the operations in progress in the field, but that he was willing to receive with befitting courtesy the duly accredited representatives of the Bulgarian government, and he directed them to appear, accompanied by an officer bearing a flag of truce, at the British lines.

It was announced in the British Press on September 28 that on the previous day the British government had received from an official and authorized source an application from Bulgaria for an armistice. The expression "official and authorized source" gave the lie to reports which appeared in the German Press to the effect that M. Malinoff, the Bulgarian premier, was acting on his own initiative, without the assent of King Ferdinand or of the Bulgarian army command. Remembering the treachery of Bulgaria in the not distant past, many people were disinclined to believe in her sincerity now, but the British government, with good reason, took her request seriously, and Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour left London to confer about it with Mr. Lloyd George, who was recuperating his health in the country.

There was a general consultation among the Allies, and thereat an agreement was reached as to the line to be taken with Bulgaria. On September 28 three Bulgarian plenipotentiaries—those previously mentioned, and a third, M. Radeff, an ex-minister and an experienced diplomatist—arrived at Salonica. General Franchet-d'Espérey, who had received instructions from M. Clemenceau, the French prime minister, acting as spokesman of the Allies, told them what Bulgaria must do, and at noon on September 30 they signed with him an armistice, which, it was arranged, was to continue until the final peace settlement.

The terms on which the armistice was granted can be summed up in a sentence—the unconditional surrender of Bulgaria. In more detail the main terms were: The immediate evacuation of the territories which belonged to Serbia and Greece; the immediate demobilisation of the Bulgarian army, with the exception of three infantry divisions and four cavalry regiments—the arms, munitions, and material of the demobilised troops were to be given into the custody of the Allies, who were to store them at specified centres; the placing at the disposal of the Allies of all Bulgarian means of transport, including the railways and the ships and other craft on the Danube and in the Black Sea; the

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

opening of Bulgarian territory for the operations of the Allies against the enemy, and the occupation of strategic points in Bulgaria by British, French, or Italian troops; and that Bulgaria should cease henceforth to take any part in the war, except with the Allies' consent. Among other things the terms included the restitution to Greece of the material of the Greek 4th army corps which was taken when the Bulgarians occupied Eastern Macedonia, and a provision that Bulgarians serving in the German 11th army were to lay down their arms and become prisoners of war. An important clause stated that all Allied prisoners in Bulgaria were to be released immediately, but that Bulgarian prisoners were to be kept and employed by the Allies till the final peace settlement.

The agreement embodying the armistice was essentially military, and dealt with the immediate situation, other matters being left till the Peace Conference. Among these matters was the question of the Bulgarian occupation of the Rumanian Dobruja, but that was settled long before the Peace Conference. At the moment the most notable feature of the agreement was that, by placing the through German route to Constantinople under the control of the Allies, Turkey was sundered from the Central Powers, except in so far as they could maintain communication with her by the Black Sea.

The Bulgarian surrender was in effect the *coup de grace* as far as the Balkans were concerned, preparing for the surrender of Turkey precisely one month later. During October the Turks in Asia were making their last stand against Marshall and Allenby; in the closing days of the month the last attempts at resistance in Syria were wiped out and Marshall was eliminating the Turkish forces in the Mesopotamian area; on October 31 the last of them surrendered. But Constantinople had anticipated that event by a few hours. Her armistice was signed on October 30. Like that of Bulgaria it was to all intents and purposes an unconditional surrender.

A fortnight after the armistice was signed the Turkish government, which no longer was ruled by Enver Pasha and the other Young Turk leaders—most of whom were fugitives—was required by the Allies to withdraw all the Turkish forces westward of Bozanti, north of Adana, by December 15, and this withdrawal was to be followed by immediate demobilisation in Syria and Cilicia. The Turks had to surrender all their artillery and

## AUSTRIA SUES FOR PEACE

machine guns, with their ammunition, in northern Syria and along the railway as far as Missis, west of the " Cilician Gate," and these demands meant the removal of all Turkish troops from the plains to the east and south-east of the Taurus. The port and town of Alexandretta were occupied by British and French troops on November 9, and that was the final operation of importance. The last remnants of Turkish rule had vanished from Palestine and Syria.

The Turkish armistice of October 30 left Germany—herself at the last gasp—with only one ally still in arms, Austro-Hungary; and she, her collapse hastened by internal disruption, was already suing independently for an armistice. On October 29 her government addressed a note in that sense to President Wilson; and on the same evening an Austrian officer, under a white flag, presented himself in the Italian trenches in the Adije valley. When it appeared that he was not armed with the necessary authoritative documents, he was not admitted to parley. But on the following morning his place was taken by a corps commander, General von Weber, who was accompanied by other officers and civilians of position, bearing the proper credentials of their mission.

They were received and conveyed to a villa near the headquarters of General Diaz, where, on November 3, they were met by General Badoglio, the Italian chief of staff, who, after a time, gave them a written draft of the terms of an armistice. Meanwhile Diaz had exchanged telegrams with the Supreme War Council at Versailles, and in the afternoon the precise details under which the armistice would be granted were sent to him by Signor Orlando, the Italian prime minister—it was these that were handed to Weber by Badoglio. One of the Austrians took the draft for communication to the Austrian government.

While the great battle was being fought from the Brenta to the sea, things had not been exactly standing still within the Monarchy itself, or elsewhere. Vienna was in a ferment, and revolutionary outbreaks were imminent. Troops made demonstrations in the streets of Budapest, where Soviets of soldiers and workmen were formed on the Bolshevik model. In both cities the cry was raised of " Down with the Hapsburgs! " All the archdukes were said to have fled from the capitals to their estates. Neither Andrassy nor even Karolyi appeared to be able to ride the storm. On November 1 news came that Count

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

Tisza, while walking with a relative, was killed by a soldier with a shot from a revolver. His great aim in life had been the complete Magyarisation of Hungary, whom he wished to be the predominant partner in the Empire, and he was the firm opponent of the Slavs, Italians, and Rumanians who lived within it.

'The Austro-Hungarian government sent its note to President Wilson in reply to his of October 18. It was dated October 29, and announced that Austria-Hungary adhered to the previous declarations of the president and his views with respect to the peoples of the Empire, notably the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, contained in his last note. "This being the case," the note continued, "nothing stands in the way of opening negotiations for an armistice and for peace, and the Austro-Hungarian government therefore is ready, without waiting for the outcome of other negotiations, to enter into negotiations for a separate peace with the Entente Powers and for an immediate armistice on all the fronts of the Dual Monarchy." Finally, it begged President Wilson to take such measures as were required.

As Austria now accepted all the president's conditions and sought for a separate armistice immediately, the very great importance of this action of her government was at once perceived by the Allies. It was plain that Austria had thrown Germany over and had resolved to act alone. By this time it was known in the allied countries that Turkey was seeking an armistice. Probably Austria also was aware of this, and was influenced by it. It looked as if Germany would be absolutely isolated, and there was no possibility of minimising the consequences. Assuredly the end was drawing near. When, on October 30, Turkey surrendered unconditionally, and was granted an armistice, which came into operation at noon next day, her capitulation, expected though it must have been, had its due effect on Austria. Germany herself was being relentlessly pressed and driven back, with enormous losses, in the west.

Accepting the terms which had been communicated by General Diaz, on behalf of the Associated Powers, the high command of the Dual Monarchy signed the armistice, which was equivalent to an unconditional surrender, on November 3, and it went into effect at 3 p.m. on the following day. Summarised, the terms were:

The total demobilisation of the Austro-Hungarian army, and the immediate withdrawal of all Austro-Hungarian forces

## THE AUSTRIAN PEACE TERMS

operating on the front from the North Sea to Switzerland. Twenty divisions, but of pre-war strength, were allowed to be kept within Austro-Hungarian territory. Half the divisional corps and army artillery with equipment was to be delivered, at stated points, to the victors.

The evacuation of all invaded territories, and the withdrawal of the Austro-Hungarian armies on each front behind a line, which, according to a statement made by Mr. Lloyd George in Parliament on November 5, afforded strategic safeguards for Italy's Alpine frontier. "From the Swiss frontier," said the prime minister, "this line follows the watershed of the Rhaetian, Carnic, and Julian Alps to the Gulf of Fiume, excluding the port of that name. It compels Austria-Hungary to evacuate all Tyrol south of the Brenner Pass, and also to evacuate the Carso plateau and the Istrian peninsula, which, of course, includes Trieste. (The Italians had entered that town, the port of which was the best on the Adriatic, on the morning of November 3.) Farther south the Austro-Hungarian forces have to evacuate the province of Dalmatia and the Dalmatian islands with the exception of the islands in the Gulf of Spalato." All military and railway equipment, including coal, in the territories to be evacuated, had to be surrendered.

The Allies were to have the right to move freely over all Austro-Hungarian roads, railways, and waterways, and to use the necessary Austrian and Hungarian means of transportation. The armies of the Associated Powers were to occupy such strategic points as they deemed necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or maintain order, and were to have the right of requisition, on payment, for the troops.

The complete evacuation of all German troops, within fifteen days, not only from the Italian and Balkan fronts, but from all Austro-Hungarian territory. All German troops not so evacuated were to be interned.

The immediate repatriation, without reciprocity, of all allied prisoners of war and interned subjects, and of civil populations which had been removed from their homes. Sick and wounded, who were unable to be moved from the evacuated territory, were to be cared for by Austrian and Hungarian personnel.

The naval terms of the armistice were not less onerous :

Definite information regarding the location and movements of all Austro-Hungarian ships was to be given, and neutrals were to be notified that the naval and merchant marines of the Associated Powers could freely navigate all Austro-Hungarian territorial waters.

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

Three battleships, three light cruisers, nine destroyers, twelve torpedo-boats, one mine-layer, and six Danube monitors, to be designated with their complete armament and equipment, were to be surrendered. All other surface war-ships were to be concentrated, paid off and disarmed, and then placed under the supervision of the Associated Powers. Fifteen submarines, completed between the years 1910 and 1918, and all the German submarines in, or which might come into, Austro-Hungarian waters, also had to be surrendered. All other Austro-Hungarian submarines had to be paid off, disarmed, and placed under the supervision of the Associated Powers.

The free navigation by all warships and merchant vessels of the Associated Powers of the Adriatic and the Danube and its tributaries, to ensure which power was given to occupy or dismantle all fortifications or defence works. On the other hand, the blockade was to remain unchanged, and all Austro-Hungarian merchant ships found at sea were still liable to capture.

All naval aircraft were to be concentrated and immobilised.

The evacuation of all the Italian coasts and of all ports occupied by Austria-Hungary outside their national territory, and the abandonment of all floating craft, naval materials, equipment, and materials for inland navigation. The occupation by the Associated Powers of the land and sea fortifications and the islands forming the defences of the dockyards and arsenal of Pola.

All naval and merchant marine prisoners of war were to be returned without reciprocity, and all merchant vessels of the Associated Powers were to be restored.

Without an army and without a fleet—for such was the effect of the armistice—Austria was reduced to utter impotence; whereas Italy, whom both Germany and Austria had derided, was triumphant, and at last was mistress in her own house, after a moral recovery—as one writer phrased it—from a crushing disaster scarce paralleled in history. The Czechoslovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, already freeing themselves by their own efforts, had their independence now doubly assured. The Serbs were back in Belgrade, on November 1, and across the Drina and the Save were marching on Sarajevo. As for Mackensen, still sitting in Bukarest, nothing was left, if he were to save himself, but retreat.

On the military débâcle of the Dual Monarchy, the internal political débâcle became equally manifest. In the north, Bohemia,

## THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR ABDICATES

Moravia, and the Slovak districts formed one republic, while German Austria was another; Galicia was split up between the Poles and the Ruthenes. Hungary, as regarded its predominantly Magyar part, was under a national council, which the Archduke Joseph, who earlier had represented the Emperor in Budapest, and his son the Archduke Franz Joseph, had promised on oath to obey; it virtually also was a republic. In Transylvania the Rumanians, who had endured so much at the hands of the Magyars, were joining Rumania, who was once more raising her head. National councils of the Jugo-Slavs were meeting in Agram and Laibach, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were in process of becoming part of a great New Serbia under King Peter. The wonderful thing was that this gigantic revolution was accomplished with hardly any bloodshed. Finally, there no longer existed Italia Irredenta, for redeemed Italy was being occupied by Italians.

On November 12 the Emperor Charles announced his abdication in a proclamation that, at least, was not lacking in dignity. He said:

Ever since my accession to the throne I have unceasingly tried to deliver my peoples from the tremendous war, for which I bear no responsibility. I have not retarded the re-establishment of constitutional life, and I have reopened to my people the way to solid national development. Filled with unalterable love for all my peoples, I will not in my person be a hindrance to their free development. I acknowledge the decision of German Austria to take for the future the form of a separate State. The people have by their Deputies taken charge of the Government. I relinquish all participation in the administration of the State. I likewise release my Austrian Ministers from their office. May the German-Austrian people harmoniously and peacefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. The happiness of my peoples has from the beginning been the object of my warmest wishes. Internal peace alone will be able to heal the wounds which this war has caused.

This document was countersigned by Lammasch, the head of the "Liquidation Ministry." A day or two later it was announced from Budapest that the Emperor Charles had also relinquished the throne of Hungary. The disintegration of the Austrian Empire was complete. It was more than disintegration; it was dissolution. This disruption of an ancient Empire was

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

watched with equanimity by the democracies of Great Britain and the United States who had learnt to regard the Hapsburg rule as both decadent and reactionary.

It will be seen then that on November 5, when Mr. Lansing addressed the German government, Germany's isolation was already complete. From the military point of view, there was nothing to restrain the Allies from simply dictating the unconditional surrender for which Ludendorff had apparently been ready at the end of September. The situation had not changed for the better since that time; Hindenburg, who was in charge of the continued retreat, was perfectly well aware that his men were beaten, and could not be relied on to stand up to the hammering of the attacking troops. Yet it was at this moment that the crown prince, by way of an encouraging farewell as he withdrew himself some hours before his father to neutral territory, invented and disseminated the legend—that balm of Gilead which was promptly accepted as authentic by the socialists of the majority party, as well as by Radicals, Liberals, Conservatives, and Catholics—that only the pressure of hunger, due to Britain's disregard of the American doctrine of the freedom of the seas, had brought about the downfall of the nation. Thus the German, when utterly broken in military power, opened the new war of words and tried to create by intrigue a breach between the Franco-British governments and the American government, in order to obtain an easy peace.

Against the British and French governments the revolutionary movement was skilfully employed to procure a mitigation of the terms of surrender. While the leaders of the Imperial socialist party energetically worked at stifling the communist and advanced elements in the sailors', soldiers', and workmen's councils, by taking the lead in the debates and in the re-ordering of things, and keeping all the old bureaucracy in actual power, they claimed that it was only with extreme difficulty that they were preventing all the German people from turning Bolshevik. Hard terms, outside the programme of the fourteen points which had been put forward by President Wilson, would, they clamoured, dissolve Germany into as wild an anarchy as that obtaining in Russia. If Germany were to remain solvent enough to make reparation to Belgium and France, it was contended, her revolutionary mobs must not be driven into frantic desperation by rigorous demands.



**LONDON CELEBRATES THE ARMISTICE.** The news of the Armistice that ended the Great War, which took effect at 11 a m. on November 11, 1918, caused wild rejoicing in London. Here is seen a mixed party of soldiers in the Strand, with a member of the W.A.A.C., celebrating the end of the war.

PEACE

VICTORY

OUR THANKS TO SAILORS SOLDIERS & AIRMEN

**ARMISTICE NIGHT** Scenes recalling the famous. Watching night of May 17, 1918, characterised London's celebrations on Armistice night. The photograph shows illuminated welcome to sailors, soldiers and airmen over a railway station.



**THE ROYAL THANKSGIVING.** To celebrate the end of hostilities, a thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral on November 12 and was attended by King George and Queen Mary, seen here driving away from the City after the service.



**SOUTH LONDON GREETED THEIR MAJESTIES.** On November 14 the King and Queen drove with Princess Mary through South London. The photograph shows them outside a school in St. George's Road after a scholar had presented the Queen with a bouquet.

## THE GERMAN PEACE DELEGATION

The use of the menace of a Bolshevist Germany, united with Russia in destroying civilization throughout the world, was a stroke of genius on the part of the new German government. It dismayed some British statesmen, and until the pressure of public opinion told strongly upon Mr. Lloyd George, there seemed a possibility that the claim for a proper war indemnity would be forgone by the British government. The communist threat was also remarkably effective in inducing the Supreme Council of War to refrain from continuing operations until the German armies were patently broken and thrown in famished, fugitive remnants into the Rhineland, though Foch was in readiness for an annihilating blow. It was thought that if the Rhineland were overcrowded by hungry, despairing soldiers bent on pillage, Germany would be wrecked. •

The condition of the German forces was already such that Hindenburg wanted an armistice at the earliest possible moment. He had to keep his demoralised men in hand and feed them, so that they might be used, if necessary, in putting down communists at home. One of the reasons why the troops were told they were undefeated in battle was the hope that the legend would maintain their sense of discipline, so that they could, if needed, be employed against the sailors. The earlier the date of the armistice, the more useful the troops would prove to be.

On November 6 the enemy delegation for the conclusion of an armistice left Berlin. It was headed by the notorious Herr Erzberger, who, after being a violent Pan-German for the first three years of the war and acting as Bethmann-Hollweg's confidential agent, overthrew his master, promoted the Reichstag's peace resolution, and then rejoiced in the plundering of Russia and Rumania. With Herr Erzberger came a German general, wearing the order of the French Legion of Honour. He was General von Winterfeldt, who, while attending the last French army manœuvres before the war, had received the decoration, with other foreign officers, in the way of international courtesy and in recognition of his distinction as a soldier.

Oddly enough the Germans thought that this man would receive a friendly welcome from Marshal Foch. They were mistaken. When Marshal Foch met General von Winterfeldt he grimly eyed the Order of the Legion of Honour, and said: "You have my permission not to wear that!" General von Gündell, Count Oberndorff, and others made up the delegation.

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

Directed from German headquarters into the lines of the French 1st army on the Hirson-Guise road, the enemy envoys arrived by La Capelle in the evening of November 8, under the customary white flag. The Germans were motored to a château by the Aisne, where they rested for the night. In the morning of November 9 they were taken by train to the Forest of Compiègne, where there was another train awaiting them containing Marshal Foch, the military representative of the Allies, and Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, the naval representative, with staff officers and other personages.

In the saloon of Marshal Foch's train the meeting took place. Herr Erzberger, as the head of the envoys, asked for an immediate cessation of hostilities. Marshal Foch said the terms of the armistice were drawn up, and dealt with the point in question to the effect that the war must continue until the agreement was signed. The Generalissimo then read out the terms of armistice fixed by the Supreme Council of War at Versailles.

On hearing the conditions the Germans stated that they were not empowered to sign everything unconditionally, and that as the German government had changed in character since their appointment, they requested means of communicating the terms to German headquarters. By this time the German Emperor had fled, like his heir, to Holland, being compelled to practical abdication by the socialist majority party, who at last found that they could neither negotiate a peace nor assuage the rising temper of the people while William of Hohenzollern remained in power. Most of the enemy military authorities tried to the end to save the Emperor from disgraceful flight, in order to make him the centre of a constitutional monarchy, but Hindenburg, in person, finally informed the fallen autocrat that a stay in Holland was advisable.

In order to bring under control the revolutionary movements in Berlin and other cities, the socialists of the Imperial school had to abandon their scheme of a reformed monarchy and, sacrificing Emperor, Kings, Grand Dukes, and Princes, proclaim a republic. Little, however, was actually changed in Germany, except the appearance of things, all rearrangements being made by the socialist leaders, Scheidemann and Ebert, in consultation with other party chiefs and military authorities.

Prince Max of Baden resigned in favour of a socialist chancellor, Herr Ebert, once a saddler, on the day when the German

## THE GERMAN DELEGATES SIGN

delegates motored into the French lines. Undoubtedly Erzberger and his party knew what was occurring, and took part in the shaping of the new government, along with Hindenburg. But in Compiègne Forest they turned to profit the new misfortune of their country, and, by pleading that they were unauthorized to sign conditions, obtained an extension of the time given by Marshal Foch for acceptance or refusal.

Seventy-two hours was the time fixed, but the German courier taking the armistice conditions to enemy headquarters was held up on the La Capelle road by German gun fire, and did not reach Spa until November 10. Hindenburg at once telegraphed the Allies' terms to the chancellor's palace in Berlin, where Ebert, Scheidemann, and most of the members of old and new ministries listened to the communication. There was some strong opposition to the conditions, but Hindenburg bore it completely down by telegraphing that all terms must be accepted without any delay whatever, as his forces were in retreat, and he would be compelled to capitulate unconditionally.

Much trouble would have been saved if the Supreme Council of War at Versailles had been more confident in the immediate efficacy of their forces. As a matter of fact, even Marshal Foch did not suspect the utter weakness of the enemy, but knew he was saving considerable casualties in the reserve army in Lorraine by permitting the Germans to make terms. Only Sir Douglas Haig and his troops were to the last as well informed about the complete helplessness of Hindenburg as was Hindenburg himself.

The German delegates played their comedy of resistance to the end. They made verbal and written protests against the inhuman conditions on which the armistice was granted, and obtained some alterations in regard to the depth of the allied bridge-heads to be established across the Rhine and other technical points. Then, still protesting, they signed, at five o'clock on Monday morning, November 11, 1918, the conditions for the cessation of hostilities.

This was the historic document:

### THE WESTERN FRONT

I. Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

II. Immediate evacuation of invaded countries—Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg—so ordered as to be com-

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

pleted within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice.

German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war.

Occupation by the Allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas.

All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a Note. [Which was served on the German Commander-in-Chief.]

III. Repatriation, beginning at once, to be completed within fourteen days of all inhabitants of the countries above enumerated (including hostages, persons under trial or convicted).

IV. Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following equipment:

5,000 guns (2,500 heavy, 2,500 field);

30,000 machine guns;

3,000 minnenwerfer;

2,000 aeroplanes (fighters, bombers—firstly D.7's and night-bombing machines).

The above to be delivered *in situ* to the Allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down.

V. Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. These countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States Armies of Occupation.

The occupation of these territories will be carried out by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne), together with bridge-heads at these points of a 30-kilometre (18.63 miles) radius on the right bank, and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions.

A neutral zone to be set up on the right bank of the Rhine between the river and a line drawn ten kilometres (6.21 miles) distant, starting from the Dutch frontier to the Swiss frontier. In the case of inhabitants, no person shall be prosecuted for having taken part in any military measures previous to the signing of the armistice.

No measure of a general or official character shall be taken which would have, as a consequence, the depreciation of industrial establishments or a reduction of their personnel.

Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhinlands shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days—in all, thirty-one days after the signature of the armistice. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated according to the Note.

## THE ALLIED TERMS

VI. In all territory evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants.

No destruction of any kind to be committed.

Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions, equipment not removed during the period of evacuation.

Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left *in situ*.

Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way, and their personnel shall not be moved.

VII. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired.

All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain.

Five thousand locomotives, 150,000 wagons, and 5,000 motor-lorries, in good working order, with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the Associated Powers within the period fixed for the evacuation of Belgium and Luxemburg.

The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the same period, together with all pre-war personnel and material.

Further, material necessary for the working of railways in the country on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left *in situ*.

All stores of coal and material for upkeep of permanent way, signals, and repair shops, shall be left *in situ*, and kept in an efficient state by Germany as far as the means of communication are concerned during the whole period of the armistice.

All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. [Note appended as Annexure 2 regulated the details of these measures.]

VIII. The German Command shall be responsible for revealing all mines or delay-action fuses disposed on territory evacuated by the German troops, and shall assist in their discovery and destruction.

The German Command shall also reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or pollution of springs, wells, etc.), under penalty of reprisals.

IX. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and United States Armies in all occupied territory, save for settlement of accounts with authorized persons.

The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

X. The immediate repatriation, without reciprocity, according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all Allied

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

and United States prisoners of war; the Allied Powers and the United States of America shall be able to dispose of these prisoners as they wish. However, the return of German prisoners of war interned in Holland and Switzerland shall continue as heretofore. The return of German prisoners of war shall be settled at peace preliminaries.

XI. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot, with the medical material required.

### EASTERN FRONTIERS OF GERMANY

XII. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Russia, Rumania, or Turkey shall withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August 1, 1914, and all German troops at present in territories which before the war formed part of Russia must likewise return to within the frontiers of Germany as above defined as soon as the Allies shall think the moment suitable, having regard to the internal situation of these territories.

XIII. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once; and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilian as well as military agents now on the territory of Russia (as defined on August 1, 1914) to be recalled.

XIV. German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures, and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany, in Rumania and Russia, as defined on August 1, 1914.

XV. Abandonment of the treaties of Bukarest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

XVI. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier, either through Danzig or by the Vistula, in order to convey supplies to the population of these territories or for the purpose of maintaining order.

### EAST AFRICA

XVII. Unconditional evacuation of all German forces operating in East Africa within one month.

### GENERAL CLAUSES

XVIII. Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all civilians, interned or deported, who may be citizens of other Allied or Associated States than those mentioned in Clause III.

XIX. With the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and United States of America remain unaffected, the following financial conditions are required:—

Reparation for damage done.

While the armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed

## THE ALLIED TERMS

by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or reparation for war losses.

Immediate restitution of the cash deposit in the National Bank of Belgium and, in general, immediate return of all documents, specie, stock, shares, paper money, together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries.

Restitution of the Russian and Rumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that Power. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

## NAVAL CONDITIONS

XX. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea, and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. •

Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived. •

XXI. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of war of the Allied and Associated Powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

XXII. Handing over to the Allies and the United States of all submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine-layers) which are present at the moment with full complement in the ports specified by the Allies and the United States. Those that cannot put to sea to be deprived of crews and supplies, and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. Submarines ready to put to sea shall be prepared to leave German ports immediately on receipt of wireless order to sail to the port of surrender, the remainder to follow as early as possible. The conditions of this article shall be carried out within fourteen days after the signing of the armistice.

XXIII. The following German surface warships, which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, failing them, Allied ports, to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and placed under the surveillance of the Allies and the United States of America, only caretakers being left on board, namely: 6 battle-cruisers; 10 battleships; 8 light cruisers, including two mine-layers; 50 destroyers of the most modern types.

All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States of America, and are to be paid-off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States of America. All vessels of

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

the auxiliary fleet (trawlers, motor-vessels, etc.) are to be disarmed. All vessels specified for internment shall be ready to leave German ports seven days after the signing of the armistice. Directions of the voyage will be given by wireless.

Note—A declaration has been signed by the Allied delegates and handed to the German delegates to the effect that in the event of ships not being handed over owing to the mutinous state of the Fleet, the Allies reserve the right to occupy Heligoland as an advanced base to enable them to enforce the terms of the armistice. The German delegates have, on their part, signed a declaration that they will recommend the Chancellor to accept this.

XXIV. The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine-fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

XXV. Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers. To secure this the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defence works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Kattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters without any questions of neutrality being raised and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

XXVI. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and Associated Powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture. The Allies and United States contemplate the provisioning of Germany during the armistice as shall be found necessary.

XXVII. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilised in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

XXVIII. In evacuating the Belgian coasts and ports Germany shall abandon all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, cranes, and all other harbour materials, all materials for inland navigation, all aircraft and air materials and stores, all arms and armaments, and all stores and apparatus of all kinds.

XXIX. All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian warships of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant ships seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned, and German materials as specified in Clause XXVIII are to be abandoned.

XXX. All merchant ships in German hands belonging to

## THE ALLIED TERMS

the Allied and Associated Powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

XXXI. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

XXXII. The German Government shall formally notify the neutral Governments of the world—and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland—that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the Allied and Associated Countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and, whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of ship-building materials or not, are immediately cancelled.

XXXIII. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the armistice.

## DURATION OF ARMISTICE

XXXIV. The duration of the armistice is to be thirty-six days, with option to extend. During this period, on failure of execution of any of the above clauses, the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties on forty-eight hours' previous notice.

## TIME-LIMIT FOR REPLY

XXXV. This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within 72 hours of notification.

When, on December 13, in accordance with clause 34, the armistice was renewed, Marshal Foch had to obtain further guarantees, and reserve the right to occupy the neutral zone from the Dutch frontier to Cologne on giving six days' notice. The Germans had to furnish two and a half million tons of shipping for general use in the transport of foodstuffs, and the battleship *Baden* was to be handed over instead of the unfinished *Mackensen*.

There had arisen in Germany a strong party which held that the armistice could safely be disowned. General von Winterfeldt became the representative of this party on the Armistice Commission, and at the conference at Treves on January 16, 1919, he made a determined effort to induce his fellow-delegates to denounce the agreement for cessation of hostilities.

When Herr Erzberger refused to do so, General von Winterfeldt resigned, nominally over the question of extending the

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

zone of French occupation from Strashourg to a strip of territory on the eastern bank of the Rhine. New clauses were then signed by the rest of the enemy envoys, concerning the surrender of the hidden U-boats which Sir Montague Browning had discovered, the placing of the German merchant fleet at the disposal of the Allies, the replacement of farming machinery in the invaded territories, and of industrial stocks and factory equipment stolen from the French and Belgians. The punishment of persons who were proved guilty of the illegal treatment of prisoners of war was also demanded.

The mildness of these new terms encouraged the Germans in their belief that the Allies had become so weakened by demobilisation troubles that their troops would not fight. Hindenburg concentrated a strong army round Danzig, and opened skirmishing actions against the Poles along the lake and marshland defences of Posen. This attack on Poland was a direct test of the strength and stability of the Associated Powers. The Supreme Council of War was at last aroused. Marshal Foch was empowered to resume the offensive if the enemy did not at once agree to new conditions being imposed upon him. There was another meeting of the Armistice Commission at Treves on Friday, February 14, 1919. The Germans were ordered to cease all attacks upon the Poles, and to keep outside the purely Polish district of Posen.

While the Germans were hesitating between peace and war, hundreds of new guns, with fresh shell supplies, rolled past the train in which Erzberger and his associates sat by Treves Station. They were a strong hint; and the enemy delegates signed the new armistice on the evening of February 16, 1919.

A means being found of quelling the stubborn, intriguing spirit of the enemy, the scope of the convention at Treves was thereupon enlarged. The armistice was employed as the implement of peace. The Allies felt they could regulate with most speed many important matters of final settlement by introducing them as terms enforceable at three days' notice. At Treves the victors had immediate force to make their just decisions effective, so they resolved to merge the general peace negotiations into the armistice. Treves was to be the gateway to the Palace of Peace at Versailles.

The news of the signing of the Armistice was received in London with jubilation. As 11 o'clock struck on November 11

## REJOICINGS IN LONDON

the streets suddenly became filled with a wildly gesticulating crowd. From every belfry the bells pealed out their joyful message; the war was over; four long years of sorrow and anxiety were past; the dark shadow had lifted at last. There would be no more terrible telegrams announcing the death of some dear one. With the sudden lifting of the strain the effect on the population was curious. In most offices work was suspended for the day.

Part of London mafficked wildly. Nearly all restraints were flung aside. People danced, sang and cried, processions were formed up and marched in triumph through the streets. Bonfires were lighted and everything that would burn was commandeered to add to the blaze. At the base of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square a huge fire was lighted to which even a motor cycle was added. Fire brigades had to be called out to deal with fires which had passed the bounds of safety, but no sooner had they trained their hoses on their objective than the pipes were cut. People were soaked, but nobody cared, everybody was too overcome with joy to worry.

All through the night the celebrations continued. All classes of society joined in, the poor joined hands with the rich, the old with the young, all brought together in happiness and good will by the news that bloodshed was over, that the world was free once more. Some aspects of this emotion were ugly and vulgar. At the Ritz Hotel an observer noticed with a feeling of disgust that an effigy of the crown prince, surely a sufficiently defeated enemy, was hailed with commonplace derision. It was, indeed, almost exclusively in the big hotels and restaurants that these excesses of joy took on a mean and squalid aspect. There was little to criticise in the behaviour of the ordinary people.

As if by common instinct the crowds that filled the streets surged by every avenue towards Buckingham Palace to pay, in this hour of national triumph, their homage to their king. The King and Queen and royal family appeared on the balcony, receiving for hours the tumultuous plaudits of their subjects who, with them, had won through the darkest hours that the Empire had ever known.

Whilst a large part of London's population were receiving the Armistice with jubilation, there were many to whom the cessation of hostilities brought sadness. Not that they did not welcome the joyful news: far from it; but their thoughts turned

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

at once to their dear ones who would never return, to the husbands, fathers, sons and relatives who had given their lives for their country.

Amongst the many thanksgiving services which were held in the churches throughout London, the chief was that which took place in St. Paul's Cathedral on November 12. To this service the King and Queen drove from Buckingham Palace, after which they paid visits to various districts of London, in all of which they were welcomed with enthusiasm.

The scenes in London were repeated in every city and town of the land, as well as in those of Canada, Australia, South Africa and other parts of the Empire that had sent men to the fighting line. In Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, Belfast, Montreal, Melbourne, Sydney, Capetown, Wellington and the rest the excited scenes of armistice day were followed by celebrations of a more restrained kind, these invariably including services of thanksgiving in the cathedrals and principal churches. There were rejoicings, too, in every village, and these, although on a smaller scale, were characterised by an equal intensity of feeling. In these and other ways men and women gave expression to the joy they felt in realizing that 51 months of slaughter, coupled with terrible and continuing anxiety, were over and that they could look forward once more to an age of peace.

Just a fortnight after the acceptance of the armistice, on November 25, Parliament was dissolved. It was elected in 1910, and its term of office, normally five years, was extended in 1915 and later. Having sat for eight years, it was the longest Parliament the country had known since the time of Charles II. The general election that followed was notable because it was the first at which women had exercised the vote. The result was a decided victory for the coalition led by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law, which secured 475 seats out of a total of 707. In addition the two leaders were supported by some 60 independent Unionists, among them those representing Irish constituencies. Labour secured 63 seats, but there were only 31 Liberals outside the Government ranks. The remainder consisted of 73 members of the Sinn Fein party, who did not take the oath or attend the House of Commons, and a handful of independent members.

## CHAPTER 3

### The March to the Rhine

**A**FTER the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, the enemy had a week in which to prepare his movement of withdrawal across the Rhine and beyond the Allies' bridge-heads. In 1914 he had taken barely three weeks to throw a million and a half men across the frontier, and his enlarged armies had to retire at least as fast as they came, in five stages, marked by Charleroi, Huy, Aix-la-Chapelle, Düren, and Cologne. This was no matter of great difficulty. The Germans were able to save transport by the surrender of the appointed quantities of war material and by leaving behind them food for the civil population and coal and working staffs for the railways. They were thus able to travel very light, and all the conditions of the armistice made for a quick retreat.

Hindenburg succeeded in maintaining discipline by changing the character of the Soldiers' Councils, and promoting them throughout the armies. Trustworthy non-commissioned officers, working under headquarters' direction, came forth as champions of the rank and file, and transformed the centres of Communism into military establishments. Most of the battle-line fighting troops were reorganized in this way and set against the purely revolutionary elements in the bases and along the lines of communication. With remarkable speed the men were brought again under control, and inspired with the idea that they could only save their country by maintaining order and working for the election of a National Assembly.

Hindenburg's first plan was to create anarchy in the occupied part of Belgium and in Alsace-Lorraine, so as to win breathing time for his own demoralised forces. On November 13 a special train ran from Wilhelmshaven to Strasbourg carrying a band of Alsatian sailors who had led the rebellion at Kiel. Twenty-four thousand men from Alsace and Lorraine had been employed in the German fleet and naval ports, and it had been largely owing to their rebellious spirit that the Imperial system of government had been broken. After these men had carried out

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

their work of disruption, in a manner that completely avenged the wrongs done to their country by the war, the German Socialists of the Majority school, in alliance with the representatives of the old Government, skilfully endeavoured to turn to profit the revolutionary spirit of the Alsace and Lorraine sailors. An attempt to stir up Bolshevik outbreaks in Strasbourg and Metz, however, failed completely.

Brussels and Charleroi were the chief places in Belgium which were used by German propagandists as centres in which to foster unrest. At Brussels there was at first a genuine mutiny the day before the armistice was signed, and some officers were killed in an attempt to maintain discipline. Then, under an official German agitator, there followed a sham movement of revolution. Five thousand German soldiers, parading with red flags, tried to bring the Belgian people into a revolutionary mood so that they might form part of the new Middle Europe Republic. The Belgians, however, were even more averse to the new sinister influences of the enemy than were the Alsatians, and all possible trouble was soon dispelled by the arrival of British and Belgian columns.

During the short interval between the cessation of hostilities and the opening of the march across the Rhine all the conquering armies reflected the temper of their minds in their outward appearance. The infantry spent a week in smartening themselves up and cleaning their arms. The gunners in the forces of occupation groomed their horses and made their guns and limbers look bright and fresh, receiving often new guns from the material prepared for a winter war.

Just before the first British detachments reached Brussels, King Albert was compelled to send cavalry and cyclists to his capital and also to Antwerp. The Germans in retirement seemed at the time likely to get out of hand, and terrifying explosions of ammunition and mines were perturbing the people. The menace of an allied advance in strength was sufficient to make the German commanders abandon the method of trying to frighten the Belgians into revolution, and the enemy's retreat went on in a more orderly manner. Farmers were robbed of cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry wherever the Germans passed, and delay-action mines were left working in towns, but the chief trouble ceased as soon as the light Belgian forces approached the capital. In Southern Belgium the German 7th,

## THE DUTCH ATTITUDE

army began to surrender its war material to the French 1st army, under General Debeney, on November 15, and two days afterwards, when the enemy was practically a day's march distant from the line of the armistice, the forces appointed for the occupation of Germany began to march between the Dutch frontier near Salzaele and the Swiss frontier near Basle. With all its bends the line was about four hundred miles in length.

To a considerable extent the composition of the Allied troops moving towards the Rhine was governed by the plan of the closing battle arranged by Marshal Foch for November 14. The Belgian army, under General Michel, started to march by Antwerp, Brussels, and Liège, and spread out by Aix-la-Chapelle north-westward along the Rhine from Düsseldorf to Emmerich. There was a great obstacle in the way of the Belgian troops, formed by the lost Belgian province of Eastern Limburg, which had been given to the Dutch a century before, when Belgium was suspected of sympathising with the French, and when Prussia and Great Britain were united in repressing France. During the German retreat the Dutch government allowed seventy thousand German troops to pass through the Limburg province without being interned. Now, at the moment when extraordinary facilities to withdraw were given to the enemy, without any consultation with the Associated Powers, the Dutch foreign minister informed the Belgian ambassador at The Hague that no Belgians interned since the fall of Antwerp could be liberated without the consent of Germany.

The attitude of the Dutch government was a grave prejudice to Belgian interests. Not only was one of the best German armies able to avoid internment, but it was able to carry back to Germany a mass of war material of extreme importance, which could not have been transported through the overcrowded funnel of Liège.

The French commander General Degoutte was acting at the time as chief of staff to King Albert, while General Michel commanded the Belgian forces chosen for crossing the frontier. The Belgians moved rapidly into Malines, Antwerp, and Brussels. The gaunt ruins of the town of Termonde, destroyed by the enemy in 1914, were occupied in the first day's march.

The British 2nd army, under Sir Herbert Plumer, began to move below Brussels towards Liège, where it would swerve across the Meuse by Spa, on the road to Cologne. From the British

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

1st army the Canadian Corps, under Sir Arthur Currie, was appointed to continue the march from Mons and proceed towards Huy, on the Meuse, on the way to Bonn. From the British 3rd army the successful corps commander Sir Charles Fergusson was selected as governor of Cologne. Divisions of the British 4th army, under Sir Henry Rawlinson, moved across the Belgian frontier towards the Ardennes Forest.

Cavalry, cyclists, and some of the infantry of the French 1st army, under General Debeney, advanced from the armistice line across the Meuse towards the southern part of the Belgian Ardennes. All this movement took place with little alteration in the main forces. Large masses of troops remained for a time on the ground they had won, acting as an immediate reserve to the forces in progress. It had been Marshal Foch's intention to launch the Flanders army group, with all the British armies and the French 1st army, directly against the enemy on November 14. When the enemy surrendered the intended movement was made peacefully.

There was, however, great change in the disposition of troops on the line below the Belgian frontier. The French 4th army, under General Gouraud, which had been appointed to attack across the Meuse, by Sedan, made a long march southward between November 11 and November 17, and reappeared by the high wall of the Vosges mountains in the neighbourhood of Strasbourg. A new American army, the 3rd, under General Dickmann, who had led divisions and army corps to victory by the Marne and along the Upper Argonne, was ready to march across the Meuse into Luxemburg, and thence travel through the wildly picturesque Eifel region along the Moselle to the city of Coblenz.

On the right of the Americans were the French forces with which Marshal Foch had planned to fight his own grand battle. Pre-eminent among these was the French 10th army, under General Mangin, which had suddenly vanished from the centre of the battlefield in October. General Mangin's forces were arrayed round the hills of Nancy and Parroy Forest. They had prepared to attack the enemy on November 14, as the spear-head of the large new army of Lorraine, under General de Castelnau. Castelnau had arranged to fight once more the battle of Morhange, where he had been defeated in 1914, but saved from disaster by his 20th corps, then commanded by Foch.

## FORWARD MOVE BEGINS

As it was, General Mangin prepared to march peacefully through Morhange and Sarrelouis on the road to Mayence. Unfortunately the famous commander had a serious accident just as his army was beginning to march. He was thrown from his horse and badly hurt. General Pétain, with General Fayolle, took his place for a time.

Alongside Mangin's men was the French 8th Army, under General Gérard, which had fought many actions amid the Vosges mountains of Alsace. After forming part of the army of Lorraine it was appointed to march to the Rhine by way of the historic town of Saverne, which had become notorious in the annals of Prussian militarism under its German name of Zabern. Below the 8th army was the Alsatian commander General Hirschauer, with the 2nd army of Verdun fame, directed towards Mulhouse and the Lower Rhine.

At eleven o'clock in the morning of Sunday, November 17, 1918, all the Allied armies of occupation began to move forward in strict battle order. Mounted patrols went out, followed by cavalry screens with horse artillery, behind which foot and guns travelled on a carefully arranged schedule. As the advanced troops occupied towns and villages, preparations were made for the arrival of the main forces. The men carried their helmets, gas-masks, and full equipment, for an armistice was not peace, and orders were given to be ready for all emergencies.

The French 2nd army was the first to enter an important town. At noon the cavalry galloped into Mulhouse, amid a general scene of rejoicing. By villages on the way they rode through arches of triumph made of woven boughs, by houses all flagged and decorated, coloured paper being flown from humble dwellings that could find no bunting of the proper hue. Children, women, and old men shouted greetings, taking a pride in showing the army of deliverance that they had not forgotten the French language.

Even the cattle in the fields had their horns festooned with the colours of France. Many farmsteads were hung with religious banners of the time of the Second Empire, which for half a century had been piously preserved at the bottom of ancient chests, along with bridal costumes and other family relics. Girls, with tricolour ribbons in their hair, and shouting and laughing boys ran forward, seized the reins of the horses and jumped on the gun-carriages of the 168th division, at the head of which

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

General Hirschauer rode into his native town of Mulhouse. Forty thousand people thronged the streets and climbed roofs and lamp-posts, while squadrons of French aeroplanes circled above the city, where a pathetic little band of Alsatian veterans of the Franco-Prussian War led the victorious Alsatian commander to the town-hall. In a moving speech General Hirschauer spoke of his father and other old fighting men of France sleeping at last in French soil.

There were Germans in civil employments remaining in Mulhouse—administrators, important business men, and other persons of the governing class, who had won or purchased interests in the country. Some of them were eager to become French subjects, and so save their property from taxation or war indemnity, and from possible confiscation under the revolutionary government in Germany. Others, in spite of all their professions of loyalty, remained hostile to France, and in the later stage of the rearrangement of government worked bitterly against the French nation and its recovered province.

At Gebweiler, above Mulhouse, the French forces were greeted in a most graceful manner. In the brief interval between the departure of the Germans and the arrival of the French a subscription was opened, and the French commander was given ten thousand francs. "It is our first contribution towards the relief of the towns of northern France, which have suffered so much in the war of our deliverance," said the spokesman of Gebweiler. The Alsations were not flourishing. Many of their menfolk had perished in the enforced service of the enemy, and many of their native leaders had been persecuted, and among the lower class in the large towns there was want. But Alsace was still rich. Her vast mines of potash were happily intact.

But the people were the lasting wealth of the country. They were skilled weavers of cotton and silk, competent farmers, artisans, and chemical workers. From their soil had sprung some of the best military leaders of the French Revolutionary age, and General Hirschauer proved at Verdun that the fighting talent of the race was not exhausted. The commander of the 2nd army moved down to the Rhine, near Basle, his troops being the first of the forces of the Allies to attain the river frontier between France and Germany. Northward he extended divisions to the pleasant town of Colmar, which was the intellectual centre of the spirit of resistance of the province.

## THE FRENCH IN ALSACE

Above Colmar the French marched through the plain where Turenne broke the Germans and drove them over the Rhine in 1675, in a victory that consummated the union of the province with France. Yet more profound in effect was the victory of Foch. It elicited an instant and general enthusiasm among the Alsatians, on which the German Press could not refrain from remarking. As the enemy then openly confessed, there was no need for a referendum on the question whether the people wished to return to France. The matter was carried by acclamation.

At the northern end of the grand line of the advance of the allied armies, Brussels held festival while Mulhouse roared in gladness. M. Max, the heroic burgomaster, having escaped from prison during the Revolution in Germany, made his way back to his native city. He forced his way through the last columns of the retreating Germans, and arrived in Brussels just as Belgian cavalry and cyclists were coming in, with British troops under General Bulfin. The Germans had been marching out of the city at four o'clock in the morning with their bands playing. Flags by the hundred thousand soon appeared. The people thronged the streets, dancing and singing, and tried to get a glimpse of the Burgomaster by the old town-hall in the Grand Place, which was far too small to hold the crowds.

But the sufferings of the Bruxellois were not at an end. Late in the afternoon, while the people in the city were growing wilder and wilder in their gladness and making a "Kermesse" in every wide thoroughfare and open space, a tremendous explosion occurred in the northern railway station. Soon afterwards there were explosions at the southern station. All night the fires and detonations continued, and when morning came there was still grave danger of further explosions, as some of the fires were still burning.

The suffering and damage wrought by fires and delay-action mines in and around the Brussels railway-stations were very grave. Hundreds of persons were killed or injured, buildings were wrecked within the radius of a quarter of a mile, engine-sheds and a great number of trucks were lost, and the means of feeding and supplying the capital and conducting the march to the Lower Rhine were seriously interrupted. The disasters put an end for a while to the public rejoicing, and there was some risk of all Germans within reach being assailed by the angry people. Happily, civic and military discipline prevailed.

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

The British armies also became bitter against their defeated enemy, as they moved forward on a broad front below Brussels and towards Dinant. The condition of returning prisoners of war excited the keenest resentment amongst the advancing troops. The Germans had released those who were in captivity around their western border and allowed them to make their way on foot towards the British lines with no provision of food whatever. The state of many of them when they were met with was indeed pitiable.

As soon as the tragedy of the prisoners was revealed, the German government was ordered to adopt civilized methods in the treatment of returning prisoners of war. Meanwhile, Sir Douglas Haig and other allied commanders did all they could to mitigate the sufferings of the men. The warlike order of the advance was altered, travelling kitchens, ambulances with doctors and nurses, and motor transport were sent out along with the skirmishing forces, and cavalry patrols found their main work in scouting for returning prisoners, and also in acting as advanced agents of relief for the multitudes of deported civilians streaming back upon all roads.

A hundred and twenty thousand French refugees passed through the front of the British 2nd army at Nivelles. Some had been walking for three weeks, poorly clothed, underfed, and exposed day and night to wind and rain. Many of them had been deported from Valenciennes in October. Influenza ravaged them, and they died in large numbers on their way home. Ambulance stations were arranged along the roads, and army motor-lorries employed to carry those who were too weak to walk. They tramped from the German lines along with the returning prisoners of war.

On November 18 it was the turn of the British 1st army to engage in the work of rescue. They had to rescue Germans. The burgomaster with one of the aldermen of Charleroi came to Mons to ask for troops to be sent to their town. The enemy, after abandoning large quantities of rifles and ammunition and leaving trains of high explosive and large munition dumps, was marching eastward, but it was suspected that he had left agents behind to fire the trucks of high explosive and some of the dumps of ammunition.

The Belgian miners, who had endured great hardships during the war, grew mad with anger. They seized rifles and ammuni-

## ANTWERP ENTERED.

tion and began to spread eastward to catch up with the rear of the German 6th army.

The miners were but a mob of men with rifles, entirely without organization. Fearful lest they should provoke the enemy to turn and massacre them, the burgomaster and aldermen ran after them and endeavoured to induce the steadier men in the crowd to maintain public order. Unhappily, a German motor-car came along the road, carrying officers to British headquarters with information about the guns to be delivered up. The miners fired, and when their burgomaster got between them and the car, to prevent the Germans being torn to pieces, the men attacked their own leader and injured him while he was saving the Germans. French and British prisoners of war, who were still strong enough for service, took arms, and with some of the citizens formed a town guard. Then the British troops arrived in advance of the progress of the march, and the miners of Charleroi gave up their rifles and cartridges and their wild plan.

As the British were entering Charleroi in the falling rain, King Albert drove into Antwerp. The cold drizzle could not chill the people of the city. They filled the streets, and while the air above rang with the music of the city of bells, the roar of greeting below made the King's words unheard.

There had been a German revolution in the port, but, started directly by agents from the naval forces, it had been a genuine affair. The men separated from the officers and yet preserved order, and took special care to avoid all conflict with the Belgian people. They sold large quantities of army stores to the civilians, and both released prisoners of war coming in from the countryside and interned officers and men arriving from Holland were well supplied with food in Antwerp. Antwerp was in many respects the happiest centre of Belgium. The people there had seen the best side of the German revolution, and so lost most of their bitterness against the beaten foe. Bitterness, however, did show itself in an active form towards those who were suspected to have fraternized with the enemy during the occupation. A certain amount of spy-hunting took place throughout the regions which had been occupied by the Germans, and outbreaks of violence against those suspected of pro-German sympathies occurred.

These incidents, however, did not dim the festival brightness of mind of the people through whose hamlets and towns the long

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

columns of the victorious armies passed. As the British 2nd army approached Brussels by the field of Waterloo, the villagers managed to erect triumphal arches, in spite of the scarcity of timber and materials, and before nearly every house was a row of Christmas-trees with tiny flags and paper flowers. In the inns round Waterloo, British prisoners gathered, being fed by the Belgians from their scanty store while awaiting motor-lorries.

On November 22 King Albert entered his capital at the head of two divisions of the Belgian army and a contingent of French, American, English, Scottish, and Newfoundland troops. General Plumer, of the 2nd army, General Birdwood, of the 5th army, with Sir Roger Keyes, of the Dover Patrol, took part in the celebration of victory. Seldom did a sovereign enter his capital in such impressive circumstances or receive from his people so tumultuous a display of loyalty as did Albert of Belgium. Brussels held carnival. Rich and poor, peasants and noblemen, soldiers and high officers, joined in the revels.

The great event of the day at the Brussels celebration was a speech made by King Albert in Parliament, where a new Coalition government, including the Socialists, arranged a large programme of reform. After referring to the Revolution of 1830, that freed his people from Dutch rule, but left them shorn of territory and shackled in commerce, King Albert said in a passage of far-reaching importance: "Belgium, victorious and liberated from the neutrality which was imposed upon her by treaties of which the base was shattered by the war, will enjoy complete independence. These treaties, that determined her position in Europe, have not protected her against the most criminal of outrages. They cannot survive the crisis which overtook our country. There must be no more crises such as those of which our land was a victim. Restored to her rights, Belgium will settle her destinies according to her needs and aspirations in complete sovereignty."

The significance of this speech was fully appreciated in Holland. After the Belgians had won their freedom from the Dutch, neutrality had been imposed upon them against their will and at crippling cost. They had to surrender to Holland part of the Belgian province of Limburg, in which a Belgian population still existed and longed to return to the motherland. They had to suffer the loss of the duchy of Luxemburg, which went to the King of Holland and his heirs, and was afterwards

## PETAÏN SALUTES NEY

drawn into a German connexion against the wishes of its people. The Belgians had also to surrender the southern bank of the Scheldt to the Dutch, who for the best part of a century used the power they had acquired to check the development of Antwerp and promote the development of Rotterdam.

None of the peoples of the Great Powers associated with Belgium understood at the time the importance of the speech made by King Albert when he entered his capital. Indeed, scarcely one of the leading statesmen of the Allies grasped the scope of the declaration. Belgium was not given the position in the formative council of the League of Nations to which she was entitled as the keystone in the construction of a new Europe. Months elapsed before King Albert and his ministers were enabled to begin to assert the sovereign rights of their country. King Albert, however, was a born fighter, and he at least succeeded in making the governing class in Holland, which to a considerable extent had favoured the Germans from the opening to the end of the struggle, feel that he would make good the words he had spoken on the day when he returned victorious to his capital.

Metz was entered on November 19 by the army of General Mangin, under the leadership of Pétain, promoted to the rank of Marshal of France. Metz put out flags, largely made from the dresses of its women for lack of proper material. Metz, with her tremendous fortifications, magnificent cathedral, assembly place, and the huge German barracks glistening under a quiet blue sky, became an open-air temple filled with a people in prayer. The crowd broke into the road where the troops marched, while Marshal Pétain took the salute by the statue of Marshal Ney. After the review the French commander-in-chief completed the religious character of the ceremony by walking into the cathedral to close the great day in prayer after the chanting of the *Te Deum*. Then, but not till then, the city at last broke into unbridled rejoicing. Chasseurs, Spahis, and other troops promenaded the town, singing the soldier's song of Madelon. The colossal figure of William the First of Germany, mounted on his favourite charger on a point overlooking the whole valley of the Moselle, was overthrown.

There were thousands of Germans in Metz. They had been brought in under a policy of colonisation,\* directed towards making the fortress city gradually but thoroughly Germanic.

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

About one-fourth of the civil population was alien and hostile, and the French themselves had diminished in number through large migrations to France. The natives retained self-control, and the Germans were able to walk about the streets without any fear of personal violence.

It took some time for General Maud'huy, the new governor of Metz, to change the administration and bring in Lorrainers to replace the German officials and managers, but after some confusion the French administrative system was established.

The large German element began to make trouble during the trying period when communications with France were weak and slow, and food and material were conveyed with difficulty over the chaos of the battlefields by the Meuse and Moselle. General Maud'huy, a famous fighting man, was not inclined to allow any scope to the last mass of enemies at large in French territory. He put down the movement, and asked the loyal natives to wait in patience until railway and road communications were improved. The men and women of Lorraine had not to walk far from their city in order to see for themselves over what ground supplies had to be brought in order to set industries in full working order while the troops were marching to Mayence.

The American 3rd army, after passing through the famous fortress town of Longwy and by the Briey mine-fields, reached the romantic mountain town of Luxemburg, amid the ravines and precipices of the lost duchy of Belgium. It was one of the most picturesque fortresses in Europe, perched on a rocky tableland, moated by nature with streams cutting deep into the wild upland, and forming an outer ridge, honeycombed with casemates and embrasures, from which the road to Treves might be swept. Impregnable to attack, it menaced the Moselle road between France and the Rhineland. While the German forces were in occupation of the duchy the people could take no action. After the enemy departed, the Americans advanced so quickly that it hardly appeared worth while to interrupt the festival of liberation by a Revolution. But on November 22, when the American troops were far beyond the city and the duties of hospitality were completed, the Luxemburgers gathered in front of the palace and called upon their girl ruler to abdicate. A French regiment entered the city to prevent disorder, and a committee of the people insisted that the Grand Duchess should not be allowed to pass the French troops in review.

## FOCH SALUTES THE FLAG

A small but fierce Revolutionary party, with French sympathies, wished to establish a republic and unite with France. Most of the people, however, were Catholics and apprehensive of the anti-clericalism of the ruling parties in the French government. Their aim was either to remain independent and maintain the duchy, or to join again with Belgium, which was largely Catholic in policy and possessed in Cardinal Mercier and other Belgian priests with enlightened views a progressive force in religion. The Grand Duchess retired from Luxemburg, and was succeeded by her sister Charlotte; but the agitation among the people continued, some calling upon France to annex the country, others sending deputations to Brussels to advocate reunion under King Albert. The position of liberated but uncertain Luxemburg continued to be perplexing. Her great wealth in iron, as well as her natural barrier strength, gave a peculiar importance to the little country.

Foch first took the salute on the esplanade at Strasbourg, where the German Emperor used to review the enemy garrison. After this symbolic military ceremony, festival was held in the old Kléber Square, where the figure of the great commander of the Revolutionary age rose in the centre of his native city.

The Germans had left Kléber standing in Strasbourg, as they had left Ney in Metz, as tokens of the forces they had conquered in 1870. Marshal Foch, whose genius was based on a romantic temperament, wished to purify the image of Kléber. In a great dramatic spectacle, with people and troops roaring and waving, the victorious leader of the Grand Alliance walked up to the statue, drew his own sword, and gravely saluted. Then, with band music and song, the torn, dulled colours of the French forces were placed in front of the statue. Foch laid his sword aside, took an historic sabre of jewelled gold and steel from a silken green scabbard, drew the blade, and cried, "On guard!" Trumpets and drums sounded. "To the colours!" rang the voice of Foch.

Then, with the sabre which Strasbourg had presented to Kléber after his triumphs over Germans and Austrians, Foch saluted the flags of the French army. The Strasbourgers sang the "Marseillaise" in a wonderful way. It was the chant of battle of the old armies of the Rhine, composed in the city of Strasbourg, and ending with the old imprecation, "*Qu' un sang impur abreuve nos sillons !*"

## THE MARCH TO THE RHINE

Immediately afterwards Marshal Foch entered the cathedral, where three French officer priests conducted a service of thanksgiving for victory. Foch, a very religious man, who used to retire and pray in the interval between launching an action and receiving reports, wept as he prayed, covering his face to hide his tears. No joy then moved him, but great sorrow. In the Catholic way he was praying for the souls of dead soldiers, and for all whose sufferings had saved the world from degradation and profound tyranny. Like a woman of Metz, who exclaimed she would have disbelieved in God if the Germans had won, Marshal Foch regarded the war as something more than a national or an international struggle. His intense belief was the source of his desperate courage in extreme difficulty and of his flashing inspiration. He resembled Napoleon only in having a romantic temperament and in employing a large fund of classic knowledge of the art of war. .

Outside, in square and streets, under a fine rain, young men and maidens rejoiced, the head-dress of ribbon of the Alsatian girls giving a picturesque character to the carnival, which obtained a peculiar distinction by the presence of a great multitude of men in German uniforms. They were soldiers of Alsace and Lorraine who had been forced to serve the enemy, and were wildest of all in their joy at being free. At Kehl Bridge, crossing the Rhine a mile and a half from Strasbourg, and separating the French army from the German army, there was still a continual movement of returning Alsatians and Lorrainers—old men coming from prison or internment camps, and middle-aged men, young men, and lads from the defeated army and fleet. There were also deported family groups released from servitude, and pinched, grey-faced prisoners of war. Penniless, ragged, and exhausted, they trudged into the rejoicing city and, under its canopy of flags and lanterns, caught some warmth from the light-hearted crowds and found food and shelter.

## CHAPTER 4

### Occupation of German Territory

TOWARDS the end of November some 40 divisions and strong cavalry forces of the associated armies were ready to move into German territory and occupy the ground and bridge-heads named in the armistice. The German forces in retreat numbered considerably over 3,000,000 men, but a large number of the troops in the interior and on lines of communication went home. The actual fighting forces in the west more or less preserved order and discipline, and usually it was only when they passed beyond a town, leaving disbanded natives behind, that pillaging and other disorders occurred. Hindenburg fixed his headquarters by Cassel, selecting with some sense of historic irony, the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, in which Napoleon III. was placed as prisoner of war after his surrender at Sedan.

General von Armin's troops were training through Holland and Aix-la-Chapelle. The armies of Quast and Eberhardt, each of which was reported to number 400,000 men, were streaming over the river by Bonn. Through Mainz, General von der Marwitz led another army of 100,000 men. At Mannheim troops were coming at the rate of 100,000 a day from the armies of General von Einem and General von Gallwitz, while Baden received the sadly reduced army group that General von Lossberg once had hoped to launch into action. Men from Alsace-Lorraine and the Rhineland were given leave to go home, with the exception of two classes of Germans, but the rest of the troops were held together.

The broad front of retreat, the general preservation of order, and the numerous permanent or boat bridges over the Rhine made the withdrawal a fairly easy staff operation so far as marching troops were concerned. And having a network of unbroken railways before them, the organizers of the retreat got most of their allowed material away in due time. Through Frankfort, for example, quite 100 military trains ran daily, keeping to scheduled time.

## OCCUPATION OF GERMAN TERRITORY

Owing to the fact that demobilisation had not been imposed upon Germany, out of the Allies' fear of a contagious Bolshevik movement, the general situation was not entirely safe for the 'Associated Powers. Most of their men expected to be released from service quickly after the victory in the field; but as the Germans conducted their retreat with great skill, tact, and precision, and did not demobilise, it was dangerous for the victors seriously to weaken their armies. The use the Teuton made of the menace of Bolshevism to avoid being reduced to impotence, after narrowly escaping annihilation, deserves to rank as one of the most famous tricks of war, alongside the device by which the Prussians trained and raised a large army under the eyes of their French conquerors in the age of Napoleon.

At the end of November the British forces of occupation had marched from Ath, Mons, and Avesnes to the German frontier near Malmédy. Many of the leading troops had sung, cheered, and revelled from Namur to Liége, Spa, and Verviers. By thousands, returning prisoners of war still entered the British lines, and, as most of them were in prison-camp uniforms with long black coats and round black caps, while others were in odd garments of all nations, their nationality was not known until they spoke. They were homing birds on far journeys, such as Glasgow or Sicily, Rouen or some Berkshire village, and occasionally Russia, Poland, the United States, or British Dominions overseas. Some came down the Meuse in boats, happy at last to rest their feet, but thousands of their comrades in misery continued to tramp along roads, straggling along in small groups in a fellowship of the wayside, helping each other, sharing bits of bread, yet often unable to converse. There were women among the groups. As bravely as the men they walked home, with packs strapped over their shoulders, skirts torn and muddy.

Happily there was plenty of food in the territory from which the enemy had retired. At Namur and Huy were many butchers' shops hung with meat, and Liége was far from starving. Over the German frontier was a similar abundance, and, although prices were high, the food conditions of the country were very different from those which had obtained round Lille and Douai. The Germans could feed themselves and also allow the Belgians to feed, when they thought it policy to do so, yet the French in the coal-mining region had been allowed to starve in a slow process of extermination.

## SMART CAVALRYMEN

At Liège the townspeople carried out magnificent work in looking after returning British prisoners of war. Belgian business men took charge of all wanderers entering the city; a fine mansion was made into a rest and recreation centre, and thousands of families in every walk of life asked as a privilege to have British soldiers billeted upon them as guests. Pocket-money was provided: the receiving families took pride in walking out with their guests arm in arm; and many of the returned soldiers soon became strong enough to promenade, carrying the little children with whom they lived. It was a delightful, memorable ending to the first phase of the great march over friendly territory into hostile country.

On the last day of November, Hussars, Lancers, and Dragoons of the British 2nd army picketed for the night at the frontier of Germany. Between them and the Germans was a brook running down a pleasant valley, and the brook was named Red Water. Over the Red Water, by the stone bridge, the invaders had come in the first week of August, 1914; over the Red Water they returned in the last week of November, 1918. And over the Red Water in the morning of December 1, their conquerors passed, in their turn to occupy the invaders' territory.

There was a surprise awaiting the cavalry as, at the sound of the bugle, they rode into Germany, along the frozen road leading to Malmédy through the lovely Ardennes country of ravines, fir forests, and green steppes. Some girls on a hillside waved and cheered, and although the land was lonely in the peace of the Sabbath, it did not seem hostile. Children watched from cottage windows with friendly faces, and farmers lifted their hats. The leading young cavalry officer was in an anxious frame of mind. He swore he did not know a word of German, and could not pronounce a single name, and it would be no fault of his if he took a wrong turning. When he rode into Malmédy he had a surprise, which was one that should not have taken him if he had studied Belgian history. The people were going to church and speaking French as they walked. They were Walloons, Belgians of the Belgians, torn from their country and Prussianised after the battle of Waterloo. The French the people spoke among themselves was not the French of Paris, but the Walloon dialect; while others spoke classic French.

The beautiful look of the British horses and the smart appearance of the cavalrymen roused the astonishment of the redeemed

## OCCUPATION OF GERMAN TERRITORY

Walloons, who quickly became friendly. Their preliminary attitude of reserve appeared to be due to fears raised by the German authorities, who had printed in imposing type and placarded in all prominent places appeals imploring the people to be careful and courteous and avoid outrages that would have terrifying consequences. It was a characteristic piece of Prussian impertinence to address in this manner redeemed Belgians, whose men folk had been used for a century as cannon fodder by the enemy of Belgium.

Britain was not entirely free from blame for the sufferings of the outer Walloons, who had been punished because the Belgian people in 1814 sympathised with the French and displayed no desire to co-operate in defeating Napoleon. However, this old wrong was in course of being righted when the British formed in the market place of Malmédy and the inns opened with abundant provisions for the forces of liberty. At Eupen, a more northerly frontier town, the reception of the British troops was very different. The people were of Germanic stock; they showed no interest in the arrival of their conquerors, and for a time pretended they were on famine rations. Many men and women had scowling faces, but they lost their appearance of animosity when the novelty of the British occupation wore away and commerce with the British soldier was seen to be profitable.

The strip of lost Belgian territory was passed quickly by the cavalry patrols, while the infantry in depth behind them were still holding festival at Verviers and other Belgian towns. The British forces continued through the German Ardennes to Düren, losing as they went all appreciation of the scenery of one of the fairest holiday places in Europe. The roads crawled up steep mountains, and slid dizzily into profound valleys; and, under the steady downpour of rain, horse, foot, and artillery vied with motor-lorry drivers in the art of execration.

When, however, the sun shone over the panorama of pine forests and mountain-tops, and the troops marched out in the morning, dried and rested, and met the invigorating wind, and wound from village to village in a triumphal procession, they began to enjoy the march to the Rhine. Cologne was reached by special machine gun brigades on December 7, British troops being summoned by the burgomaster and sent by special train to suppress rioting groups of disbanded troops who were plundering the shops and endeavouring to overwhelm the city in

## BELGIANS IN DUSSELDORF

Bolshevist anarchy. There had been a similar outbreak at Düren, where the 1st cavalry division sent out strong patrols in advance of the programme to help in maintaining order.

The riots greatly facilitated the work of the forces of occupation. By an extraordinary transformation the British soldier, after defeating the German soldier, became the saviour of Germany. He saved the wealthiest and most populous part of the Rhineland from devastating experiments by Soviets, who were bent upon following the example of Lenin's communists. The Belgians who entered Aix-la-Chapelle and the Americans who marched into Treves had a similar variety of experience. They met at first a sullen, moody people who gradually changed into a grateful race when they appreciated the danger of the communist agitation, to which the socialist leader Karl Liebknecht, writing under the name of Spartacus, had given the name of the Spartacist movement.

Even the Belgians, whom the vanquished Germans at first regarded with especial dislike, were invited to cross the Rhine and take over Düsseldorf against the terms of the armistice. The Spartacists had won ruling power in this great steel-making centre, and the main body of townspeople openly preferred to live under Belgian martial law rather than to organize themselves for a struggle with the Red revolutionists. It was a sad day for the Germans when they learnt that the troops of the little nation they had wronged could not cross the river and establish law and order for them, as this measure would have been a serious infringement of armistice conditions.

In consequence of a general and complete change of mind among the Rhinelanders a new difficulty arose. The vanquished people, whose tremendous power in steel-making, in the manufacture of chemicals and general industry, based on the vast coal resources of the Rhine basin, had formed the grand source of aggressive strength of the Hohenzollern Empire, became too friendly disposed, especially towards British, Canadian, and American troops. The prevention of fraternisation was then the perplexing problem of allied commanders and their staffs.

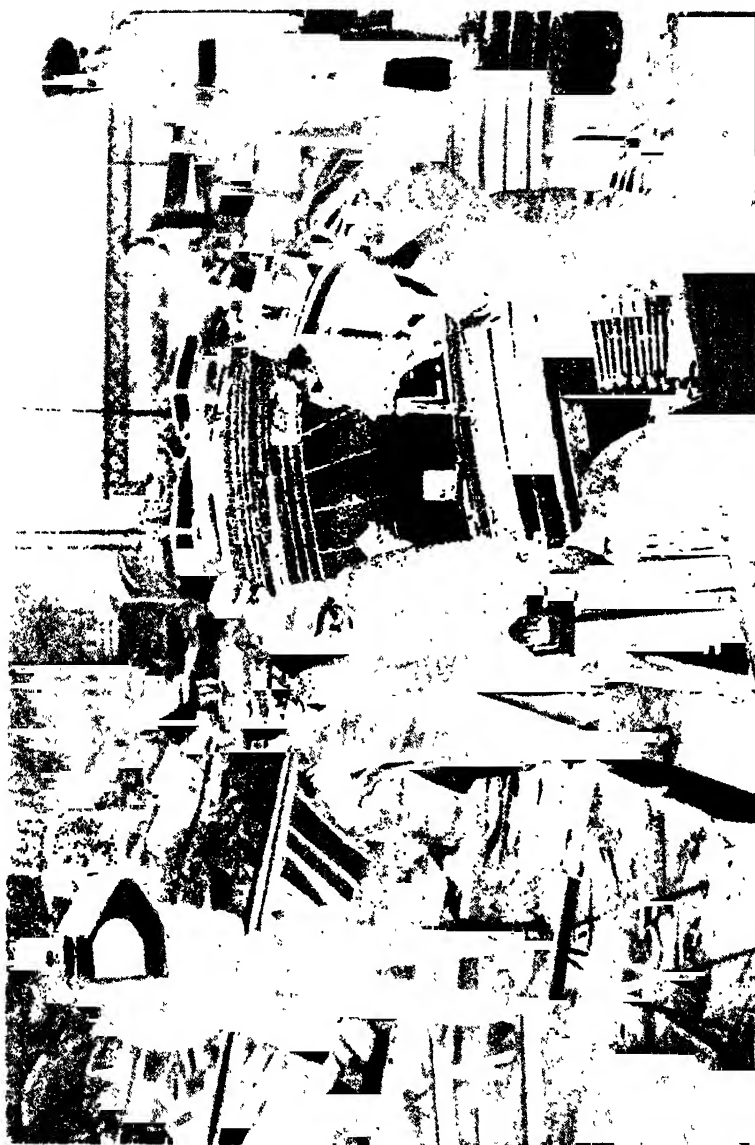
Approaches were first made by swarms of German children, who were usually allowed to make friends. They were indeed irresistible. Then girls and women began to smile, and men became eager to talk over the origin of the war and branch into discussions over socialism. Finally, if permitted, they would

## ARMISTICES ON ALL FRONTS

talk to troops in good English, French, and even Flemish, concerning supposed difficulties which the listener's country would encounter, owing to the greed for power of other countries in the Grand Alliance. The Briton was informed that the French were ruining the peace by their claim to the Saar coal-fields, or that the Americans were bent on ruling the European Powers and obtaining complete economic mastery over friend and foe. The Americans were instructed, by subtle gradations in suggestion, that they were the mere tools of the British, who were making themselves practically masters of the whole world, while the French were, of course, ruining all prospect of peace by carrying their passion for revenge beyond tolerable bounds. Women as well as men were used in this remarkable scheme for creating divisions between the troops of the Allied Powers, and considerable talent was displayed by many of the agents of the last great German intrigue.

The way in which the French were approached was masterly. The campaign was not directed upon the rank and file, but upon leading Frenchmen in the army, administration, on the Press, and in business circles. France was offered an alliance with the Rhineland and Westphalia, which, as centres of Catholicism, were alleged to be ready to break away from both Prussianism and Bolshevism and perhaps unite with Bavaria and Austria in forming a French connexion. Something like a Germanic party was apparently formed to advocate and organize this movement. Then when the plan was made public and discussed under reserve by the French Press, it was adduced in propaganda among British and American forces as an example of the intolerable ambition of the Gaul. There can be little doubt that the scheme for dividing the Allies by furtive talk, aptly addressed to men of each allied nation, was conducted by some Germans of high authority and considerable intelligence. When the men began to wonder at the delay in demobilisation, the unseen army of German agents turned this difficulty into a means of weakening the new Watch on the Rhine.

The Germans ended by arriving at the mistaken conclusion that their minute, persistent work of intrigue was successful. Ministers openly boasted that the British forces had become too discontented to execute any military movements, and endeavoured at last to get the armistice denounced, and put the matter of forcing terms of peace to an actual trial of strength.



GERMAN PRISONERS UNLOADING A BARGE OF LOOTED FURNITURE RECOVERED FOR BELGIUM



**THE MARCH TO THE RHINE.** Soon after the Armistice the Allied armies began their march to the Rhine. The Cologne area was allotted to Britain. The 1st Grenadier Guards are seen marching through the city.

## BONN ENTERED

Once more, therefore, there was an amazing transformation in the enemy's mood towards the victorious forces arrayed along the Rhine. He first met them with glowering, brooding hate, then welcomed them exuberantly as saviours of civilization, and finally regarded them as "contemptible little armies" too dispirited and slack in discipline ever to make good their menaces of a sweep towards Essen and over Frankfort. A considerable time, however, passed before the wheel of German moods thus completed its cycle.

When, at mid-day, December 6, 1918, the first British cavalry patrol entered Cologne, and rode to the great bridge, the fantastic vision at which men had grimly jested in dug-outs between the Yser and the Somme was realized as a sober fact. Hussars were posted as sentries both on the town side of the bridge and on the eastern side by the village of Deutz. Germans passing over the bridge even stopped to speak and make jokes with young cavalymen. "So you have wound up the Watch on the Rhine!" was one of the remarkable sayings. Waiters in the hotels were practised in both English song and slang. They had served the British in English and Scottish hotels, fought them from Ypres to Maubeuge, and were again ready to wait upon them in the Domhof and other well-stored hotels and restaurants in the shadow of Cologne cathedral.

In the first week of occupation, when a general studied reserve prevailed, the Scottish Highlanders arrived. As always, they were a conquering attraction. Men and women rushed from trams when the music of the pipes sounded, and, led by girls and boys, the Scots had to make their way through a dense throng to the approaches of the Hohenzollern Bridge. On German country roads boys marched for miles away from their homes in rain, fascinated by the kilts and bonnets and the strange melody of the pipes. The khaki pipers were almost as magical as the Pied Piper of German legend and English poetry. Bonn was occupied by the Canadians on December 8, when a small force of cavalry entered the town and held the Rhine bridge. Then, on December 12, Sir Arthur Currie took the salute at the end of the great iron bridge, and troopers rode eastward to take up the outpost line beyond the river.

The grand ceremony of the occupation took place the same day on the immense, spectacular bridge of Cologne, with its massive, towered gateways and statues of the Hohenzollern emperors.

## OCCUPATION OF GERMAN TERRITORY

William the Second had but recently erected a great image of himself, seated on a prancing steed, and gazing in warlike pose at the majestic cathedral from under a spiked helmet. The Union Jack was raised beside this statue. Below, in an enclosure, stood Sir Herbert Plumer, with the staff of the army of occupation, and an escort of Lancers on the bridge approach.

It was raining slightly, but the Germans gathered in a vast multitude to watch the procession of victory. It was worth seeing, for the British cavalry in mass rode through the avenues of sombre crowds, and the effect left the people astonished and incredulous. Germans were heard to remark that parade troopers, kept in England throughout the war, had been sent out to impress the Rhine Provinces. They could not believe that the force they saw was the working vanguard of the army which had pursued their men relentlessly from Flanders.

The squadrons were played through the archways by bands as they marched past the army commander. They followed each other without pause, splendid men on splendid horses. General Plumer saluted them all. His hand was never away from the peak of his cap. Every soldier he saluted, as thanking every man personally. Then the tense, silent multitude could not help laughing and cheering when the armoured cars followed in procession. They answered to the command, "Eyes right!" like living creatures, turning their conning-towers about and dipping their guns with comical effect. By the evening the Lancers, Dragoon Guards, and Hussars had extended some nineteen miles from the Rhine bridge-head to the limit of the zone of occupation by the cutlers' town of Solingen, where German bayonets had been made.

The next day the infantry, the 9th and 29th British divisions, and the 2nd Canadian division crossed the river in the heavy rain, Sir Herbert Plumer again taking the salute, with Sir Charles Fergusson, Sir Claud Jacob, and Sir Arthur Currie. Again, in spite of the weather, a large crowd collected, and was affected by the sight of the magnificence of the men in fitness, in marching power and smartness, and by the superb condition of horses and transport. For seven hours the troops flowed over the river by which the ancient Romans held back the Teutons for centuries from the city that won its name from a Roman colony forming the garrison of the very bridge-head.

## EHRENBREITSTEIN

The spectacle conquered the Rhinelanders as nothing else probably could have done. They had been convinced by their government press that the British forces had been reduced to a skeleton, with outworn material of war, resembling the grey army of tramps lately streaming through the city. They believed the struggle had not been fought out rigorously in the field, but that their men had been weakened in the crisis by the defection of the fleet and the slow pressure of the blockade, so that the sword had not given the decision on either side. By taking the British cavalry as parade troops fresh from England they maintained their self-flattering illusion. When, however, they saw the infantry that had broken their line at Menin, and fought from Gallipoli to Cambrai, Tournai, and Valenciennes, and were about to break through to Brussels when the white flag went up, they recognized that they had been beaten on the battle-field. The evidence of their own eyes destroyed the legend regarding their own unvanquished army. So the material victory over the German soldiers was followed by a moral victory over the German people.

Higher up the river, by Coblenz and the picturesque fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, the American 3rd army passed over to their bridge-head, with colours flying in a magnificent spectacle of power. The 1st, 2nd, and 23rd divisions were selected as occupation forces in General Dickmann's army, and held the Rhine between Rolandseck and Brey. Of all the allied garrisons the Americans had the hardest job, because it was the softest. The Germans were curious to see them, and became remarkably gay when they arrived. They were accepted as the supreme hope of Germany, and as representatives of all that was promising in President Wilson's old programme of the Fourteen Points.

Flattery and cajolement were poured out like Rhine wine, and poison for the mind was then introduced into the draught in the vain endeavour to separate the soldiers of the United States from their French and British comrades. The forces of occupation were accepted in Coblenz as gratefully as French policemen would be welcomed in a disturbance in Paris. Secure from riots by their own disbanded soldiers, the people turned their city into a bright festival town. The streets were crowded, the cafés filled, and the brilliant shops attractively dressed. The war was forgotten in the Christmas mood prevailing in the American section.

## OCCUPATION OF GERMAN TERRITORY

Into Mainz and the French bridge-head round the pleasant health resort of Wiesbaden, General Mangin, recovered from his injuries, led the gallant 10th army. His troops were in a state of quiet excitement, and as many of them had had their women ill-treated, there was some apprehension regarding their conduct to any Germans who made them angry. But in a fine address to his men the general said:

You are about to mingle with new populations that have forgotten the past benefits they received from a French administration. No one can ask you to forget the abominations committed by your foes during four years of war—the violation of sworn faith, murders of women and children, systematic devastations without any military necessity.

But you cannot compete with your savage enemies in barbarity; you would be overcome in advance. Therefore, everywhere you will remain worthy of your great mission and of your victories. Remember that on the left bank of the Rhine the armies of the French Republic at the opening of the great wars of the Revolution conducted themselves in such a manner that the Rhineland people voted by acclamation to be incorporated with France.

For twenty-three years the forefathers of the people whom you are about to meet, fought side by side with ours on all the fields of battle of Europe. Be worthy of your forefathers and think of your children whose future you are preparing. No stain on the laurels of the Tenth Army!

It was eloquent and moving, but it is doubtful if the French privates required the exhortation. Some days after they reached the Rhine there was trouble in getting food, and General Mangin was afraid that hunger would make his men irritable. So he went among them and talked to them. He found one sentry dreamily watching the swirling river. When asked how he was feeling, the man said he believed he could starve for a week if he were allowed to keep looking at the Rhine. "We have done more than go without food to reach the Rhine, my general," he said, "and it is worth it all."

The march-past at Mainz took place on December 14. General Fayolle took the salute, and General Mangin and General Gouraud were with him. There were no large crowds, flags, or cheers, but only the tramp of men and horses in the great silent city. Yet the silence of the people was eloquent of triumph to the conquerors.

## FAYOLLE'S SPEECH

After the march was ended General Fayolle, General Mangin, and General Gouraud rode to the palace of the Duke of Hesse to receive a deputation of the leading citizens. After the Germans had spoken of the interests of the people, General Fayolle replied. It was an historic scene. It was the first time since the war began that a Frenchman in a position of power, standing face to face with Germans of authority, was able to inform the enemy of the opinion of France and the civilized world. No one in the great hall of the palace stirred while Fayolle spoke, and the dark row of burghers, standing bareheaded three paces in front of him, was as motionless as criminals in the dock when the judge was pronouncing sentence.

The famous commander said that the war which had been forced on France was the most unjust and cruel that mankind had known, and marked by refinements of barbarity which the whole world condemned. He described in some detail the misery and destruction wrought in Flanders and the northern French provinces, and the plunder carried into Germany, saying:

You made terrorism a system of war. You succeeded only in hardening our strength of resistance and quickening our victory. Since July, 1918, your armies, after being everywhere repulsed, have undergone an uninterrupted series of defeats, losing hundreds of thousands of prisoners and thousands of guns, until the day when, standing on the brink of complete disaster, you asked for mercy. Now we are on the Rhine!

General Fayolle then told the Germans that he knew they were fearing reprisals for all their crimes, but they could rely on the traditions of France. He reminded them that their grandfathers had fought by the side of the French, and had recognized the spiritual greatness of the French soldiers. The French, he said, would hurt nobody and destroy nothing, and the Germans must think themselves happy to have among them a people faithful to the principles of justice. Not a single complaint on the conduct of the French troops had been made since the first patrols entered the town.

It was after this speech that some of the magnates of the Rhineland and Westphalia started a movement for incorporation with France. The movement however, stopped when the National Assembly was elected and the German Catholic authorities were freed to some extent from the control of Jewish and

## OCCUPATION OF GERMAN TERRITORY

other anti-clerical socialists who had climbed to power in Prussia. The Catholics of the Rhine then sought political salvation by union with the Catholics of southern Germany and Austria. The governing anti-clerical circles in republican France lost their country some grand opportunities.

As the military chiefs of France were Catholics, happy to facilitate easy relations, and paying graceful little attentions, such as Mangin's visit to the tombs of men of Mainz who had fought for Napoleon, the arrangements of the occupation went on smoothly. General Mangin, however, could not help introducing just one sharp note. He was a soldier of Africa, mainly responsible for the great extension of the native forces of French Africa, which had saved France from exhaustion of man-power. With a view both to honouring the native forces and promoting French prestige in the troubled land of Morocco, the Moroccan division was employed as part of the occupation forces. The German government at once protested that the use of coloured troops in the Palatinate was an insult to the sentiments of community of all white races. In Mainz a demobilised German officer exclaimed: "Look at the savages the French use to impose their culture on Germany!" "Salute them!" cried a French officer. "Our African soldiers have fought like men. They are more civilized than your guardsmen, who came into Belgium and France and conducted themselves like bandits and assassins. Salute them, I say!" The German was wearing a little green hat with a feather in it. He lifted it.

The Moroccan regiments were those among whom German agents had spread appeals to massacre their French officers and declare a holy war on France. The appeals were printed in Arabic in the name of "The Mahomedan Emperor Hadji Wilhelm," and were scattered broadcast in Morocco before the regiments departed. It was partly owing to this remarkable exhibition of the German view of the sentiments of community of white races that the tribesmen from the interior of Morocco, who had had some of the hardest fighting by the Chemin des Dames, were brought forward to help in occupying the Rhine-land bridge-heads.

The French forces, like their allies, threw numerous new bridges across the Rhine, and became at last welcome to the German population as guaranteeing them against the disorders shaking the rest of Germany. The Frenchmen filled the cafés

## THE RHINELAND

and shops, having leisure and money to spend, and were met with increasing friendliness. Yet they never fraternised. The contrast between their desolate regions of famine in France, where food was still lacking months after the signing of the armistice, and the placid felicity of the occupied German country, where the beer-halls rang with music and the shops contained good provisions and costly silken clothes, inspired them with a silent, lasting anger. The Germans conducted themselves well, and the French maintained their self-control, but there was no sign of reconciliation between the peoples.

Altogether the march of the conquering armies to the Rhine was conducted in an easy manner. The Rhinelanders were naturally pliant to western and southern influences. As their Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals and other monuments showed, they were bred in the main stream of civilization, and open largely to Italian, Flemish, French, and English inspiration. They had as little in common with the Prussians who annexed them as had the Germanic Swiss. Some Prussian colour they had acquired in the course of a century, but it was such as could be washed off, leaving the Cologner as western in character as the Strasbourger. Their greater writers had celebrated the genius of Napoleon long before their men of talent found an object of hero-worship in Bismarck—Beethoven, of Bonn, had composed a Napoleonic symphony; Heine, at Düsseldorf, had written the finest of poems on Napoleon's Grenadiers; Goethe, of Frankfort, had seen something god-like in the Corsican of France.

Like many of the German Swiss, the Rhinelanders had become proud of the Hohenzollern Empire in its period of resplendent success. Pride of race had then made them at times vie with the worst of Prussians. Some of their industrial magnates, growing up under Bismarck, were far worse than Bismarck. Having a kind of theatrical quality in their wickedness, they were the worst of the megalomaniacs of economic power. But the general people were docile. Perhaps their greatest fundamental fault was their docility. But, at least, they were docile enough when the armies of victory held their river and formed three great bridge-heads beyond it, each running to a distance of some nineteen miles.

## CHAPTER 5

# The Peace Conference

**W**HEN the Peace Conference opened in the Clock Room at the French Foreign Ministry in Paris, on January 18, 1919, more than two months had passed since the signing of the terms of armistice with Germany. In the interval there had been declarations, correspondence, personal conversations between leading men, much indefinite discussion; yet there had been no general Conferences between the Great Powers who had won the war to thrash out and arrive at united decisions upon the intricate and difficult questions upon which there were fundamental differences between them. That was left to the Conference itself to settle. It had to reach agreement upon principles as well as upon the details of the methods by which those principles were to be given full effect. Two months had passed since the armistice; but it still had the whole task not merely of putting into final shape the form of an agreed treaty, but also of agreeing upon the treaty which was to be put into shape.

The extreme differences of opinion were represented on the one side by President Wilson, on the other by Clemenceau. France had vital interests of her own at stake, and had suffered enormous losses both in lives and in material wealth; America's losses had been relatively trivial, and she had no interests of her own to conserve. She could at least flatter herself that she was an impartial arbiter. Britain, too, had vital interests and losses to repair, though in a less degree than France. Italy and Japan had acquired interests through pledges given by France or England or both of them, on their entering the war or during the course of it, before America's entry; and Wilson was of opinion that such pledges, to which America had not been a party, should be ignored if they ran counter to the American ideals. The rest of the Allies regarded the pledges as binding, while recognizing that they could be submitted to voluntary revision. And it was obvious that no Power would be willing to surrender vital interests, though views upon what was or was not vital would undoubtedly prove difficult of reconciliation.

## SECRET TREATIES

The special treaties which had been entered upon provided the first problem. Before the United States entered the war, Great Britain and France had made important concessions to Italy and Japan. In April, 1915, the Italian nation had been promised, by secret treaty, the possession of enemy lands in southern Tyrol and considerable territory peopled by the southern Slavs in Dalmatia, besides the important Mediterranean dominating points of the Dodecanese Islands, of Greek population. Through Russian influence, exercised on behalf of Serbia, the Adriatic port of Fiume had been exempted from Italian conquest in order that southern Slavia should have the benefit of marine commerce. But the victorious Italians also claimed Fiume, and asked for coalfields in Asia Minor and more territory in Africa.

Again, in February, 1917, the Japanese government obtained by secret treaty with Great Britain and France large interests in the rich Chinese province of Shantung, and exercised almost a dominating control over the policy of northern China. By another secret treaty of 1916 the Rumanians acquired a general right over the finest wheatland in the world, the Banat, on the northern bank of the Danube opposite Belgrade, including territory peopled by the Serbs. There was also a secret treaty of 1917 between France and Russia, to which Great Britain was not a party, but this was happily invalidated by events. There was also a British-Arab treaty of 1915, which was not easy to reconcile with a British-French treaty of 1916. Finally, there was an understanding between the western and southern European Allies in regard to some of the Ottoman territory.

The American contention was that all secret treaties were abrogated by the terms of armistice with Germany. Furthermore, as the United States had been no party to the treaties and had, in fact, entered the war without official knowledge of them, President Wilson urged that his nation had made such large contributions to the victorious issue, both by food and material supplies and by direct military and naval help, as to entitle the American people to a voice, if not a predominant voice, in the settlement of problems of territorial acquisition by European and Asiatic countries. The fact that the United States had suffered comparatively small loss in life, and had grown rich during the struggle that impoverished the European Powers, enabled the American people to take a generous view of the defeated countries and forgo territorial gains, and indemnities.

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

In regard to loss of life and strain on resources, the Japanese were in a position similar to that of the Americans. The war had enriched them and enlarged their field of power. The Japanese, however, were disinclined to a policy of disinterestedness, and intended to profit by the treaty with France and Great Britain, and move towards a mastery over China and a strong hold in the northern and southern Pacific. The Japanese policy was in direct conflict with American interests in the Pacific, yet honour bound Great Britain and France to the cause of Japan, against the interests of both their later Chinese and American allies. France and Great Britain were also in honour bound to the Italians, against the interests of their early allies the Serbs and their later allies the Greeks.

In Italy, however, Signor Bissolati, the only leading statesman in the combatant nations who had fought in the trenches for many months before becoming a minister, resigned from the Orlando Cabinet rather than take part in bringing Teutons of Tyrol and Dalmatians of Greater Serbia within the new frontiers of his country. In a remarkable speech at Milan on January 11, 1919, Signor Bissolati attacked the secret treaty of 1915 and his countrymen's policy of annexation of southern Slav, Tyrolean, and Greek lands. He suggested that Fiume, the great eastern Adriatic port, might be obtained by renouncing Dalmatia.

In Japan the frankly imperialistic government under Count Okuma was succeeded by the first Cabinet that had come into being in the country under a commoner prime minister. It was thought that the new premier, Mr. Hara, would be more democratic in home affairs than his predecessors and less bent upon bringing China virtually under Japanese control, and alarming Americans, Australians, and New Zealanders by enforcing claims over the Marshall and Caroline Islands in the south Pacific. There was, however, scarcely any change in the territorial ambitions either of Italy or of Japan.

In the next place there were other territorial claims which all precedent would have warranted the victorious Allies in making and enforcing by mutual arrangement by way of partial indemnity, at the expense of the vanquished foe; annexations which would in no way have affected America. But this treaty was to be on a higher moral plane than those of the past—taking no count of precedents but setting a new and nobler precedent for all time. Could the Allies—above all, could America—allow such

## THE SAAR COALFIELD

precedents to prevail? On one point there could be no serious question: territories of which any of the victorious Powers were in actual possession before the war broke out must not in any way be touched by the Treaty; they were outside its scope. As regards annexations agreed to in the war-time treaties, France and England could not abrogate their pledges to Italy and Japan, though they could legitimately urge those countries to accept modifications. But there remained questions about territories which one Power or another had definitely conquered during the war, mainly in Asia or Africa; how far could, or should, those Powers be called upon to surrender those conquests? Most difficult of all, how were the views of France with regard to the Rhineland (beyond Alsace and Lorraine, about which there could be no disagreement) to be met?

The French had their own scheme. The Saar coalfield was their immediate desire, for economic reasons, but beyond that—with the primary purpose of depriving Germany of the possibility of recovering her military predominance, they had a plan for detaching practically all the Rhine basin from Prussia, helping the Rhinelanders to erect themselves into an independent state, inclining to friendship and alliance with France. In this plan Austria was also to be kept from uniting with northern Germany, and it was hoped that Bavaria and other southern states would draw out of the Prussian system and enter into some combination with the Rhine basin and Austria.

The French scheme was designed for self-defence. With the help of Great Britain it could probably have been carried out by adjusting the apportioning of the war indemnities, opening immediate commerce with the separating states, and giving them other advantages over the Prussian part of the Germanic Empires. The French people on the whole were wonderfully tolerant, and their memories of the Westphalian kingdom of Napoleon would have made them gentle toward the western Germans, who by their fertility would gradually have supplied the lack of children in twentieth-century France, as the Germanic stock of Alsace and Lorraine promised to do on a smaller scale. The French believed they could hold, soothe, attract, and absorb the western Germans; and, if the war had ended in complete success, without the entrance of the United States into the struggle, their plan might have been carried out with a considerable amount of success.

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Italy then would have been given all the territory she asked for in the treaty of 1915, together with land in Asia Minor and probably Africa, so that she might become predominant in the eastern Mediterranean and exert a balancing power beside an enlarged France. Great Britain in turn might have extended her possessions between Egypt and India and become the suzerain of the Turks, who might have welcomed British protection and aid in developing the resources of their country.

On the other hand, British statesmen deeply sympathised with the main articles in the pacifying policy of President Wilson. Great Britain wanted lasting peace above everything else, and having no pretensions to annexing more land peopled by other European races, she was ready for considerable sacrifices elsewhere, if these sacrifices were to produce a permanent settlement.

Such were the problems for which solutions were vainly sought during nine weeks before the opening of the Peace Conference. President Wilson did all he could to induce the Italian premier, Signor Orlando, and the Italian foreign minister, Baron Sonnino, to compromise on their claims to southern Slav and Greek lands. He failed completely, and as France was relying on a new strategic frontier for herself with a buffer state, rather than upon any league for maintaining perpetual peace, there was danger that the two Latin countries would draw together against the English-speaking countries.

Later Colonel House, as President Wilson's lieutenant, and Mr. Balfour had to use all their skill in the arts of reconciliation to prevent an open breach between the victorious nations. The dissensions, however, were so deep and notorious that the northern Germans recovered the hope of emerging successfully from peace negotiations. Only by direct and overwhelming military threats was Marshal Foch able to keep the enemy from reopening the war while the peacemakers in Paris were contending against each other, and national appetites were growing keener and larger, in the long and troubled period of delay.

One important result of all the early, fruitless negotiations was that President Wilson succeeded in postponing the terms of peace until the establishment of the League of Nations. The league was his solution for some of the chief difficulties in the annexation claims of France and Italy. This was one of the reasons why the Latin countries were not generally enthusiastic over the scheme for a league.

## SOME OF THE REPRESENTATIVES

In general energy and special knowledge the British representatives were remarkable. Their chief, Mr. Lloyd George, however, compared neither with President Wilson in grasp of international law, nor with M. Clemenceau, Baron Sonnino, and many representatives of other States in close acquaintance with the ramifying complexities of European affairs. But he had good guidance. The British Foreign Minister, Mr. Balfour, was one of the masters of European diplomacy, and had been one of the directors of the old European Concert. Behind him were able men from the Foreign Office, Lord Hardinge and Sir William Tyrrell, with specialists for dealing with practically every affair of importance, and well-informed representatives of the great self-governing Dominions and India. British Labour was notably represented by Mr. Barnes.

The American representatives were distinguished more by open-mindedness than by special knowledge. President Wilson desired to establish in working order certain ideals, and in order to avoid the suspicion of being self-assertive, he left the planning of the League of Nations to the European Allies. In effect, President Wilson wished to act somewhat as the fosterer of the best ideas laid before the Conference. He therefore accepted the British plan for the League, as there was no other plan seriously challenging it. Thus, by simple hard work, Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts became the authors of one of the most remarkable documents in the history of the human race.

Having come together in the actual work of making the Covenant of the League, the English-speaking nations endeavoured to find a way of making the Conference of Paris a universal affair by drawing in Russian representatives. Prince Lvov, Professor Miliukov, together with other leading men in the last Imperial and first Revolutionary governments of Russia, were assembled in Paris expecting to be entrusted entirely with the charge of Russian interests. They were, however, almost without power in their own country, and it was rather uncertain whether the Russian peasantry, having seized the landed estates of the aristocracy, would voluntarily accept the Russian statesmen in Paris as their leaders.

Through President Wilson, negotiations were opened with Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolshevist rulers of Russia. It was reported that Mr. Lloyd George strongly supported the American president. With some difficulty, French and Italian statesmen

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

were induced to agree to invite every organized group in European Russia and Siberia to send representatives to confer with leading men from the Associated Powers. There was to be a truce of arms among all Russian parties, and Princes' Island, in the Sea of Marmora, was appointed as the place of meeting between Bolsheviks, Constitutional Democrats, Minority Socialists, and upholders of the old autocracy.

It was an extraordinary proposal, the Anglo-American idea underlying it being apparently that a purified and modified form of Soviet rule was probably the best thing for the Russian people in their circumstances. Scarcely had the decision been reached to invite the Bolsheviks to the Conference when the scheme was wrecked by some of the men who had agreed to it. There was strange delay in sending the invitation to Moscow. It was belatedly delivered, unsigned, and with no impress of authenticity. Lenin and his ministers seemed afraid they were being duped, and sent a wireless message to the extreme French Socialist, Jean Longuet, asking for information and advice. The French government kept this message back for a considerable time, and also refused to allow the Eiffel Tower wireless station to be used in despatching Longuet's reply.

An American journalist sent this reply as a piece of news to his country, and in roundabout fashion it reached the Moscow Soviet. The Bolsheviks then agreed to meet representatives of other Russian parties and of the Associated Powers at the place appointed. Meanwhile, under French influence, the Russian statesmen in Paris declined to go to the meeting-place. Believing they were carrying out the secret desire of the Allies by refusing to adopt the allied proposal, they declared they could not sit at the same table as the Bolsheviks.

Mr. Lloyd George was attacked by some of the members of his Cabinet, Mr. Winston Churchill being especially eager to continue British operations against the Bolsheviks. Mr. Lloyd George explained that he had supported President Wilson for the reason that the British government doubted the truth of all the reports of Bolshevik atrocities, and wished to discover what was the actual state of affairs in Russia.

For good or ill, it was M. Clemenceau and his Foreign Minister, M. Pichon, who first agreed to the scheme for trying to end the war completely and then successfully worked against the proposal for including even Bolsheviks in the Peace Conference. It

## THE NUMBER OF DELEGATES

was also strongly condemned by British public opinion. The mutinies that afterwards occurred among French soldiers and sailors sent to Odessa and the Black Sea to fight the Bolshevists, and the disorders that prevailed among other French troops who thought they were about to be sent to fight the Bolshevists, were disagreeable signs of a vague sympathy with Bolshevism even in France.

French African troops had mainly to be employed in anti-Bolshevist operations, and they were chiefly restricted to a passive watching rôle in the second Hungarian revolution. The main burden of carrying out the Russian policy of the French bondholders fell upon British soldiers and sailors, and added greatly to the weight of British taxation. The Americans gave very little aid. The general effect of the Allies' uncertain Russian policy was strongly to increase German power and influence in both Communist and Reactionary Russia, and again to revive Teutonic hopes of dominating the world by means of an understanding with Russia. With regard to Russia, therefore, the Peace Conference was from the outset a failure. Peace was only to be given from Paris to part of the warring world, and grave difficulties faced the negotiators in avoiding incitements to new wars between Southern Slavs and Italians and between Chinese and Japanese.

There was considerable preliminary trouble in fixing the number of delegates allowed to each Power. In appearance the meeting in the clock room was a model of the conference of the League of Nations. In reality the most powerful of the victorious peoples—France, Great Britain, the United States, and Italy—exercised a governing influence so great that the later retirement of the Italian delegates made at the time no great difference in the main work of the representatives of the Atlantic nations. They adjudged the number of seats allotted to each nation, and began by giving Belgium fewer representatives than Brazil. The British were successful in obtaining representation for Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, and other parts of the Commonwealth.

The French, however, were defeated in their counter-move to furnish delegates from Algeria, Cochin-China, and Morocco. Owing to strong Italian pressure, the southern Slavs were refused a seat at the Conference, but room was found for other delegates from districts that were formerly Austrian territory. These were

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

the Bohemians and Austrian Poles, who were represented at Versailles by very able spokesmen.

The British also succeeded in obtaining a seat for the resurrected nation of Arabs, who sent Prince Feisal, the picturesque son of their new Sultan. The prince wanted the old Arab trading city of Damascus, while the French claimed Syria and also the desert city, and were worked up to a remarkable state of bitterness against Great Britain, who had created and armed the new Arab kingdom. In all, 27 nations were represented in the assembly that met in the clock room of the French Foreign Ministry, at the Quai d'Orsay, on the forty-eighth anniversary of the proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles.

There was no spectacular effect in the scene of the Conference. The clock room was merely a large chamber in which persons calling on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs used to wait. It was remarkable for a clock of uncommon ugliness, and hangings of garish crimson set off with cream; but it had the advantage of being large enough to accommodate the delegates and their secretaries and experts. The delegates sat at a large horse-shoe table, and their secretaries and special advisers were seated at smaller tables, while some 250 journalists representing the press of the entire world peered at the spectacle through the pillared arches of the ante-chamber.

M. Raymond Poincaré, the quietest of all French Presidents, who shared with his famous kinsman, the mathematician, Henri Poincaré, the rare quality of genius, opened the Conference with a fine speech. There were thousands of politicians who could apparently speak better than Poincaré, who used no colour and little ornament and yet had more in common with Pericles and Demosthenes than had any contemporary orator. Throughout the war, Poincaré had been the incarnate mind of France, but to the British and American peoples the least known of French leaders. Plain of face and unimposing in stature, he had gradually won his way through the gross corruption of plutocratic France to the position of Chief Magistrate. During the supreme crisis of the war he had mastered the sinister Caillaux group, that tried to use him as a weapon against Clemenceau, by forgetting his personal quarrel with the Vendéan and giving him power and loyal support.

In his speech to the first "Parliament of man," M. Poincaré showed that he was far more favourably inclined to regard the

## CLEMENCEAU'S SPEECH

League of Nations as a practical scheme than was M. Clemenceau. He said to the delegates:

You will seek nothing but justice—justice that has no favourites, justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems. Justice banishes the arbitrary exchange of provinces between States, as though people were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game. Gone is the time when diplomatists could meet and redraw with authority the map of empires on the corner of a table. If you are to redraw the map of the world, you will do so in the name of the peoples, on condition that you loyally interpret their thoughts and respect the rights of nations, little and great, to dispose of themselves, providing that they observe the equally sacred rights of racial and religious minorities.

In accordance with the fourteen propositions unanimously adopted by the Great Powers, you will establish a general League of Nations. This will be a supreme guarantee against any new attacks upon the rights of peoples. You do not intend this international association to be directed in future against anybody. Of set purpose it will not exclude any country, but having been formed by nations that have sacrificed themselves to defend the right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules. Conditions will be laid down to which present or future adherents must submit; and as the League will have as its essential aim the prevention of future war so far as is possible, it will endeavour to win respect for the peace settlement that you will establish.

President Wilson could not have spoken otherwise had he been asked to open the Conference. He found his most cherished ideas clearly set out by the President of the French Republic. It was a remarkable victory for the man who had exerted himself to the utmost of his energy to reduce the covenant to an accepted practical thing.

Between the American headquarters at the Hôtel de Crillon and the British offices in the Hôtel Majestic and Hôtel Astoria there was continual communication. The Americans compelled everybody to work harder. Many schemes were prepared, but none approached the British in completeness. M. Léon Bourgeois, the French champion of the League, was urgent for the creation of an international police force to carry out the decisions of the common will. This proved much too complicated and dangerous an affair, as it invaded the sovereign rights of nations in a way likely to ruin the entire project. President Wilson was compelled for domestic reasons to oppose

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

the establishment of a military staff for the League. He had also to safeguard the Monroe Doctrine regarding European interference in Central and Southern American affairs, and in turn he made concessions to foreign statesmen.

In February, President Wilson went to the United States with the first draft of the Covenant of the League, and Mr. Lloyd George travelled to England to deal with the wide and deep Labour unrest that threatened a national disaster. Only one of the three master figures of the Conference was left—M. Clemenceau—and he was struck down by the revolver of a young French anarchist, Cottin, while motoring to the Ministry of War on February 19. M. Clemenceau had his shoulder pierced by a bullet, and, being nearly eighty years old, he was in danger of death. But after being kept on a low diet, with the bullet unremoved from his body, the vigorous old man recovered, and reduced the sentence on his attacker from the death penalty to ten years' imprisonment. During the interval at the Conference, caused by the absence of the leading men, a large number of Commissions divided the work of finding solutions for the problems of peace, and began to draw up reports on the basis of which the Supreme Council should be able to reach decisions. Nevertheless, the mental atmosphere of Paris became hot and stifling. The city was a hot-bed of intrigues, movements, and counter-movements.

At Paris in 1919 the problems of undoing the work of the Vienna Congress in regard to oppressed nationalities, and of righting the later wrongs done to France, Denmark, Italy, and the Balkan peoples, were complicated by universal difficulties. China was a more dangerous problem than even Poland or southern Slavia, in spite of the fact that French and Italian delegates were blind to the Oriental peril. During the war the French had been ready to give the Japanese practically everything they asked in return for strong military aid in Europe, and the Japanese had attempted by pressure in China to obtain all they wanted without sending an army to Europe.

While the United States was still standing out of the war, her leading men had kept anxious watch over Japanese doings in China, in the Marshall Islands and Caroline Islands, in the South Pacific. It was President Wilson personally who had finally induced the Chinese to enter the war on the side of the Allies at a time when Japan was reported to be striving

## THE CHINESE PERIL

strongly to prevent China from becoming a member of the Grand Alliance. The war had given the American nation the sea power, military force, and equipment requisite for any struggle for mastery of the Pacific Ocean; and a friendly China was a permanent source of power for the maintenance of such mastery. In some of the territory which the Japanese had set themselves ultimately to win was the largest coal-field in the world, with iron ore lying beside the coal, and an abundance of the cheapest of intelligent labour. The Chinese themselves were pacific, and menaced the European and North American workmen only by their capacity for craftsmanship and their very low standard of wages.

Japan, on the other hand, was alert and aggressive, marching with wonderful strides in a generation from the conquest of Korea to the lordship of Manchuria, and beginning to envelop and penetrate the vast, disunited, helpless Chinese continent, apparently with a view to succeeding the Manchus as the governing, omnipotent Imperial power. Alike from the point of economic interests and as a precaution of self-defence, the United States could not permit Japan to reduce China to serfdom.

The natural, fundamental "Chinese peril" was merely economic, and during the gradual training of millions of Chinese steelmakers and mechanics, who might threaten all high-living working classes of European stock with unemployment, there was likely to be ample time for readjustments. But the Japanese, with their astonishing swiftness in organization and skilled energy in developing European methods, might use the resources of China in a single generation in such a way as to make their position in the country almost impregnable.

This was one of the reasons why President Wilson, while working on the Covenant of the League of Nations, vehemently pressed for the establishment of a mandatory system in the apportionment of German colonies and foreign possessions. In regard to Africa there was clear ground for giving the League the German possessions, and then designating South Africa, Great Britain, France, and Belgium as mandatories for the territories forming the spoil of war. To make the scheme logical and complete, no doubt all native Africa, in which there was no self-governing civilized people, should have been placed under the sovereignty of the League of Nations, with mandates to

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

the Powers engaged in administering and developing the tropic treasure-house that Europe had seized. The Americans similarly should have put the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, and Cuba under the sovereignty of the League of Nations, and have received a mandate to continue their work. The partition of Africa, however, had occurred a generation before the war, and the treaty was concerned only in distributing the territories that Germany had acquired under its chancellors Bismarck and Bülow.

By a singular oversight, Belgium, whose forces had done good service in Central Africa, went unrewarded. The French, who owed the Belgians an incalculable debt, would not even yield the land which the victorious Congo troops had conquered from the common foe. The British were at first as grasping, but in characteristic fashion they had an attack of conscience afterwards, and, under the League, made a free gift of the best and most peopled provinces of East Africa to the Belgians. The gift was generous to an extreme degree, leaving East Africa almost wrecked, and hindering, through loss of land between Lake Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza, Cecil Rhodes' scheme for a British Cape to Cairo railway. The joy in Belgium over the gift scarcely atoned for the disastrous British loss of linking territory.

The partition of German Africa was, however, followed by a prolonged dispute regarding the disposal of enemy possessions in China and the south Pacific. The Australians and New Zealanders received a mandate for what had been German New Guinea, German Samoa, and the islands south of the Equator. Then came the direct struggle between Japan and the United States over Shantung, the Marshall Islands, and the Caroline Islands. After the American victory over Spain the Caroline Islands had been hers to take, and also the Ladrone Islands, but she had annexed only Guam, in the Ladrone, and was disconcerted when the Spaniards sold the other islands at a remarkably cheap price to Germany, and so placed a very menacing strong naval Power across the American Pacific trade route to the Philippines, Southern China, and India. Consequently President Wilson was now strongly inclined to use to the utmost the power he possessed at the Conference, and refuse to allow Japan to retain Shantung. On this question he separated from Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau,

## THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

who were pledged by the treaty of 1917, which the Japanese delegates called upon them to honour. Early in that year they had sent destroyers and other warships to the Mediterranean to help in combating enemy submarines that had sunk some Japanese steamers. At the same time they had apparently lessened their pressure upon China, which had been overwhelming, and although this was done rather to quiet the Americans than to please the Western Allies, Japanese statesmen had in fact managed to obtain by the 1917 treaty a forestalling advantage over the pressure of President Wilson.

The position of Great Britain became exceedingly difficult when America and Japan quarrelled. The Japanese delegation decided to retire from the Conference, and to call upon the British and French governments to fulfil the treaty. A possible result might have been that Japan would have obtained all that she required from Great Britain and France, and that while the terms of the treaty were being carried out, the United States would have intervened as an independent and greatly interested third party. The American fleet would have been concentrated in the Pacific, and with China in a fighting mood, the Western American States aflame, and a new war spirit pervading the great republic, the battle for the mastery of the Pacific Ocean might have opened while the Parliament to establish permanent peace on earth was still sitting.

Mr. Balfour, however, the British foreign minister acting in Paris during Mr. Lloyd George's absence, pleaded strongly with Colonel House, the confidential agent and representative in Paris of the absent President Wilson. Colonel House was at last convinced of the extreme danger of the situation, and in turn he won President Wilson to consent to the Japanese demands. Later in the year the strong Republican Party in the American Senate, during the discussions preliminary to the ratification of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Peace with Germany, refused to pass the concession of Shantung, and endeavoured to make over German territory and interest in China to the Chinese. Once more, therefore, the shadow of another great war hung over the world. The plans for the tremendous increase of the American navy and the establishment of a permanent system of conscription were frankly and directly inspired by suspicion of Japanese diplomacy, and fear of her ultimate aims.

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

President Wilson, with a battle of his own to fight in America, became the most worried of the great leaders of the Conference. When he returned from his country in March 13, bringing back the draft of the Covenant, he seemed to have lost his buoyancy and vehement crusading spirit. He was the dreamer of a great dream who had knocked against some sharp, perilous actuality. He had not lost his dream and become a cynic: he was made of too good a texture of character for that; but he saw at last that he could no longer hope to mould Europe into a new way of life, as once he had hoped to do. Europe was no longer the most dangerous problem on earth.

His own country was menaced by what seemed to many Americans an Imperialism directed by an ancient military caste that was more patient, subtle, and foreseeing than the German nobility had been. Against defeated Germany an alliance between France, Great Britain, and the United States was of great advantage to those two European states, while for America it was merely a matter of disinterested good will. But in looking across the Pacific Ocean to the vast multitudes of hard-working, hard-living Chinamen, still ignorant of the enormous mineral wealth of their immense country, and studying the plans that had been clearly disclosed in the Japanese Press of 1915 and 1917, thoughtful Americans began to consider whether a new Triple Alliance between the conquerors of the Germans would not serve their interests even more than European interests, and become a main guarantee for peace.

M. Clemenceau was alert to the profound change in the situation. The weakness of his wounded body only seemed to make his extraordinary mind more active. Under the influence of Marshal Foch, and with France solid behind him, he proposed that France should be established in a position of permanent strength by the annexation of the left bank of the Rhine and some seven million Teutons, who could be transformed into friends. The Italian delegates were ready to support this measure, provided they had their way against the Serbian and Croatian stock along the Eastern Adriatic coast. Neither President Wilson nor Mr. Lloyd George, however, would consent to such a transformation of the Franco-German position. They refused to allow France and Italy to create a Germania Irredenta in flagrant contradiction of the propaganda that French and Italians had maintained for more than a generation

## THE RHINE PROBLEM

in regard to their own lost lands. M. André Tardieu, formerly foreign editor of "Le Temps," a French plenipotentiary of brilliant talent and deep knowledge of the minds of the English-speaking peoples, happily came forward as moderator. He was one of the best-informed Frenchmen of the new generation, appreciating keenly the future course of events. To an alliance between France, Great Britain, and the United States, with the Channel Tunnel in working order, and the American mercantile marine increased sevenfold beyond its former size, he was passionately attached. To his doubting countrymen he pointed out that for the next fifteen years Germany would possess 120,000 reserve officers and some 5,000,000 trained soldiers, and that friction in the Rhine area might provoke a renewal of the secular struggle between Teuton and Gaul.

Between M. Clemenceau on one side, and on the other Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, contention ran high over the Rhine problem. The French would not give way, but they were as firmly opposed by the British as by the Americans. Mr. Lloyd George, however, found, with the help of Mr. Balfour, a natural solution. He won President Wilson over to a defensive alliance between the three Powers, and, on March 14, 1919, he and President Wilson made the proposal that Great Britain and the United States should come to the aid of France in the event of a German attack. When this new union was accepted as a sufficient guarantee of security, there was still a dispute regarding the way in which the German army should be restricted.

The French wished for the maintenance of the German system of conscription on domestic French grounds. The British Government, on the other hand, wished to abolish obligatory military service in Germany on domestic British grounds. As a small professional army promised to provide the enemy with fewer trained soldiers, the British plan was adopted. This enabled Mr. Lloyd George to prepare to abandon conscription in Great Britain, but France and the United States maintained it.

When the principal question of the western frontier of Germany was settled, there remained the Saar coalfield problem. The French delegates hoped, at least, to obtain the Saar mining region as a consolation prize, after relinquishing the German left bank of the Rhine. Once more, however, the delegates of the English-speaking nations combined in opposition to the French claim, which was supported by some of the other delegates. Mr. Lloyd

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

George, who had no personal knowledge of the Saar, had British experts to teach him all there was to know, and to him the fact that the region was then peopled by Germans decided the question. The utmost that he and President Wilson could allow their ally was to take a short occupation of the Saar coalfield as compensation for the destruction of the Lens mines, which could not be restored to working order for some years. At the end of the period of occupation the population of the Saar district was to vote for absorption into France or return to Germany.

It must be admitted that the French delegates were absorbed in the contemplation of their ruined provinces, weakened people, and emptied exchequer. Belgium, who had first met and checked the invader, and been almost completely overrun, and seen her little children perishing by famine, and her machinery of production broken or taken away, attracted very little active sympathy from France. The French were ready to press their claims even against Belgium for the possession of the ironfield Duchy of Luxemburg. This was an old part of Belgium, lost through Prussian intrigue at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and in the later successful rising of the Belgians against the Dutch. Belgium's claims remained unsettled after the peace with Germany was made. Although she had acted as the shield of the Western Allies, she was sadly neglected at the Conference.

Meanwhile, Poland attracted general attention. The French delegates inclined to favour the Poles in every possible way, as a further insurance against Teutonic aggression. President Wilson, having spoken during the war on the need for giving outlets to the sea to the new States of Europe, was inclined to make Danzig a Polish seaport at the end of the Vistula corridor. But Mr. Lloyd George was hostile to the claims of the Poles. The British Foreign Office expert, Sir Eyre Crowe, endeavoured to overcome his chief's objections by arranging to narrow the seaward corridor. With his consent the Polish Commission unanimously decided to return Danzig to Polish suzerainty such as had obtained in the Middle Ages after the first battle of Tannenberg.

To the consternation of the Conference, Mr. Lloyd George rejected the recommendation of Sir Eyre Crowe, who had signed the articles of agreement as member of the Polish Commission. The British prime minister had succeeded President Wilson as the incarnation of international justice. He definitely refused to be bound by Sir Eyre Crowe, and fought on single-handed until

## A CONFLICT OF VIEWS

he made his view prevail. Danzig became a city of the League of Nations, serving both as a connexion between Central Germany and Eastern Prussia, and as the Baltic port for Polish trade.

Some angry French member of the Conference communicated an outline of the incident to the French Press, and there were severe criticisms of the part that Mr. Lloyd George had played. Thereupon Mr. Lloyd George astonished all foreign delegates by a violent explosion of anger. He denounced the leakage of information, and threatened to retire from the Conference unless the person who had inspired the French Press was discovered and reprimanded. Home affairs, he said, demanded his urgent attention; in Paris time was merely being wasted without prospect of progress. When the Conference was ready to set to business he would return. However, on urgent representations from his colleagues on the Council, he consented to remain.

As a matter of fact, one of the fourteen points of President Wilson's programme of peacemaking had been that all covenants should be openly arrived at. It had, therefore, been expected that the Conference would deliberate in public. The United States had sent many newspaper men to describe the historic proceedings, and the British Press was amply represented, together with other allied publicists from the keenly interested world of neutrals. But two months of preliminary discussions had revealed such deep conflict of views and interests among the Associated Powers that secrecy in all-important deliberations seemed an urgent necessity. Had it not obtained, the peoples would have turned some of the diplomatic disputes into violent national quarrels, and in one or more cases there would have been danger of acute inflammation of popular temper provoking withdrawals from the Conference—such as happened in the case of Italy—and perhaps an outbreak of war. In regard to the clash of interests between the United States and Japan, President Wilson recognized that covenants making for peace could not be openly arrived at by anything like a frank and full discussion in public of underlying difficulties.

Private diplomatic debate, lasting for more than half a year, was required to solve merely the problems of a peace settlement with Germany, leaving outstanding the reconciliation of Italians and southern Slavs, the fate of the Ottoman Empire, decisions on disputed territory in the Balkans, and the Allies' general policy towards Bolshevist Russia.

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

There were, however, so many men of different stations taking large and small parts in the Conference and its Commissions that little veritable secrecy obtained. Great at times was the temptation for some lieutenant of a statesman, disappointed at not getting some idea accepted, to produce in the Press of his country a strong movement of disapproval of the course which the Conference seemed to be wrongly taking. With revelations made in anger by important personages, hints thrown out by secretaries, reports collected by interested national groups, and rumours started both loosely and deliberately, the gossiping annals of the Conference became one of the supreme marvels of the human mind. The Press observed a certain discretion, and the British Press in particular was loyal to both national and general interests. When, however, anything seriously went wrong, the news oozed from hotel to hotel and salon to salon, and there is little doubt that the espionage system of the enemy made him quickly acquainted with the secrets of the Conference.

During the month's interval while the American president and Mr. Lloyd George were at home, and M. Clemenceau was *hors de combat*, invaluable committee work had been, as we noted, carried out mainly through the skill and incentive of Mr. Balfour and Colonel House. They had been able to clarify the points at issue between the Powers, which was the condition precedent to arriving at agreement. But for the time being, by bringing the antagonisms into sharp relief, the impression was given that agreement was farther off than ever. So acute did the discussions appear that during the weeks following Mr. Wilson's return to Paris one after another all the chiefs of the great nations—the "Big Five"—in whose hands lay the destinies of the world, threatened withdrawal, beginning with Mr. Lloyd George, and one, Signor Orlando, did in fact carry out the threat, though he afterwards thought better of it and returned.

President Wilson ordered his steamer the Washington, Clemenceau said he would go home, Baron Makino prepared to leave for Japan, and Signor Orlando actually left for Rome. This was evidence enough of the extraordinary division of opinions and interests. Perhaps from one point of view it was as well that the Germans were not so crushed as to be unable to maintain against the Associated Powers the menace of a renewal of the war beside Russian and Hungarian Bolsheviks. For the actual effect, after Signor Orlando's departure, was to force the three

## THE BRITISH POSITION

controlling leaders into much more intimate and effective private conference than ever before, while dangerous complications were surging round them. It was not, however, till the end of April that the progress towards unity made itself actually felt. Actually the Germans steadied what they intended to shake. Fear of them and of their universal intrigues preserved in the French a fund of soberness beneath a surface of excitement, and usually Mr. Lloyd George and his ministers and officials acted as fly-wheel to all the racing machinery of national ambitions, jealousies, and apprehensions in the Conference, while President Wilson and his lieutenants served as brake.

The turn of events made the representatives of the British Commonwealth of Nations the most dispassionately impartial grand force in the clock room. \* The British system was already a little league of nations in being, and with the surrender of the German navy and the creation of a mightily weaponed Commonwealth army, it was in no danger of attack. Great Britain had played a considerable part in the development of the power of Japan, and did not fear a Mongolian mastery of the Pacific so keenly as did the United States and Australia.

The proposed creation of a prepotent American navy did not disturb the Briton. He came out of the war with great loss of life and waste of wealth, and the acquisition of more tropic land in which white men could not breed was no compensation to him as Alsace-Lorraine was to the Frenchmen and redeemed Italian lands and coveted Slav territory were to the Italians. Of all the great victorious Powers, Britain had permanently suffered most. She had as little cause for rejoicing in victory as a well-to-do middle-aged man would have if, when suddenly assailed by a foot-pad, he succeeded in killing his enemy at the cost of being incapacitated for a year. Britain had escaped with her life and had learnt to put forth every ounce of sound power in her, but she was bruised, tired, and impoverished, and when she again set to work in peaceful ways, she could not equal her productiveness of 1913.

She said little about her sufferings; but through the prestige and influence of her leaders she led the Conference. The main effort of her representatives was to make Germany surrender the territories of oppressed races, without giving the Teutons any just incitement to the idea of another war of liberation. Though

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

overthrown, the Germans were patient, tenacious, fertile, hard-working. Only by dealing justly with them could they be slowly brought, perhaps in the course of a generation, to acquiesce in the enforced peace settlement. All that the strong Reactionary party in Germany wanted, to pull the nation together for another effort extending, if necessary, over a century, was a Germania Irredenta. By means of this they would be able to prove the hollowness of all the oratory of the leaders of the democracies of Western Europe.

Germany escaped disruption, but the principle of the self-determination of peoples was modified in the French interests by the Associated Powers forbidding Austria to unite with Germany. This was one of the moves that helped to produce another crisis at the Conference. As the Austrians were hindered by British and Americans from confederating with the Catholic populations of the Rhine basin and Bavaria, and debarred by France from entering a general Teutonic union, an attempt was made to form a Danube economic league out of the fragments of the Hapsburg Empire. This would have enabled Austrian urban labour and peasant craftsmen to keep their own old markets and earn sufficient money to purchase coal from Bohemia, wheat from Hungary, and bacon from Serbia. But the Italian delegates were alarmed at the Danubian scheme. They contended that it would leave them overshadowed by a more formidable neighbour than Austria-Hungary had been. There was certainly, as things then stood, some danger of Middle Europe and Slavic Balkania combining with Magyars and Austrians, in the course of a generation, to restrict the extended military and commercial power of Italy.

Many Serbs, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Croats, and Slovenes appeared to be ready to form alliances against Italy. The Serbian premier, M. Pashitch, did not follow the popular movement. He wanted no confederation with the kinsmen and neighbours of the Old Serbs, and was apparently somewhat indifferent to Italian claims to Fiume and Dalmatia. But the younger generation of Serbs was enthusiastic for the creation of Jugo-Slavia, and bitterly angry with the Italians. In the new dominions to which they aspired the Italians could find little of the coal and iron they needed to give their engineering genius full play. Their new opponents were much better provided, and if all Slavs of middle Europe made common cause in the

## THE ITALIAN ATTITUDE

future in a battle for an outlet to the Slav-peopled coast of the Adriatic, Italy would have been compelled to rely on her mercantile marine and her comparatively small financial power to stay the march of the retrievers of a Slavia Irredenta.

The Italians began to support the Austrians in the scheme for union with Germany. This was done to put pressure on France in the days when the French were definitely inclining towards the new Triple Alliance with the United States and Great Britain. President Wilson remained resolutely on the side of the southern Slavs in the quarrel over Fiume and the eastern Adriatic. Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, who was the grand Imperialist of his country, and Signor Orlando, who became Premier after the Caporetto reverse, proved to be as determined as was the American President.\* They fostered in their country an impassioned propaganda for annexation beyond the territory promised by the French and British governments in the treaty of 1915. There were some dangerous incidents, French soldiers being attacked by Italian troops at Fiume, and little local struggles occurring between Italians and southern Slavs. There was also trouble in working the Fiume line of supplies through Croatia to the inland Slav lands, and this served to convince the American Mission that Fiume was an absolutely necessary gate of commerce for the southern Slavs.

As a matter of fact, the Slav people inhabited all the eastern Adriatic from the Isonzo river to the Albanian highlands. In the Middle Ages the enterprising Venetians established trading towns in Dalmatia, and held the country against the Turks, while treating the Slav highlanders like inferiors. The Venetians did not win Trieste, which remained an insignificant place until it was developed by the Austrians in direct rivalry against Venice. Fiume was also developed by the Hungarians as a sea outlet for the trade of their country and Croatia and Slavonia. The Dalmatian fisher-folk had provided man power in turn for the Venetian fleet, the Austro-Hungarian navy, and the mercantile marine. The Italian element had increased in number in the coast towns of southern Slavia. In Fiume they almost outnumbered the Slavs in the neighbouring suburb, but when the population of the eastern Adriatic country was considered as a whole, the Italians formed generally small and segregated minorities. President Wilson remarked that there were more Italians in New York than in any city of Italy, but he did not

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

see that was a reason why New York should be claimed by the House of Savoy.

Strategic necessity was the only sound basis for the Italian claim to Fiume, Dalmatia, and most of the Adriatic islands. The British possession of the strategic point of Malta, and the French possession of the strategic point of Italian Corsica, formed the real foundation of the claim upon outer Serbs and their fellow-countrymen. France and Great Britain had no answer to angry Italian complaints. They had injured Serbia at a time when the Serbians were fighting unaided against tremendous odds, but they had done this in the general interests of the Allies, hoping to help Serbia by bringing the war more quickly to an end, as well as to benefit themselves in the same way. But the fact that land belonging to the Serbian and related stock had been bartered away without the consent of the Serbian government added another difficulty to the problem.

The Italians did not rest quietly under Serbian and southern Slavian political attacks. They sought out every dissentient group in Jugo-Slavia, and were particularly successful in fostering the strength of King Nicholas' party in Montenegro. There were strong allegations that the Italians interfered with the movements of some Jugo-Slav leaders, and even put some of them in prison, and some of the Maltese began to agitate for reunion with the kingdom of Italy.

Mr. Hoover's agents in the distribution of food to the starving people took to listening to complaints. It was no part of the Americans' business to take up political work, but from the Baltic to the Adriatic their vitally important work led them to secluded regions that the military and political missions of the Council of Versailles never reached. The American food suppliers were also brought more intimately in touch with the working people, and so learnt more about the true direction and strength of popular feeling than any Britons or Frenchmen.

In regard to some countries, Mr. Hoover practically became, by means of his network of agents and their stream of reports, the chief settlement officer for the English-speaking delegates at the Paris Conference. The love the Belgian nation bore him for his early work in food administration, that had kept them alive, was supposed to be balanced by the dislike he aroused in Italy and in Rumania, who said he upheld the cause of the Magyar peasant against the Rumanian armies and the southern Slavs

## WILSON AND ITALY

against the Italians in some of the disputes over the eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea.

He was feared in Italy in a way that made for frenzy. Some members of the Italian government thought that Mr. Hoover would enforce his President's views by refusing to supply the Italians with food and raw material, and thus virtually establish an economic blockade. There was a considerable portion of the Italian people moving towards a dangerous state of unrest, and ready to attempt a communist revolution if a good opportunity offered. There was also a still powerful group of politicians of the old school, with a certain business-like kind of patriotism, who held that Baron Sonnino had seriously injured the country by entering the war against the Central Empires, and by helping strongly to overthrow them, had thus left Italy wasted and impoverished, overshadowed by France, and with a new enemy of strong character in Jugo-Slavia.

Signor Orlando and Baron Sonnino became so uncertain of their position at home that they could not abate their claims. In their view the Italians had either to renew the imperial traditions of Venice or fall headlong into the chaos of Bolshevism. They pointed out to the French delegates that, if Italy were driven to follow the example of Hungary, where a Bolshevist government was at the moment in actual possession, the temper of restless southern France was such as to make for trouble throughout western Europe.

Still President Wilson would not yield. The Italian ministers would not yield. They considered they possessed one means of enforcing their views. Peace with Germany could not be made without Italy's acceptance and ratification. This point of view was perhaps based on diplomatic convention rather than upon the realities of the situation. The United States had but to make a separate peace with Germany and the Allies would be in danger. The crisis was precipitated by the report that the Italian press was publishing news that Fiume had been definitely annexed.

There were movements of Italian troops pointing to this act of revolt against the Peace Conference. The Italian ministers were apparently determined to confront President Wilson with an accomplished fact, but he was quick to make the first open stroke. In characteristic fashion he addressed the Italian people apart from their elected government, claiming that the treaty

## THE PEACE CONFERENCE

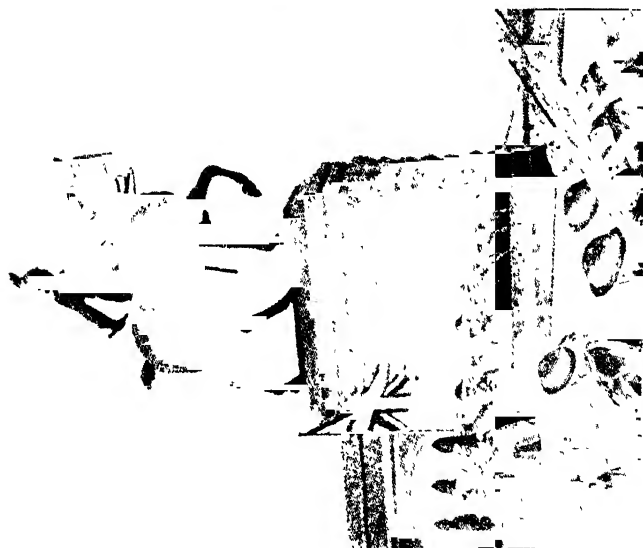
between Great Britain, France, and Italy had been abrogated by the entrance into the war of many other Powers, great and small, which had no knowledge of the secret treaty.

He pointed out that the enemy against whom that treaty was directed no longer existed, and that the liberated nations of the eastern Adriatic were friends who were about to enter into the League of Nations. He insisted that Fiume was the outlet of the commerce of Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, Bohemia, and Rumania, and did not form an integral part of Italy. He also denied any strategic necessity regarding the Italian seizure of Dalmatia and many of the eastern Adriatic islands.

It was at this point that Signor Orlando, Baron Sonnino, and other Italian delegates left the Conference. Italy rocked in an uproar. The Italian leaders professed that their people would withstand even the pressure of famine if the United States withdrew food supplies. This, however, was a flourish of rhetoric, for the plan of the Italian ministers was to strengthen themselves in power by exciting popular patriotism, and then quietly to moderate their demands and negotiate a settlement.

Signor Orlando's manifesto created great enthusiasm in Italy, but considerable consternation amongst the other members of the peace conference. On his return to Rome he made a full statement to the Italian chamber. He reviewed the course of the negotiations as they affected Italy and reaffirmed emphatically all Italy's claims. His speech was enthusiastically received, and his policy was endorsed by an overwhelming majority.

In the meantime, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and President Wilson proceeded with the framing of the treaty without reference to Italy. The ratification clause provided that the treaty need only be signed by three of the principal powers, and would then come into force as soon as it was ratified by Germany. During Signor Orlando's absence the treaty was drafted in its final form before presentation to the German delegates. But as it was desirable that all the great powers should be signatories to it, the council sent Signor Orlando an invitation to return. He accepted it, and on May 7 rejoined the conference at Versailles.



**BRITISH ARMY IN COLOGNE.** The Allied occupation of Cologne and a bridge-head of eighteen square miles on the east bank of the Rhine was provided for in the terms of the Armistice. Cologne became the headquarters of the British army of occupation. General Sir H. Plumer is seen watching the march past of the troops, December 12, 1918, from the base of the colossal statue of the Kaiser. On the right are British tanks, with Cologne cathedral in the background.



BRITISH PATROL LAUNCHES ON THE RHINE PASSING UNDER THE HOHENZOLLERN BRIDGE, COLOGNE



GENERAL ROGERS INSPECTING THE GERMAN POLICE IN OCCUPIED COLOGNE



BRITISH SENTRY EXAMINING PAPERS OF GERMAN CARTERS AT A CONTROL POST OF THE RHINE ZONE

## CHAPTER 6

# The Treaty of Versailles

**T**HE decision on the Italian question was no longer in real doubt when Signor Orlando took his departure from the Conference. The case against the claims for which the Italian government was fighting was too strong for the other Allies to give way upon it. The gesture of withdrawal from the Conference was not convincing, and the inner Council of Three pushed on with their business of adaptation and reconciliation on the disputed points; for an agreed Treaty was due to be formulated, to be laid before the Germans for acceptance by the end of the month (April), when German resistance would be greatly strengthened if the Allies—of whose dissensions much was known and more was rumoured, with embellishments—were still conspicuously divided.

And there were still points of acute difference. Japan was one of the Big Five, and, though she took little enough part in the specifically European questions, she was presenting her own demands in the East in a highly controversial form; trouble was brewing between the French and the Arab kingdom over Syria; and there were other intricate matters involving conflicting interests still to be disposed of, though agreement was brought in sight by the closer relations now existing between Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson.

Baron Makino and the Japanese delegates were using the Italian trouble as a means of enforcing their first large measure for the subjugation of China. Baron Makino threatened to follow the example of Signor Orlando and withdraw. The Chinese delegates would have been glad if this event had happened, as a considerable number of their immense population was ready for a fight for life with the Japanese, in spite of the military weakness of China, because of the practical assurance of obtaining some kind of American support. President Wilson, whom the Italians had excited into a mood of flaming combativeness, was personally eager to back the cause of the Chinese, and,

## THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

after letting the Japanese retire, intervene against the fulfilment of the secret treaty between Great Britain, France, and Japan, but, as already related, French and British diplomats, whose predecessors had given Japan what they had no right to give, succeeded in convincing President Wilson that a great war in the Orient must be avoided. The Conference ruled that the Japanese claim to Shantung must be allowed, and China with her counter-claim had no alternative to acceptance of its ruling, which passed into the treaty. We may note, however, certain consequences which followed, though they did not affect the treaty.

Throughout the Chinese ports there began a boycott of Japanese trade which seriously alarmed all Japanese merchants and manufacturers. The Chinese had successively lost to their island neighbours the overlordship of Korea, Kwantung, and Shantung. Shantung was the native country of Confucius, so that the loss of Shantung to the Chinese hurt the religious feeling of the people of the most ancient of existing civilizations. Moreover, with her new possession and Korea and Kwantung, Japan enveloped and enclosed the country of which Peking was the centre. This was far from being all. The Japanese apparently intended to bring all China under her rule, and with the Japanese-trained Chinese army establish and enforce a Monroe Doctrine in the Orient. The strange thing was that the Japanese regarded themselves as the noblest champions of Asiatic interests. They appeared, indeed, to be blankly astonished when Koreans and Chinese attacked them and appealed for aid to Washington and Paris.

As a matter of fact, modern Japan had been largely modelled upon Prussia, possessing a similar kind of military oligarchy, working under a similar imitation of democratic institutions and possessed by a spirit of high-handed courage and immense ambitions of conquest. When the Western Allies had seemed, from the standpoint of Tokyo, likely to lose the war, the Japanese had begun to veer towards the Germans, while preparing the campaign for the subjugation of China. Some French politicians had then been ready to give Cochin-China to the Japanese in return for aid of an army in Europe. Although Britain held a steadier course, she granted her Far Eastern ally concessions in the Pacific Ocean by a treaty that was later abrogated.

All these events had increased in the Japanese an already acute sense of their superiority. They believed themselves to be

## AN INDEPENDENT ARABIA

potential masters of the larger part of Asia, and the American interference with their plans, together with the active resentment which the Chinese showed and the Koreans endeavoured to show, did not fully awaken them to an appreciation of the realities of the balance of power in the world of 1919.

The Peace Conference had let loose a whirl of quarrels. Poles argued and contended against Bohemians, Ukrainians and Lithuanians; Serbs, Croats, and Greeks contended against Italians. Japanese manoeuvred against Americans. Rumanians were bitter against Serbs, Americans, and Britons, and finally there arose a dispute of a dangerous sort between France, Arabia, and Great Britain. In a treaty of 1915 the British agent in Arabia, Colonel Lawrence, arranged with the sherif of Mecca for the establishment of a kingdom of Arabia independent of Turkey. There were long and difficult negotiations with the princes of Arabia, and some Arab leaders, within reach of Ottoman German forces, remained on the enemy side. But the kingdom of Arabia was recreated, so as to include Damascus and other Arab centres near the Mediterranean.

Sir Mark Sykes as agent of the British Foreign Office in 1916 arranged another secret treaty with France, giving the French Syria and cities that the new Arabian power justly claimed by right of nationality. About the same time the Italians were given rights over Turkish-peopled parts of Turkey and some coastland of Asia Minor in which the Greek element was strong. It must be remembered that, in 1915, Tsarist Russia had enforced upon France and Great Britain a claim to Constantinople, which she lacked power, in continually increasing degree, to conquer. Her vainly ambitious pretensions moved France to make far-reaching claims from Syria to the northern end of Mesopotamia, at the time when the Dardanelles expedition had failed.

Owing to General Allenby's extraordinarily complete victories, these treaties had now to be carried out. Russia was in no position to ask for the fulfilment of the arrangement regarding Constantinople, but the Italians and Greeks clamoured for their share of Turkey, and France wanted Syria and the vilayets of Adana, Diarbekr, and Mosul. But Prince Feisal, son of the King of the Hejaz, the most romantic personage at the Conference, put in his earlier title under the 1915 treaty, and in private debate stubbornly argued the point with the redoubtable French premier, M. Clemenceau.

## THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

But it was not on his debating powers that Prince Feisal relied. He had an excellent army, trained by British officers and towering in spirit with victorious experience of war. There was an abundance of arms and ammunition in Arabia, with which large additional forces could be equipped. The prince held out against M. Clemenceau for Arab independence, and, returning to Damascus, found that an underground war had started, and sided with the strong movement against France. At the same time, Prince Feisal and his Royal father held Great Britain in honour bound by the 1915 treaty. The Turkish Committee of Union and Progress began to work in the interests of Arabia, in a way that promised internal peace in the Moslem world, by a reconciliation between the Ottoman Caliph and the royal Mecca descendant of the Prophet. French staff officers estimated that 100,000 of their best troops might be engaged for two years in a war against the Arabs for the conquest of Syria, with a possible renewal of trouble in Morocco.

An agitation for Egyptian independence spread through France and Italy. Revolutionary agitators crossed the Mediterranean and took part in fomenting troubles in Egypt, leading to murderous attacks upon loyal Egyptian ministers and Europeans. Frenchmen of the standing of Anatole France and Emile Combes drew up petitions for the liberation of Egypt from British suzerainty, though the British position there was established before the war and had been confirmed in the course of it. The French agitators, too, forgot that France had great possessions in Northern Africa—Tunis, Algeria, and especially Morocco, and were peopled by Moslems whom no Frenchman of importance dreamt of restoring to the independence they had once enjoyed.

Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, and the other British delegates had to meet a domestic crisis as the time drew near for the German delegation to appear in Paris. From the popular British point of view, the question of the amount of indemnity obtainable from Germany was the supreme matter of interest in the peace settlement. The British war debt had grown so enormous that it menaced the mother country with economic servitude to the United States and with permanent difficulty in obtaining cheap food from the cattle ranches and wheatlands of South America. China and India exercised a financial superiority over Great Britain in the exchange of commodities, and practically

## LLOYD GEORGE LEAVES PARIS

throughout the world, outside the war-wasted lands of Europe, the British people suffered from their crushing debt at home and the adverse balance of trade abroad produced by the war.

A large indemnity from Germany was generally expected by the victorious Britons as a relief to their disorganized industries and depleted exchequer. In the early part of April, 1919, news came from Paris that a high British authority regarded anything like a large indemnity from Germany as an impossibility. It was stated that the British people would be lucky if they obtained compensation for material damage caused by illegal acts of war and wanton destructiveness by the enemy. In private conversations with British correspondents some of the British delegates tried to prepare the British public for the shock over the practical loss of a real indemnity. When the revelation was made there was consternation in the general mind of the British people. Many members of parliament, who had pledged themselves at election time to obtain heavy indemnities, joined in sending a message of protest to Mr. Lloyd George. The prime minister returned to London and succeeded in persuading the alarmed British public that the course taken at the Conference, however disappointing, was in fact the only course that was practicable in the existing circumstances, and the British public could see no course but that of perturbed acquiescence.

The Germans could not by any ordinary means pay the general costs of the war they had prepared and launched. Neither from their current wealth nor from the net income from their commerce did they appear able to meet the interest on the war expenses of the western Allies and provide a sinking fund that would gradually discharge the capital debt. Full indemnities might have been obtained with the permanent enrichment of the mineral resources of Britain, Belgium, and France, by practically annexing the 200,000,000,000 tons of coal in the former German Empire. At the rate at which this coal was being extracted before the war it was reckoned that German coal resources would last thirteen hundred years. On the other hand, British coal resources, as estimated by Sir William Ramsay, were likely to be exhausted in 170 years. Thus by a coal lien the British could have provided for the future power production of their race, and gradually have worked off their huge war debt by taking over, in partnership with France and Poland, the management of the Ruhr, Saar, and Silesian coalfields.

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The Ruhr basin was already growing into one of the largest cities on earth, with a probable population of 10,000,000 souls. The German people were used to work above ground, as they thought coalmining on a large scale injured the national health. They employed mostly Polish and Italian labour in extracting the fuel that fed their foundries, generating stations, mills, and shops. The western Allies could have followed the German method in Germany and brought capable Chinamen to work the Ruhr mines. The coal could then have been sold at a fair price to Germans, and the super-abundance exported to Italy, France, Holland, Switzerland, and Spain, with due regard to the interests of British coal exporters.

German potash resources could have been worked in the same manner, and the German railway system, with cheap Chinese-produced coal, might have been restored into a dividend-paying system. German timber resources and a temporary measure of war taxation and bond issues could, with British, French, and American financial help at the beginning, have made the payment of full indemnities a practical though prolonged and intricate matter.

There were two obstacles. President Wilson was most strongly averse to placing the enemy in a permanent condition of helotry. He would have left the Conference and induced Congress to make a separate easy peace rather than concur in despoiling Germany of her minerals. Mr. Lloyd George and most of the British delegates, despite election pledges, were afraid of a desperate resistance from the Germans. It was estimated that the cost of maintaining adequate military control over the Germans would be too great. Men in large numbers would annually have to be withdrawn from productive work in Great Britain, in addition to the direct expense of maintaining a large army, which would diminish the paying power of Germany.

Moreover, the Germans were prepared to set up something like a veritable Soviet government and unite with Bolshevist Russia rather than lose their immense coal and potash resources on which their industry, agriculture, resilient strength, and the entire future of the race depended. French statesmen believed they could counter this movement by detaching the Rhineland and Westphalia, and by giving cheap coal to the friendly Germans and allowing Protestant Germany to make such a trial of the Russian communist system as would produce a reversal

## DAMAGE DONE IN FRANCE

of opinion among the experimenters. But the members of the Conference as a whole were frightened by the menace of a sweeping Bolshevist movement in Germany, having seen how quickly Hungary followed the example of Russia. Neither Great Britain nor France seemed at the time safe from the contagion of revolutionary communism.

President Wilson had his way in regard to indemnities, but to make a gentle slope along which French, British, and Belgian people could descend from the highest of hopes to the lowest of realities, some deliberately obscure articles regarding the payment of indemnities were inserted in the Treaty. Somewhat more than three hundred million tons of coal were to be given in the course of ten years to France, Belgium, and Italy, and one thousand million pounds sterling was payable by 1921, with a bond issue for two thousand million pounds and a possible later issue of bonds to the same amount.

As the French estimated the cost of repairing the damage to their agricultural interests in Flanders, Artois, Picardy, Ile de France, and Champagne at more than one thousand five hundred million pounds sterling, and the Belgians also had a tremendous bill for direct war damages, the vague amounts of indemnity scarcely covered the expenses of restoring the war-wasted provinces. With the direct war damage done to Great Britain, and the responsibility of the Germans for a considerable part of the destruction wrought in Italy in the 1917 invasion, there was not sufficient money to pay for restoring buildings, impoverished farmlands, machinery, livestock, ships, roads, railways, and other damaged property.

The terrible losses in man power could not be met by money compensation with which foreign labour might have been purchased, as the French intended doing, for no annual sums were extracted from the enemy for this purpose. In addition, there remained the actual war debts of the western Allies. There was no hope whatever of reducing these by German contributions. It would probably have needed £30,000,000,000 sterling from Germany to cover the allied war losses, and had any practical attempt been made to secure this almost inconceivable amount, no League of Nations would have been possible. In effect the war was finally regarded at the Paris Conference as a devastating general disaster. The nations half wrecked by it had to rebuild themselves mainly by their own efforts.

## THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Having decided the question of indemnities and the allocation of former German colonies, the leaders of the Conference, at the time when the German delegation was expected, made one more attempt to establish universal peace by a reconciliation with Russia. Two Americans, Mr. W. C. Bullitt and Mr. Lincoln Steffens went on a special mission to Moscow to examine the condition of the Bolshevik country. They returned in the middle of April, with a favourable report on the condition of affairs and an offer of peace from Lenin.

General Smuts had come to the conclusion that Sovietism of a constitutional kind would be better for Russia than Tsarism and large landowners' rule. Mr. Lloyd George began to incline to the same point of view, and, at the suggestion of an English journalist, the American delegation formed a plan to feed Russia and open friendly relations with the Bolsheviks. Lenin, who was then in difficulties, offered concessions to the Allies and the payment of Russian debts, with a pardon for all his political opponents, in return for the lifting of the blockade, the re-establishment of commercial and diplomatic relations, and help in the reconstruction of Russian manufactures. The Bolsheviks already had lost the Russian coalfields and three-quarters of the locomotives and railway trucks. Although there was no lack of food in Russia, people starved from want of transport.

Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, and Signor Orlando signed a practical undertaking, arranged through the Norwegian explorer, Dr. Nansen, regarding relief work in Russia. M. Clemenceau, asked for time to consult his experts over matters of detail. For nearly a fortnight M. Clemenceau delayed to sign. President Wilson became angry with him, and Colonel House, usually the most imperturbable of men, threatened to issue the document without a French signature. Thereupon the French premier signed, but negotiations with Lenin and Trotsky were still hindered by the refusal of the French government to allow the Eiffel Tower wireless station to be used for rapid correspondence with Moscow.

Thus when the enemy foreign minister, Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, and other German delegates arrived at the hotels at Versailles, prepared for them at the end of April, 1919, they were not without hopes of an Ally breakdown. The Germans came in the midst of an Italian crisis, a Japanese crisis, a French crisis, a Russian crisis, and a Franco-British dispute. There was

## ITALIAN DELEGATES RETURN

Labour unrest of a serious kind in all the western lands of victory, with the exception of suffering, hardworking, and rather embittered Belgium. India was disturbed, Egypt was ready to revolt, and all the Moslem world was stirring to action through the Arabs of Mecca being angry with France. The fighting Moslems of India naturally supported the Sultan of Arabia and his brilliant son, Prince Feisal, and Great Britain swayed under the legitimate pressure which her numerous Moslem peoples exerted upon her. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, a man of ability and courage, was confident that he could win the peace.

Before the Germans were received Italy was induced to send her delegates back to the Conference. M. Barrère, French Ambassador in Rome, was energetic in conciliating action, and successful in preventing complete disunion. Although the Fiume problem remained unsettled, Signor Orlando returned to Paris, just before his Cabinet fell. Then, in a mood of sublime optimism, the peacemakers invited the Austrian delegation to attend, and made advances to the Bolshevik Jews of Hungary.

Meanwhile, the business of preparing a separate peace with Germany was accelerated. The determination to reach agreement had won; and by an extraordinary general effort the lengthy articles of treaty were ready for presentation to the enemy eight days after Count Brockdorff-Rantzau arrived, though in order to do so France, England and Italy all had to sacrifice claims to which they felt themselves fully entitled.

M. Clemenceau would not allow the Palace of Versailles to be used for the preliminary negotiations for the peace. With a certain cynical disregard for spectacular effect, the leader of France appointed the dining-room of a modern commercial inn as the scene of the great hour of reckoning. It was in the Trianon Palace Hotel, built on the edge of the park in which Marie Antoinette used to play at pastoral life, that direct peace negotiations opened. The only definite touch of dramatic irony was the date fixed for the meeting—May 7, 1919, the anniversary of the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*. With this exception in favour of British and American sentiment, one of the most important ceremonies in the annals of mankind was prepared in a simple, business-like way. The people of Paris did not come forth in multitudes to watch the arrival of the Germans. A few policemen and soldiers were sufficient to preserve order when the cars of the German delegates stopped at the hotel door.

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In the dining-room the members of the Grand Alliance were arranged at a horse-shoe table, and the Germans were placed facing them, like prisoners before their judges. The representatives of the League stood up courteously when the Germans entered, and when everybody was seated the French premier, M. Georges Clemenceau, rose from his chair. The old man was still weak from the wound he had recently received from an assailant. He said that there could be no oral discussion, and that only fourteen days were allowed for written observations regarding the proposed treaty. The second treaty of Versailles, he remarked, had cost the Allies too much for them to omit any precautions or guarantees for an enduring peace.

A secretary handed the German envoy the voluminous treaty of peace bound in khaki. Brockdorff-Rantzau made an angry remark to his companions and then, sitting in his chair, delivered a long speech. He denied that Germany was alone responsible for the war, and declaimed against the spirit of hate which he alleged was the inspiration of the allied terms. An apology was afterwards issued regarding the Prussian leader's refusal to rise when speaking. It was said he was so overcome that he could not stand.

In little under an hour the ceremony at Versailles was ended. No reply was made to the German minister's speech. In eloquent silence the German delegates left the room. Brockdorff-Rantzau, after some attempts at negotiation, refused to sign the Treaty. Marshal Foch received the order from the Supreme Council to prepare an immediate advance, and completed his plans with General Sir William Robertson. The Royal Independent Air Force resumed its organization for bombing Berlin. President Wilson refused to alter the treaty. By a remarkable vicissitude of rôles it was Mr. Lloyd George who, alarmed at Brockdorff-Rantzau's policy of refusal, tried to induce his associates to mitigate the terms. Clemenceau, uniting with Wilson against the British prime minister, maintained the rigour of the agreed settlement.

The points on which Mr. Lloyd George was understood to be ready to give way were the Polish frontier in Upper Silesia, the amount of reparations, the length of the period of occupation, and the immediate admission of Germany into the League of Nations. It was owing to President Wilson's firmness that the

## AN UNHAPPY INCIDENT

arranged treaty was not discarded and negotiations again begun in June as they might have been in January. He insisted that the terms should be maintained and the matter settled by June 13. He had a superstitious liking for arranging events on the thirteenth day of any month. Twice he landed in France on the thirteenth, and he desired to finish the main work on the thirteenth. He practically succeeded, and after some details were settled the final firm reply of the Allies was delivered to Germany on June 16.

There was an unhappy incident when Brockdorff-Rantzau and his party left Versailles for Weimar to consult the German government regarding the treaty. A French crowd, resenting the conduct of the German delegates at the meeting with the Associated Powers, hissed and stoned the departing delegation. Meanwhile General Mangin opened operations of a political kind to detach the Rhine provinces from Germany, and the allied armies awaited the order to move forward. Then it was that Herr Erzberger, representing the interests of Catholic Germany that were immediately menaced, obtained an admission from Hindenburg that he could not safeguard western Germany.

Erzberger overthrew the Scheidemann government, along with the Brockdorff-Rantzau and Bernstorff Junker clique. The British, French, and American naval forces arranged to blockade Germany, and neutral States neighbouring the enemy were approached by the Allies to take an active part in the intended blockade. Although the neutrals refused to do this, the general pressure upon Germany was overwhelming. The Weimar Parliament voted that the Treaty should be signed. A new Government was arranged, with Herr Bauer as nominal premier, and after a last attempt to play for time, the Germans accepted the Treaty two hours before the armies of Marshal Foch were appointed to move.

There was some difficulty in finding Germans to perform the last act of humiliation at Versailles. But a Socialist, Herr Hermann Müller, and a German of the Catholic Party with the English name of Bell, came to Versailles for the final ceremony on June 28, 1919, the fifth anniversary of the Hungarian crime of Serajevo that had plunged the world in war.

In the glittering Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Louis XIV, the conqueror of Alsace and Lorraine, the Hohenzollern Empire ended at the place of its spectacular birth. Where Hindenburg in

## THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

his youth, with Bismarck and Moltke, led the cheers for the first Prussian Emperor, the German Socialist delegate came forward from between Japanese and Brazilian representatives and signed the Treaty of Peace at twelve minutes past three, June 28, 1919. President Wilson, shaking hands with friends as he passed to the table, followed the Germans in signing. Mr. Lloyd George, with the home and oversea British delegates, came forward. With a grave smile, M. Clemenceau accomplished his part in the act of victory, and at periods of three minutes all the other delegations, with the exception of the Chinese, signed the historic document. The two Chinese plenipotentiaries—Lou Tseng-Tsiang, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Cheng Ting Wang, former Minister for Commerce—declined to attend the ceremony. The Chinese Foreign Minister called on M. Clemenceau in the morning, but could not at the last moment win any concession over Shantung, or get the problem excluded from the Treaty and reserved for future consideration.

The Chinese were not missed at the moment, though their absence was portentous. There was a democratic ending to the Peace Conference, by the terrace running down to the Grand Canal. All semblance of order maintained by troops and police disappeared, and M. Clemenceau, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George were surrounded by enthusiastic crowds of persons who wanted to pat or shake hands with the organizers of victory and the makers of the great peace. Mr. Wilson's guard of secret service police was scattered, along with the French and British private detectives, and in the homeliest fashion the rejoicing multitude captured their leaders, kissed them, and gave them an infinite choice of bouquets and garlands.

Guns proclaimed the peace to Paris, and the whole city spent the night in festival, the rejoicing crowds being so dense that the intended torchlight processions found no space in which to move. Great Britain and the United States took the news more calmly, for the reason perhaps that the people did not understand so well as did the French how near the Allies had been to disunion and a renewal of the war. Many serious difficulties remained after the mistakes in drawing up terms of armistice were partly remedied by the severe articles of peace.

The war had ended without producing a leader of civilization with a genius interpretative of the prophetic soul of the world. Yet there had gathered together men of good will and sincere

## THE SIGNATORIES

energy of mind who had accomplished something of promise. It rested with the victorious nations to save themselves and their fellow-men.

The treaty signed with Germany consisted of 15 Parts, and the principal signatories of the Allies were the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. The following nations associated as allies against Germany also signed: Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, the Hedjaz (of Arabia), Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia, and Uruguay. China, although an associated ally, declined to sign. The stated purpose of the treaty was to replace by "a firm, just, and durable peace," the war which was originated by Austria-Hungary against Serbia, on July 28, 1914, and by Germany against Russia on August 1, and against France, August 3, 1914.

The first part of the treaty dealt with the foundation of the League of Nations and contained the Covenant of that body, which is printed in full in Chapter 8. The treaty proper began with Part 2, which, with Part 3, was concerned with the boundaries of Germany and the new political arrangements of Central Europe. A summary of these and the later clauses is given herewith:

To Belgium are ceded small pieces of territory called Moresnet, Eupen, and Malmédy, lying between Aix-la-Chapelle and Luxemburg and west and south-west of Liège. But the inhabitants of Eupen and Malmédy are to be allowed within six months after the signing of the treaty to register if they desire to remain part of Germany, and Belgium will accept the decision of the League of Nations as to the result of that registration.

Luxemburg, which was formerly a part of the German Empire as far as all trade and commerce were concerned, is no longer to be so included.

On the left (i.e., the west) bank of the Rhine, Germany is neither to have any fortifications nor any troops.

France receives back the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine with their frontiers of 1871, and Germany is to pay all the civil and military pensions due to the inhabitants of those provinces in November, 1918. France also receives the mining district of the Saar Basin in compensation for the destruction of her coal-mines by Germany in the war. For 15 years the mines of the Saar Basin shall be owned and administered by France, the League of Nations acting as trustee and appointing a com-

## THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

mission of five with full powers of government. At the end of that time the inhabitants shall decide by a plebiscite whether they wish the existing regime to continue, or prefer union with France or with Germany. No military service of any kind is to be allowed in the Saar Basin, and the inhabitants will retain their local assemblies, religious liberties, schools and language. While France takes over the mines without payment, should the territory revert to Germany then Germany must repurchase the mines from France at a price payable in gold.

Austria is to be strictly independent of Germany, and only on the consent of the League of Nations may it become part of Germany.

The independence of the Czecho-Slovak State (consisting of the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Ruthenians, formerly in Austria-Hungary) is recognised, and a small territory in Silesia, east of Troppau, is ceded to it by Germany. The frontier line between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia to be decided on the spot by a commission of the Allied Powers.

Poland is declared an independent State, and it will include the following territories which formerly were under Germany: Memel and the district north of the Niemen; a portion of West Prussia, including the sea-board of the Baltic; the province of Posen, including the cities of Posen and Lissa. The inhabitants of the remaining portion of West Prussia, of a large part of East Prussia, and of the territory of Upper Silesia are to decide by a plebiscite whether they wish to be under Germany or Poland, and these areas are to be occupied by the allied troops and governed by a commission of the Allies until the plebiscite is taken. The German troops are to evacuate within 15 days of the treaty all the ceded territories, and Poland is to accord free access and full communications between East Prussia and the rest of Germany. The port of Danzig is declared a free city, included within the Polish Customs' frontier, and its constitution is to be drawn by its representatives in conjunction with a high commissioner appointed by the League of Nations.

The people in the province of Schleswig, and of the adjacent islands, shall decide by a plebiscite whether they wish to be under Denmark or Germany, and an international commission appointed by the Allies will administer the territory until the plebiscite has been taken and fix the frontier line.

Heligoland is to be entirely dismantled and its fortifications destroyed by the Germans under the supervision of the Allies.

All the treaties made with Russia during the war are annulled and the frontier is to remain as it was on August 1, 1914.

Part IV. is concerned with the colonies and external interests

## THE TERMS IN DETAIL

of Germany, and requires the complete renunciation of all territories beyond her European frontiers. In addition to the loss of territory, Germany is required to give up all government property in her colonies, to pay for damage done in French Cameroons, to annul all her treaties and conventions in Central Africa, and with China, Siam, Liberia, Morocco, and Egypt, and to renounce in favour of Japan all her rights at Shantung.

In Part V. the strict observance of certain military, naval, and aerial conditions is required "in order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations."

By March 31, 1920, the German army must be reduced to seven divisions of infantry, and three divisions of cavalry, and must not exceed 100,000 men and 4,000 officers. The Great German general staff is to be abolished.

The manufacture of armaments is to be carried on only under the knowledge and approval of the Allied Powers, all armaments in existence beyond the amount permitted by the Allies are to be handed over to the governments of the Allies, and all importation of armaments into Germany is forbidden.

Conscription must give way in Germany to voluntary enlistment.

All fortifications west and 32 miles east of the Rhine are to be dismantled.

The German navy is strictly limited to six old battleships, six light cruisers, 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo-boats—no submarines being permitted—while all the existing battleships and cruisers are to be handed over to the Allies and the auxiliary cruisers are to be disarmed and treated as merchant ships.

Germany is also required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and to remove all guns and fortifications that threaten the free passage to the Baltic. She is not allowed any military or naval air force, and the aircraft of the Allies are to enjoy complete freedom in Germany until the evacuation of all allied troops. An Inter-Allied commission of control is to sit in Germany—at Germany's expense—until March 31, 1920, to see that these regulations are carried out. And Germany is given three months after the signing of the treaty to bring her laws into conformity with the requirements of the Allies.

Part VI. enjoins the repatriation of prisoners of war and interned civilians—Germany to pay the costs of the repatriation—and the respect and maintenance of the graves of soldiers and sailors in all territories by the Allies and by Germany.

Part VII. deals with the penalties imposed on Germany. William II. of Hohenzollern is publicly arraigned "for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties," and is to be tried by a special tribunal of five judges appointed by the United States of America, Great

## THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. This tribunal will fix the punishment to be awarded, and the government of the Netherlands will be asked to surrender the ex-Emperor.

Germany also agrees to hand over to the Allies for trial before a military tribunal persons accused of committing acts violating the laws and customs of war, and to produce documents and information necessary for the discovery of such offenders.

Part VIII, affirms the responsibility of Germany and her allies for all the loss and damage caused in consequence of the war, and orders the reparation to be made.

All the money borrowed by Belgium up to November 11, 1918, is to be repaid by Germany, with interest at the rate of five per cent.

An Inter-Allied Reparation Commission is to make out a list of payments for damage on or before May 1, 1921, and Germany will be given a hearing before the commission, and 30 years from that date to discharge the debt.

In order to proceed with the work of restoration Germany is to pay the equivalent of £1,000,000,000 in gold to the Allies by May, 1921.

The damage to be estimated includes injuries to civilians and to prisoners of war.

While the German government recognizes that it ought to replace, ton for ton, all the merchant shipping, and fishing-boats of the Allies lost or damaged through the war, it can only meet this claim by ceding all its merchant shipping of 1,600 tons and upwards, one half of this in ships between 1,000 and 1,600 tons, one quarter in steam-trawlers, and one quarter in fishing-boats. Germany is also required to build such number of merchant ships in the next three years for the Allies as the Reparation Commission shall decide, not more than 200,000 tons gross tonnage to be laid down in any one year. A portion of the German river fleet is also to be ceded.

The destruction of the invaded areas of Belgium and France is to be made good by Germany supplying building materials, machinery, and furniture before the end of 1919 in addition to the following animals: 700 stallions, 40,000 fillies and mares, 4,000 bulls, 140,000 milch cows, 1,200 rams, 120,000 sheep, 10,000 goats, and 15,000 sows; 7,000,000 tons of coal per year for 10 years are to be sent to France from Germany, 8,000,000 tons per year for ten years to Belgium, 26,000,000 tons before July, 1923, and 8,500,000 tons per year from 1924 to 1929 to Italy. For the three years ending 1922 Germany will send to France each year 35,000 tons of benzol, 50,000 tons of coal-tar, and 30,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia.

All submarine cables owned by the German government or companies are ceded to the Allies.

## THE TERMS IN DETAIL

Finally, Germany undertakes to return all the works of art and flags carried off from France in the war of 1870-71, or in the present war; to replace the manuscripts and other objects of value required by the University of Louvain, and to deliver to Belgium the leaves of the Van Eyck triptych of the Mystic Lamb, now at Berlin, and the leaves of the Bouts triptych of the Last Supper, formerly at Louvain.

Part IX. consists of financial clauses.

The cost of reparation is the first charge upon all the assets and revenues of the German Empire, and no gold must be exported from Germany up to May 21, 1921.

The total cost of the allied troops in Germany since November 11, 1918, must be borne by Germany.

From within a month after the treaty comes into force Germany must pay to the Allies the gold deposited as security for the Ottoman Public Debt, and must pay annually for 12 years the gold guaranteed to Turkey as provision for that debt. Germany undertakes to transfer to the Allies all payments due to her from Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, or Turkey.

Part X. contains the economic clauses. No discrimination is to be made against the imports of the Allies. Imports from Alsace-Lorraine are to be free of Customs' duty for five years. Subjects of the Allies living in Germany are to be protected and to be subjected to no legislation that does not apply to other aliens, and to no taxation that does not apply to German citizens. This is to be in force for the next five years, and may be extended to another five years if the majority of the Council of the League of Nations so decide.

Within six months of the treaty coming into force Germany will surrender to the Allies all securities of property in allied countries held by its subjects. A mixed arbitration tribunal, consisting of nominees of the Allied Powers and of Germany shall be set up to deal with cases of debts, contracts, and property between subjects of Germany and of the Allies.

Part XI. is concerned with aerial navigation.

Until January 1, 1923, unless in the meantime Germany has been admitted into the League of Nations or allowed to come into the Convention of Aerial Navigation of the Allied Powers, all aircraft of the Allies shall be allowed full liberty of passage and landing over German territories and the use of national aerodromes on equal terms with German aircraft.

Part XII. relates to ports, waterways, and railways.

All goods in transit shall be carried free of Customs' duty through Germany, and shall be granted every freedom on the routes most convenient for international traffic. The vessels and property of the Allies shall enjoy the same treatment at all German ports and on inland rivers in Germany as German vessels and goods.

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The German ports that were free on August 1, 1914, shall be maintained, and goods and vessels entering these ports shall be subject only to necessary charges for the upkeep of the port. The navigable parts of the Rivers Elbe, Oder, Niemen, and Danube are declared international, and on them all nations shall be on a footing of perfect equality, and the only charges made shall be for the cost of maintaining the river in a navigable condition. A convention will be drawn up by the Allies, with the approval of the League of Nations, concerning these international waterways.

Germany must cede to the Allies a certain number of tugs and boats, in addition to those required in reparation, for river navigation.

The Elbe shall be administered by an international commission consisting of : German representatives, four; Czecho-Slovak, two; Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium, one each. The Oder shall be administered by an international commission consisting of one representative of Poland, three of Prussia, one of the Czecho-Slovak State, one each of Great Britain, France, Denmark, and Sweden.

The Danube European commission shall consist provisionally of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania. At Hamburg and Stettin areas are to be leased to the Czecho-Slovak State for 99 years, the areas to be fixed by a commission. The Kiel Canal and its approaches are to be maintained free, and open to merchant ships and ships of war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of entire equality, and no charges shall be made except for the cost of maintaining the canal in navigable condition.

Part XIII. relates to labour.

For the purpose of establishing " universal peace based upon social justice," the League of Nations shall set up an International Labour Office, under the control of a governing body of 24 persons, 12 representing the Governments of the League of Nations, six the employers, and six the workers. A general conference shall also be held, and the first meeting of the annual labour conference shall be convened by the U.S.A. and held in 1919 at Washington.

The Allies declare that the well-being of industrial wage-earners is of supreme international importance, and that the following principles are of special importance:

1. Labour is not to be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.
2. The right of association by employed as well as by employer.
3. A standard living wage.
4. Eight-hour day or 48 hour week.

## THE TERMS IN DETAIL

5. A weekly rest-day—Sunday wherever practicable—of not less than 24 hours.

6. Abolition of child labour.

7. Equal pay to men and women for work of equal value.

8. Labour laws in each country to secure fair treatment for all workers in that country.

9. A system of state inspection, including women inspectors, in order that the labour laws shall be enforced.

These proposals are not to be considered as final, but are suitable for guiding the policy of the League of Nations.

Part XIV. states the guarantees of peace.

The allied troops will occupy the German territory west of the Rhine, and the bridge-heads for 15 years after the treaty comes into force. If the treaty is faithfully observed Cologne and the neighbouring territory will be evacuated in five years, Coblenz and neighbouring territory in 10 years. If all the obligations of the treaty are fulfilled by Germany, in less than 15 years the occupying troops will be at once withdrawn.

Part XV. consists of miscellaneous provisions.

Germany recognizes the new states set up and their frontiers as laid down by treaties between the Allies and Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

The present treaty shall be ratified at Paris as soon as possible.

The ratification was effected on January 10, 1920. Although not admitted at the time, it was soon realized that the terms of peace were harsh, and in some cases the reparations clauses, for instance, impossible of fulfilment. Suggestions for revision were made from time to time, a particularly urgent plea of this kind coming from Hungary, but the difficulties in the way were so enormous that, however desirable they might be, no responsible European statesman felt at the time strong enough to make definite proposals in this direction.

## CHAPTER 7

### The Supplementary Treaties

THE treaty signed at Versailles was one between Germany on one side, and the Allied and Associated Powers on the other. It was not signed by Germany's war-allies or by Russia and China among the other former belligerents, while the United States later refused ratification to their president's signature. It was not a peace by agreement, but one imposed by the victorious powers upon that one of the defeated enemy states which had remained in the field to the last, which was in their eyes responsible for the war, and to which the rest of the defeated powers had been merely appendages.

Of these the Austrian Empire had already broken up; sections had thrown in their lot with the Allies before the fighting was ended and signed the Treaty as Associated powers, while the dual monarchy itself had split into the two separate states of Austria and Hungary. Since the revolution, Soviet Russia had lost Tsarist Russia's status as a recognized sovereign state. The Turkish empire was in dissolution and its affairs had not yet been settled; and the rival claims of Italy and the new Jugoslavia on the east of the Adriatic were still the subject of hot contention. The state of Poland, which had been seized by Russia, Prussia and Austria, and partitioned between them at the end of the eighteenth century, had been reinstated. Finland and three small republics on the Baltic—Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia—formerly portions of the Russian empire, had declared their independence.

The Versailles treaty then, was obviously in need of supplementing. For in the first place it was necessary for the victorious Powers to impose their terms on the rest of the defeated Powers, adjusting those terms to the armistices actually in force. Bulgaria and Turkey had both been granted an armistice before the surrender of the dual monarchy, which covered Austria and Hungary, on November 3, the rest of the "ramshackle empire" having already broken away. Each of these four required its own treaty; but if another war was to be averted the divergent

## THE PEACE OF 1815

or antagonistic claims of old and new states would have to be reconciled; and though the principle of arbitration through the League had been laid down in the covenant, the League itself was an infant in its cradle, with nearly all its work still to learn. Also the complicated treaty imposed upon Germany herself, however just and necessary from the Allied point of view, had only been accepted by her under protest and with the open declaration that though she signed under pressure of *force majeure* which she dared not for the time resist, she did not and could not accept its implications. If reconciliation was the necessary condition of ultimate world-peace, it could never be attained by the mere enforcement of the Versailles conditions.

For such a peace as was now being attempted there was in fact no precedent in the world's history. The nearest was the peace of Vienna in 1815, when the map of Europe had been reconstructed on the lines which were then supposed to give the best promise of permanent peace. They were, however, lines from which the two ideas of democracy and nationalism were expressly eliminated in favour of dynastic legitimism tempered by the rewarding of Napoleon's opponents at the expense of his clients, with entire disregard for the sentiments of the populations concerned, who were transferred from one dynast to another without consultation. Consequently, though the Vienna settlement staved off international wars for forty years, it substituted a state of affairs in which revolutionary civil wars and wars of liberation were chronic. An element of idealism had indeed found a place in it, in the mysticism of Tsar Alexander I, but while his allies politely acquiesced in his doctrines, not one of them dreamed of giving them a chance of practical application.

Different as possible were the aims of the peace-makers of 1919. President Wilson had proclaimed that America entered the war to "make the world safe for democracy," and the fundamental principle which they were unanimous in adopting as the normal criterion for the revision of state boundaries was that of "self-determination" on the basis of "national" units, the two principles which had been anathema to the dynastic peace-makers of 1815. The place of Alexander's idealism was taken by that of President Wilson, but it was a faith not so much created as formulated by him, an ideal which there was a fervent desire among statesmen and peoples to bring into practical operation.

## THE SUPPLEMENTARY TREATIES

The new states had their boundaries defined approximately in accord with the national idea; constitutional monarchies had for the most part survived the cataclysm, but all the hereditary despotisms had gone down, while constitutional monarchies were in effect royalist democracies. The Vienna<sup>a</sup> settlement had rested upon the concert of dynasts; the new settlement must be guaranteed by the concert of peoples; and the eye of faith saw in the covenant of the League of Nations the machinery by which the world would learn to secure that concert, which would itself be the only possible guarantee of a world-peace dependent on the sense of security. The League could not of itself provide it; nothing but mutual trust and good will could do that; but at least it made the growth of mutual trust and good will comparatively possible.

Meanwhile, there were immense difficulties in the way of fulfilment. If democratic forms of government were the order of the day, treaties could make no provision for preventing any state from turning its own government into something as remote from democracy as the most unqualified despotism. If the state-boundaries were drawn with a view to the establishment of national units, there were still extensive areas embracing populations of diverse nationality, impossible to convert into separate states. To which national unit were such areas to be assigned, without injustice to a substantial minority? On a democratic interpretation of the catch-word self-determination a majority vote—a plébiscite—of the inhabitants of such areas should decide the question, but there were many cases in which it was more than doubtful whether the rights of minorities would be safe-guarded. And behind all questions of frontiers lay the questions of strategic and economic security. Ultimate justice could not be insured by the simple process of counting heads.

In short, no treaties could establish the three Wilsonian ideals of universal democracy, universal national self-determination, and universal co-operation. They could not rule out provisional dictatorships, communist dictatorships, fascist dictatorships; nor areas of mixed nationality; nor mutual distrust; nor the normal human conviction that the criterion of justice is the benefit accruing to "me"—that what is to "my" disadvantage cannot possibly be just. All they could do was to make such arrangements as public opinion would on the whole, though with many dissentients, regard as providing the nearest available approxi-

## THE DUAL MONARCHY

mation to justice all round. And justice all round involved claims for reparation and for strategic securities as to which actual agreement was frankly impossible. On that head inevitably the views of victors and vanquished were irreconcilable.

The treaty of Versailles then laid down the principles and to some extent the basic details, of the terms on which the Allied and Associated Powers made peace with Germany and were willing to make peace with what had been enemy states. Even in the peace with Germany the occupation clauses were conditioned by the reparations clauses, and the reparations clauses themselves could not even pretend to be final, since they were—as a matter of concrete fact—conditioned by Germany's capacity to pay, which the victors set at an indefinite but at least a very much higher figure than Germany herself, while the impossibility of obtaining the data for an accurate estimate vitiated all calculations. And although the treaty brought the League of Nations into being, that was itself only the initiation of an immense experiment in co-operation of which the effective working was still, in the nature of things, extremely uncertain.

Apart from the German problem, there still remained the settlements to be imposed upon or conceded to the sometime-enemy states, as well as (to some extent) apportionments of what might be called derelict areas which had formerly been portions of the Austrian, Russian, or Turkish empires, among rival claimants included in the group of victors or admitted to the shelter of their ægis.

First in logical and chronological order among the treaties as between victors and vanquished came those with the two states which remained out of what had been the Austrian empire or Dual Monarchy of the house of Hapsburg—shorn as a matter of course of the reasonably definable Slavonic territories hitherto held in subjection to their joint and several control. Czecho-Slavs on the north and Jugo-Slavs on the south could claim that though they had fought against the Allies, it was through no fault of their own, and that both at the end had succeeded in transferring their support to the Allies; they had already been admitted into the fold, those of the north as the independent state of Czecho-Slovakia, while those of the south were attached to Serbia expanded into Jugo-Slavia. There remained Teutonic Austria, centred in the imperial capital of Vienna, and Magyar Hungary with its capital at Budapest.

## THE SUPPLEMENTARY TREATIES

One question, the disappearance of the Hapsburgs in the wake of the Hohenzollerns, the two countries had settled for themselves, together with their severance from each other; Austria had declared herself a republic, and Hungary, after proclaiming herself an independent monarchy, had followed suit, falling temporarily into the grip of a communist government. But the problem remained of settling them both upon nationalist principles of population under conditions which would leave them a reasonable prospect of recuperation and future prosperity. Both beyond question shared full responsibility for the war and the claims for reparations arising therefrom from which the Slavonic portions of the old empire had been relieved.

For Austria the nationalist question was comparatively simple. It embraced territory which had been German from time immemorial, the "east march" of the Germanic Holy Roman Empire as it had existed for a thousand years when the Emperor Francis II dropped the title and assumed that of Austrian Emperor in 1806. It had remained in the German Confederation after the Vienna settlement of 1814 until its forcible ejection by Prussia in 1866, and it still contained no non-German population; it was racially antagonistic to all Slav, Magyar, and Italian neighbours, who regarded their separation from it—since it had ruled over them for centuries—as escape from foreign domination.

The principles laid down in the Fourteen Points gave it no claim to any of the territories transferred to other sovereignties, except an arguable one in South Tyrol, to the cession of which to Italy Great Britain and France had long ago pledged themselves when Italy's participation in the war was still in the balance. Only in one respect was the doctrine of self-determination therein laid down counter to public policy as understood by the Allies. Austria's natural disposition would be to vote herself into a Germany which would now be as ready to admit her as Bismarck had been resolute to expel her half a century before, when her presence was incompatible with the Prussian hegemony in Germany which he was determined to achieve. The permanent separation of Austria from Germany was something which Europe could not afford to forgo; that was a point on which the Slavs were as unanimous as the Latins; and it was a point on which the victors were entitled to insist, even though they were thereby cutting across the normally sound

## THE AUSTRIAN TREATY SIGNED

principle of self-determination. There are always practical limitations to the universal application of idealistic doctrines; a fact which in relation to this particular doctrine was notably conspicuous. "So far as practicable" was a qualification which, however irritating and inconclusive in its vagueness, could not always be eliminated.

In a different form the question reappeared in the southern Tyrol, which had long formed a part of the Austrian dominion, but was now claimed by Italy as a portion of "Italia Irredenta" in which Austrian domination had been imposed upon an Italian population, although in part of it most of them were now Germans who would prefer to remain Austrian subjects instead of being transferred to Italy. According to the Fourteen Points it should have been open to them to do so, but according to all precedent Italy was entitled to assert her claim which had been endorsed by the Allied belligerents when she entered the war—before the Fourteen Points had been heard of. It was, in fact, out of the question for the Allies to repudiate the pledges they had given when they were in need of Italy's support, and to reject her claim.

The peace treaty between Austria and the Allies was presented to Austria on June 2, 1919, and in some respect modified before the signature at St. Germain-en-Laye on September 10, though it was not finally ratified till the July following. It gave Austria her boundaries in accordance with the allotment of territory to the Czecho-Slovakian and Jugo-Slav States, already made, and the cession of South Tyrol to Italy, and laid down the boundary between Austria and Hungary. It definitely prohibited both political union, known as *Anschluss*, with the Germany created by the Versailles treaty, but only by implication discountenanced a customs union which would have established a community of economic interests binding Austria and Germany together as the old German confederation had been drawn together by the Prussian Zollverein.

The reparation conditions were subsequently modified when it was realized that they were in fact impossible of fulfilment, and that if Austria was to survive she needed rehabilitation not exhaustion. It was not till events had occurred which are outside the chronological scope of this work that Austria herself ceased to desire the reunion with Germany, which was the logical corollary of the treaty doctrines of nationalism and self-

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determination. In imposing these terms, however, the Allies could not afford to ignore the fundamental condition that the immediate peace must not be one which would leave it in the power of an unrepentant Germany—the arch-aggressor—to recover a strength which would enable her to renew the attempt to dominate Europe, her population and her internal resources being much greater than those of any other European country with the single exception of Russia, itself a quite incalculable factor in the general situation.

The Hungarian treaty of the Trianon was for many reasons a more complicated affair and longer delayed than that with Austria. It was not signed till June 20, 1920, and was not ratified till a year later. In the first place, Hungary was in a state of desperate political confusion. Her king, the Hapsburg emperor Charles, abdicated, and a republic was proclaimed under the presidency of the Magyar, Count Károlyi, at the moment of the armistice. Five months later the Republican government was captured by Bela Kun, a Communist pupil of Lenin, who established a corresponding reign of terror. That government in turn was overthrown in August by a Rumanian invasion that enabled a reactionary military government to seize control and set up a "White" instead of a "Red" terror, but presently toned down into a regime of very much the same character as the Magyar rule in the past, and was at least comparatively steady. It was not till she had something like a stable government that an effective settlement with her could be made. Hence the draft treaty was not presented till January, 1920, five months before its signature.

When the actual settlement was made, it was perhaps natural that Hungary came off badly. The old Hungarian kingdom included Transylvania—where there was a Magyar population encircled by a Rumanian population—and, on the south, Slav districts which had been under Magyar rule which they detested. These latter, as a matter of course, were transferred to the new Jugo-Slavia. There was also an appreciable Magyar population in the northern Slav districts which had been transferred to Czecho-Slovakia. Rumania—one of the Allied states—claimed Transylvania, of which a partition was geographically unworkable. Rumania's claim was endorsed in the settlement. And Hungary could not complain if on the west a considerable German-speaking area, which had, nevertheless, formed a part

## BULGARIA

of the Hungarian kingdom was awarded to Austria. The whole result was that the new Magyar state of Hungary had an area little more than one-fourth and a population little more than one-third of the old kingdom, while about twenty per cent. of the Magyars themselves were handed over to Slav or Rumanian rule. From the point of view of the encircling states, this was no more than the redressing of the secular wrongs they had suffered at Magyar hands. In the transferred territories the Magyar minority is ruled by instead of ruling over the Slav or Rumanian majority, and in the past the ruling minority had not been at all tender to the subject majority.

But it was not easy for the Magyar to adopt the philosophic view that he was but reaping what he had himself sown. And it is impossible not to feel a lively sympathy for a people with a great past who had in the early days of the Ottoman power rendered incalculable service as the bulwark of Europe, with little enough support or recognition; while their own fight under Kossuth seventy years before for the racial freedom which they had always refused to their own Slav subjects had given them high rank among the historic champions of national liberty. Nevertheless, such sentimental considerations as these could not be set in the scale against the claims of the peoples in whose favour the territorial redistribution was made under the treaty.

Both the Austrian and the Hungarian treaties were drafted by the Allies before that with Bulgaria, though the Trianon treaty was not presented to Hungary till the Bulgarian treaty of Neuilly had actually been signed (November, 1919). Possibly the Western Allies were in milder mood after the strictness to which they had been impelled in dealing with the remnant of the Hapsburg empire; at any rate, Bulgaria was treated with less severity, though the part played in the war by King Ferdinand might have been held to justify a more vindictive attitude. The crimes of her past government, however, were not in fact visited upon her, perhaps because it was believed that, like the Czechs in the Austrian empire, her people had never endorsed her ruler's tortuous policy; no heavy burdens were laid upon her, and she was secured commercial access to the sea, which was indeed a very necessary condition of the economic recuperation of states without a seaboard of their own.

Of the defeated belligerents there remained only the Turkish empire, already in disintegration, which had surrendered at

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discretion in the armistice of Mudros on October 30, the official government at Constantinople, to the French commander of the Allied forces in the peninsula, the field armies in Asia to the British generals who had shattered them; for in Asia, since the Russian collapse, the war had been a straight duel between British and Turk, and the victory was definitely a British achievement of which the surrender of Constantinople was the inevitable corollary. The integrity of the Turkish empire which had been in the forefront of British policy throughout the nineteenth century—when it was regarded as the essential bulwark against Russian aggression directed against India—had gone for good because Turkey, from a fatal miscalculation, chose to attack the power to which she had owed her own preservation, and to challenge her own destruction at its hands.

Her reinstatement in control over the peoples whom she had misruled was out of the question, but so also was the old solution, propounded by Nicholas I, of a partition between European powers. There had indeed been unconcealed agreements between the Allies during the war, within the traditional fashion and in accordance with traditional theories of victory; but the theories to which the Allies had committed themselves since the American intervention had thrown the traditions overboard. There were to be no annexations of liberated territories by the powers, but the powers must settle what was to be done with them and arrange for present control over them—otherwise they would soon sink into a welter of Oriental tribal conflicts.

Constantinople, too, was a problem of itself, while the whole congeries of problems was complicated by the probability of incalculable repercussions among the Mahomedan populations to whom the Caliphate was a Divine institution, and the Turkish Caliph was primarily the head not so much of a Mahomedan dominion as of the Faithful all the world over, with the combined prestige of a mediæval Emperor and a mediæval Pope. These were therefore questions which materially affected the two European powers, Great Britain and France, whose extra-European dependencies embraced great Mahomedan populations in much greater degree than any other of the Allied and Associated powers whose business it was to devise and effect the new settlement, and they were mixed up with, though in part they lay outside, the immediate question of the peace-treaty with the sultanate of Turkey.

## DISCUSSIONS ABOUT ASIA

Now on the broad lines of the settlement in Asia there was general concurrence among the Allies. The liberated areas were to be created into separate states on the racial basis; but, as they never had been states and were wholly without experience in the science and art of politics and self-government, they were to be placed severally under the tutelage of one power or another on whom with its own consent, the mandate would be conferred by the League of Nations. But it was also an essential condition that the wishes of the particular area should be a primary factor in the selection; self-determination was to play its orthodox part; there must—if we may so express it—be no mandate-grabbing in the interests of this or that power. There could, of course, be no going back on the *fait accompli*; the independent Arab state of the Hejaz had already been set up and recognized; and the British Protectorate in Egypt confirmed, though Great Britain subsequently arranged for the complete restoration of Egyptian independence.

The agreement on this general principle, however, was not simple of application. There was not much room for dispute or challenge over the appropriation of the mandates for Palestine and of Mesopotamia under its ancient name of Iraq to Britain, or of Syria to France, but to fix boundaries for the embryo states without seriously endangering the position of racial minorities was no easy matter, while no power was disposed to undertake the mandate for Armenia, and at the same time it was doubtful whether Asia Minor could be legitimately torn from the Turkish dominion, though two of the victory states, Greece and Italy, considered that they themselves had claims in that region. Time passed while commissions were investigating local claims and disputations. At the time of the armistice the British forces in Asia made easy the enforcement of any decisions at which the Allies might arrive; but Britain was demobilising her forces apace; control was slipping away while its passing was almost unnoticed; none of the big powers had any inclination to send armies into western Asia. Trouble, by no means realized in the west, was brewing in the east when at last, in January, 1920, the Allies presented the peace-terms of the treaty of Sèvres to the sultan's government at Constantinople.

On one question there had been much discussion and acute differences of opinion among the Allies; was the Turk to be ejected from Constantinople (and, incidentally, from Europe) or

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was he to be allowed to remain there upon conditions which would render him powerless for evil? The considerations which ultimately decided the British government, and by consequence the Allies, in favour of the second alternative, were the sense of a majority, but by no means all of those who had the most intimate knowledge of India, that his ejection would be felt as a challenge by the whole of Islam, shattering the loyalty of the Indian Moslems if it were supported by Britain, and further, that it could only be effected by an immediate and continuous employment of military force for which no one was prepared.

The conditions laid down, however, were drastic. Only a fragment of European soil was to remain with the capital, while there was to be a neutral zone lying on both sides of the Straits. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were to be an open waterway under international control. Turkey's armaments and finances must be similarly controlled. The surrender of the liberated states, as above described, was confirmed, though as yet no mandate had been assigned for Armenia. Greece, in addition to most of Thrace, was to be in temporary control of Smyrna pending a plebiscite.

It was at once apparent that the Turkish government, which was itself ready to submit, was in fact powerless and would be overthrown by a nationalist revolt. Allied forces occupied Constantinople, but a national assembly met in the safe distance of Angora, and, under the influence of Mustapha Kemal, strong Turkish forces took the field. But the immediate menace was apparently dispelled by the successful advance of Greek troops—authorized by the Allies since there were no others ready for a campaign in Anatolia—before whom the Turks retired; and the still-born treaty of Sèvres was duly signed in August—still-born because the government at Constantinople was a phantom without authority. That had passed to Angora.

Scarcely two years had elapsed when, in September, 1922, Mustapha Kemal, at the head of a Turkish army, flushed with victory over the Greeks, was standing before the defences of Chanak with nothing to stay his advance into Europe except the British fleet in the Dardanelles and the few British troops under General Harrington. The Turkish settlement was still to make, and under very different conditions from those which had dictated the treaty of Sèvres. The change in the situation which had taken place during those two years requires explanation.

## GREECE AND TURKEY

In the first place, the treaty had created, on paper, an independent Christian state of Armenia which was quite incapable of organizing or defending itself, while each of the great powers declined the responsibility of accepting a mandate, and the League of Nations felt, justly enough, that the task of administration was one which it could not itself undertake. \*As a matter of course it fell under the heel of its old masters. In the second place, Greece two months after the treaty overthrew the minister Venizelos, who commanded the confidence of the Allies, and recalled King Constantine, who by all the Allies was regarded with marked hostility and distrust.

The reasons for favouring the ambitions of Greece vanished with the fall of Venizelos, while under the new government those ambitions took an exaggerated form, and Greece elected to pursue them single-handed—no doubt unduly elated by the success of her first advance. Everyone knew, of course, that Turkish soldiers could fight, but no one was aware either of the organizing ability, the military skill, or the inspiring influence of the new chief, who was as patient in preparation as he was swift and resourceful when the moment came for striking. The Greeks had lost all the active sympathy they had enjoyed before, France was growing increasingly sympathetic to the Turks, and the Greeks made slow progress. Then in 1922 Mustapha struck, out-generalled the Greeks, drove them before him in rout, flung them back to the coast of Asia Minor and into the sea, gave Smyrna to the flames in September, and seemed to have no intention of calling a halt when his troops reached the borders of the neutral zone.

Meanwhile, the Allies in European Turkey had been in two minds. But the British were resolved, with or without their Allies, to say to the Turks, "Thus far and no farther." The last week of September was an extremely critical moment; for there was ample room for doubt whether the forces on the spot were sufficient for the purpose. But the cool resolution and self-restraint of General Harington and the statesmanship of Mustapha Kemal proved equal to the situation; an armistice, not dictated but agreed, was made on October 11; there was no armed collision. The Allies were not at war with the Turks, and new treaty negotiations were opened. The British, unsupported by France and Italy, were not called upon to resist the entry of the Turks into Constantinople, where the shade of

## THE SUPPLEMENTARY TREATIES

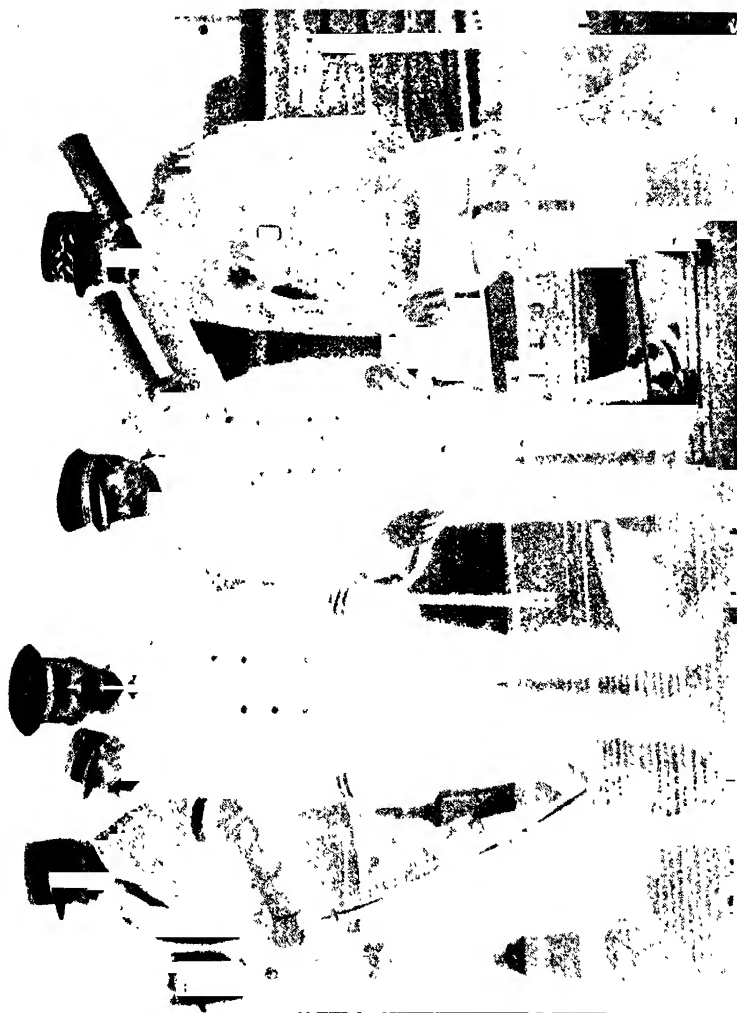
the official government was promptly displaced by a commissioner from Angora. The sultan abdicated, and a new Caliph was elected.

The treaty of Sèvres was dead and buried; the new treaty was negotiated—not dictated—with the new government which obviously meant Mustapha Kemal. The Turk had fought and beaten the Greeks; it could not be disputed that the Greeks had been the aggressors, and the Turks were fairly entitled to recover from them the recently transferred territories. Moreover, the principles which had been applicable when dealing with a palpably moribund state which had been “unconscionably long a-dying” were not applicable to the new state which was displaying the vitality of lusty youth instead of the decrepitude of senile exhaustion.

The treaty of Lausanne, which was the outcome, was very different from the defunct treaty of Sèvres. The Turks were reinstated at Constantinople in full sovereignty, with effective control over the Straits. They recovered from Greece eastern Thrace as well as full possession of Asia Minor; they were in *de facto* possession of Armenia with no ascertainable claimant to challenge them; they were resigned to the loss of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, and the Arab kingdom. Arrangements were made for the repatriation of Greeks on the one side and Turks on the other who wished to remain under their national sovereignties.

The discussions were prolonged, and more than once there were crises which threatened a complete breakdown, since the Turks met the Allies on the basis of equality; but at length the last of the treaties between the victors and the vanquished in the Great War was signed in July, 1923. Turkey was once more a sovereign state, and in that capacity formally turned herself into a republic under the presidency which was in fact the dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal; and it was the Turkish government itself which presently on its own initiative followed up the disappearance of the Sultanate by the abolition of the Caliphate—a shock to Islam, but one for which all Islam knew that the Christian powers were in no way responsible, so that it had none of that effect upon the relations between European governments and Mahomedan populations the fear of which had been such a complicating factor in the relations between the European powers and the Porte.

The territorial reconstruction in Europe as between the victorious and the defeated groups of states was settled with



GENERAL MANGIN (RIGHT) AT A NAVAL REVIEW ON THE RHINE



**THE WATCH ON THE RHINE.** The French area of occupation of Germany extended from Treves to the Swiss frontier, being on the right of that of the American troops. The photograph shows French troops with a giant searchlight stationed near St. Goar to keep night watch on the Rhine.

## VILNA AND FIUME

what was intended to be finality by the series of treaties from Versailles in June, 1919, and Lausanne in July, 1923; though there were local details temporarily reserved for settlement preferably by plébiscite. But there were also difficulties of adjustment between the new states, which in effect they were left to settle between themselves with a sort of general invitation which might be made practically compulsory—at least if armed conflict was the only alternative—to submit thorny problems to the impartial judgement of the League for arbitration and decision. The League was called in—voluntarily or of its own initiative—to deal effectively with disputes between Greece and Bulgaria and between Sweden and Finland, and later between Italy and Greece.

The republic of Poland was left to assert and maintain by force her claim to Vilna as against Lithuania, which had been robbed of it by Soviet Russia, and also to repel with unexpected and brilliant decisive success an attack on herself by Russia. Italian and Jugo-Slav claims on the Adriatic coast proved difficult of adjustment where those put forward by Italy had not the sanction of the early agreements which had at least helped to bring her into the war. The most difficult of these questions was that of the port of Fiume, which it was impossible to assign to anyone on nationalist grounds owing to the mixture of the population.

The Italian government reluctantly acquiesced in the decision of the Allies that Fiume should be an independent free port; Italian popular opinion was wildly excited—and even dangerously when the poet d'Annunzio with a band of volunteers seized and held it for Italy against the world at large. In November, 1920, however, the Italian government compelled d'Annunzio to retire, and made with the Jugo-Slav government the treaty of Rapallo, a pacification which was abrogated in 1924 in favour of a new agreement which gave Fiume to Italy with guarantees for the material requirements of Jugo-Slavia.

## CHAPTER 8

# The League of Nations

**F**ROM the earliest months of the war there went up from British hearts a cry that this must be the last time armed nations should face one another with all the resources of their civilization turned to the purpose of slaughter. The horror of the conflict burned itself into the soul of the people all the more fiercely because there were so many who had persuaded themselves that humanity had outgrown war. When these saw that they were deceived they felt, after a period of stupefaction, an overmastering impulse to make their belief a reality. Out of this frame of mind grew such phrases as "a war to end war." Aghast at the proportions and the appalling nature of the struggle, they raised a chorus of "Never again!" The idea of a League of Nations pledged to live together in peace had often before filled the thoughts of thinkers and idealists. Now it took possession of the mass of people. Hitherto stigmatised as the dream of visionaries, it became, under the pressure of suffering and tortured imagination, a national policy.

From across the Atlantic came an answering cry. To the American people the war was like some hideous nightmare. They too, had cherished the delusion that the age of peace had arrived, though they knew quite well that two groups of nations in Europe were ever preparing themselves for hostilities. When war broke out the American people had no clear notion either of its immediate origin or of the deeply-rooted causes which had been leading up to this disastrous consummation. It was long before they formed correct conclusions, but from the very beginning they were moved by the generous and even passionate desire to make such a catastrophe impossible again. From this desire arose the League to Enforce Peace, which had Mr. Taft, formerly president of the United States, at its head, and many of the most honoured of American citizens among its members.

This society was formed in 1915. Before the end of the year its plan for a League of Nations was published and the American newspapers began to take notice of the movement. In Britain

## MR. TAFT'S PROPOSALS

up to this time, and for some while after, little or nothing was heard of a movement destined to influence so deeply the course of events. Indeed, when, in the autumn of 1916, a branch office of the League to Enforce Peace was opened in London, the tenants of the building in which it had hired rooms sent a joint protest to the landlord against the appearance of its name on the door. They evidently thought it was a pacifist organization, which aimed at stopping the particular war then raging. The landlord happened to know something about the League to Enforce Peace and explained matters, but the name had to be taken off the door.

In Great Britain a League of Nations Society had been in existence since 1914, but the first formal proposals which attracted world attention came from Mr. Taft and his committee in Washington. They were summarised in four articles:

Article 1.—All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers (that is, the Powers belonging to the League of Nations), which cannot be settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgement, both upon the merits of the question and upon any issue as to the tribunal's jurisdiction.

2.—All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

3.—The signatory Powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

4.—Conferences between the signatory Powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in Article 1.

The British League of Nations Society stated its programme to be this:

1.—That a treaty shall be made as soon as possible whereby as many States as are willing shall form a League binding themselves to use peaceful methods for dealing with all disputes arising among them.

2.—That such methods shall be as follows:

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(a) All disputes arising out of questions of international law or the interpretation of treaties shall be referred to The Hague Court of Arbitration or some other judicial tribunal whose decisions shall be final and shall be carried into effect by the parties concerned.

(b) All other disputes shall be referred to and investigated and reported upon by a Council of Inquiry and Conciliation, the Council to be representative of the States which form the League.

3.—That the States which are members of the League shall unite in any action necessary for ensuring that every member shall abide by the terms of the treaty, and in particular shall jointly use forthwith their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing articles.

4.—That the States which are members of the League shall make provision for mutual defence, diplomatic, economic, or military, in the event of any of them being attacked by a State not a member of the League which refuses to submit the case to an appropriate Tribunal of Council.

5.—That any civilized State desiring to join the League shall be admitted to membership.

Later there was founded in London the League of Free Nations Association, with the same objects as the League of Nations Society, the idea of the newer group being to form without delay a League of such nations as were ready to join, without awaiting the end of the war. There were two opinions: one that the Allies should establish the League and admit Germany at some later date; the other, that a League without Germany would be incomplete and therefore valueless. The discussion of this point died away, so far as it had any live interest, when President Wilson declared himself, and laid it down that the formation of the League should be part of the work of the Peace Conference. In October, 1918, it may be added, the two British groups coalesced into the League of Nations Union.

President Wilson's intervention began in May, 1916. He then made a speech in Washington at a meeting of two thousand prominent Americans called by the League to Enforce Peace. He had been thinking deeply about the state of the world, and he had been growing in statesmanship. He brought to the consideration of the world-problem a mind trained by history, a grasp of the possibilities and the limitations of international law such as it was proposed to enact for the first time with any

### THREE PROPOSITIONS

prospect of its being observed, an imagination warmed by sympathy and stirred by traditions of freedom. In his hands the plan of ending war by arbitration became a wider and vastly more stimulating scheme. He laid down the following three propositions:

That every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which it will live.

That the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity as that which the great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

That the world has a right to be free from every disturbance to its peace which has its origin in aggression and in disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

Putting forward these principles, Mr. Wilson left the details of machinery to be settled at a later date. But he made it clear that when these details were settled the American government would be represented at the Conference table. He abandoned the view hitherto paramount in the United States that it was to the interest of that country to hold aloof from the political troubles of Europe, to avoid those "entangling alliances" against which Washington in his last public words solemnly warned his countrymen. This resolve, together with the Monroe Doctrine, had for over a century formed the basis of American foreign policy. "We leave the Old World alone. The Old World must leave us alone." The "hands off America" doctrine of President Monroe followed reasonably enough the line of action laid down by Washington.

Originally enunciated in order to prevent the European monarchs from sending troops to South America to support the rule of Spain, this doctrine had been extended by Mr. Wilson himself when he told European capitalists that they need not hope any longer to exploit the South American States, that the Washington government would not allow concessions to be supported by force of arms, and that those who wished to invest money in South America must take the same course as they took in the United States.

Now, however, yielding to the call of the international spirit, and putting the safety of the world above merely national, above even Continental, interests, Mr. Wilson offered the abandonment of his country's isolation. He said that the United States

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

was ready to assist in establishing a League of Peace, to enter it, and to lend its power for the enforcement of its decisions. In the settlement after the war it would aim, the president announced, at creating a "universal association of nations to maintain inviolate the security of the highways of the seas for the common unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning and full submission of the cause to the opinion of the world." This would be "a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence."

Here was an unexpected ally for those who had been talking about a League of Nations. Here was formulated in outline an international Charter of Right. Immediately, the League came down from the heights of vague and misty idealism into the region of practical politics. By his Washington speech President Wilson opened a new era, and it became for the moment the one topic upon which newspapers commented and political discussion turned.

Amid a perfunctory chorus for the most part of agreement there were mingled some honest expressions of scepticism. History was cited to prove the fatuity of such plans. It was shown that all schemes of the kind in the past had been without effect. In the seventeenth century there was a French design for the establishment of universal peace. Drawn up by Sully, the minister of Henry IV, its aim was the securing of that monarch's preponderance in Europe by the destruction of the power of the Hapsburgs, his chief rivals. France, England, Denmark, and Sweden were to form an alliance and to attack Austria, which would then be broken up. The impudence of calling this a "project for peace" did not conceal its true objective, the aggrandisement of France. It came to naught. No more fortunate was the plan elaborated about a hundred years later by the Abbé de St. Pierre. This, too, aimed at securing for France a preponderant influence in the affairs of Europe.

The French had been stirred by the memories of the *Pax Romana*, of that long period of "world-peace through world-empire" in which for nearly four hundred years the whole civilized society of Europe lived under uniform laws and institutions, with one common language, one currency, and one commercial system—the system, currency, language, laws, and

## THE HOLY ALLIANCE

institutions of Rome. The ambition to repeat the work of the Romans, no unworthy ambition, haunted the minds of the French. It did much to reconcile them to the cost and the bloodshed of the wars of Napoleon. It did seem at one time as if his Empire might do what Rome had done. In his Memoirs written at St. Helena he declared that this was his intent. •He hoped to gather the nations into a confederation held together by "unity of laws, principles, opinions, sentiments, and interests," with France at the head to watch over the "great European family." It is conceivable that such a *Pax Napoleonica* might have been a good thing for Europe, but by that date liberty had taken too firm a hold on men's minds to allow them even to consider a league on these lines.

Yet when Waterloo swept away the hopes of Napoleon there was set on foot another League which was quite as hostile to freedom as his could have been. The emperors of Russia and Austria concocted with the king of Prussia, under the guidance of that fanatic for authority, Metternich, a plot to crush all attempts at substituting constitutional systems for irresponsible despotism. This plot is very often called the Holy Alliance. That is incorrect. The Holy Alliance was an idea which occurred to the simple and on the whole kindly mind of the Emperor Alexander I of Russia. He sent round to his fellow-sovereigns, including the king of England, George IV., a document filled with fine sentiments and windy aspirations. They none of them knew what to make of his strange proceeding. Metternich made the characteristic remark: "It seems quite clear that the Emperor's mind must be affected. Peace and good will engross all his thoughts, and I have found him of late friendly and reasonable on all points." Nothing came of this proposal, but at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818 the idea of the Holy Alliance was transformed into a basis for the league of monarchs against liberty which, though aimed in appearance at preventing war, filled Europe with trouble of one kind and another for a hundred years.

"Though no open declaration," wrote C. A. Fyffe in his useful History of Modern Europe, "was made against constitutional forms, every sovereign and every minister who attended the Conference left it with the resolution to draw the reins of government tighter." In the course of the struggle between imperialism or self-imposed authority and democracy, the rule

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

of the people, Napoleon III was one of the sovereigns who consciously set himself to build up a system of international relationships similar to those of the "Roman Peace." Again it was France which was to be Rome's successor. Again the plan came to an ignoble and disastrous end. These failures to set up a European partnership in place of greedy and suspicious competition were used by those who disbelieved in a League of Nations as arguments to prove that President Wilson was, to borrow a now familiar American slang-phrase, "talking through his hat." The reply to them was that in the past all schemes of the kind had been based upon the principle of authority, upon the theory that men must be driven like cattle, that they could not decide for and take care of themselves. That theory had crumbled. On another occasion Mr. Wilson replied to all such criticisms: "There are two theories of government," he said, "which have been contending with each other ever since government began. I am one of those who absolutely reject the trustee theory, the guardianship theory. I never found a man who knew how to take care of me, and; reasoning from that point out, I conjecture that there is not any man who knows how to take care of all the people of the United States. The concern of patriotic men is to put government on its right basis by substituting the popular will for the rule of guardians, the processes of common council for those of private arrangement."

It was also pointed out that proposals for leagues in the past had been actuated by the desire of sovereigns to extend or, at all events, to keep their authority. It was left for the Great War to provide a wish for a league, not of monarchs or governments, but of peoples, and it was by President Wilson's speech at the meeting of the League to Enforce Peace on May 27, 1916, that the wish first began to take shape as a practical possibility.

Up to this time no statesman of the first rank had openly proclaimed his belief that a League of Nations was attainable. From now on there was unceasing discussion of its possibility, though it did not attract wide attention from public men in Great Britain for nearly two years. In March, 1918, there was a debate on the scheme in the House of Lords. Lord Parmoor opened it. The most weighty speech was made by Lord Loreburn, who said that, if Britain was to be a free country after the war, secret diplomacy must be abolished and a League of Nations must be set up. Again in June the House of Lords

## VISCOUNT GREY'S PAMPHLET

discussed the principle of the League and approved it. On this occasion Lord Curzon said he believed opinion in Britain was rather in advance of the opinion of any of our Allies, except in the United States. He thought we had better not go ahead too quickly or hurriedly or we might meet with a rebuff.

Shortly after this appeared a pamphlet by Lord Grey of Fallodon, in which he pleaded the cause of the League with vigour and persuasive argument. By degrees all the leaders of political groups made their professions of faith. Mr. Lloyd George was not until after the armistice very clear in his expressions. He said, on March 13, 1918, that a real League of Nations would not come by talking about it. "That," he said, "is why it has not been given much prominence in our political speeches." And then he made his joke about the Kaiser's acceptance of the League idea and his offer to place Germany at the head of it being like "a dagger wrapped in the Sermon on the Mount." Later on Mr. Lloyd George said he was certainly one of those who believed in a League of Nations, but he hastened to add, "there are already two leagues of nations in existence—the first is the British Empire, and the second is the Great Alliance against the Central Powers." This left it doubtful whether he was with President Wilson and those who held that no League could be complete without Germany, or whether he favoured the formation of a League by the Allied and Associated Governments, leaving Germany outside.

Mr. Balfour adopted the same enigmatic tone in the debate on the subject in the House of Commons on August 1, 1918. He deprecated any attempt to formulate a league while the war continued. "The man who genuinely believes in a League of Nations," he said, "is, or ought to be, a most ardent advocate of pressing this war to a successful issue. It is only by our victory in this war that future wars can be prevented; only thus can we stabilise the machinery by which a League of Nations can be set up." Lord Robert Cecil was more encouraging. He agreed that the time to prepare a scheme had come, and that we ought to be ready with one for the end of the war. It was unfortunate that Lord Robert's opinion was not acted upon by the War Cabinet. The end of the war found them without any distinct or informed idea on the subject.

From that time onward Lord Robert Cecil became one of the mainstays of the league plan. When in November, 1918, he

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

was installed as chancellor of Birmingham University, he took this for the theme of his address. The Allies had in their hands, he told his audience, the political future of the whole world. The most glorious victory would be scarcely distinguishable from defeat unless thereby were laid the foundations of a lasting peace. It was more than questionable, he warned his hearers, whether permanent peace could be established on the basis of the world-domination of the Entente or any other group of powers. World domination was only another term for international despotism, and, however benevolent such a despotism might be, it must be inconsistent with that liberty without which all other political advantages were insipid and not infrequently degrading. European civilization, he declared, could hardly be relied on to withstand a repetition of four years of war. If, therefore, the League of Nations was a dream, it would be difficult to avoid despair.

The debate in the House of Commons proved that the public interest in the idea was strong. On July 18 Mr. Bonar Law had declined to give a day for a discussion; but this decision was altered within a fortnight. This step was taken clearly in deference to popular desire. Mr. Asquith did not take part in the debate at Westminster, but in speeches made by him outside the House of Commons he strongly supported the formation of a league. Before the war ended he asserted that, as a matter of practical reasoning and common sense, a League of Nations stood on a more solid foundation than any of the transient combinations between the Great Powers in all history.

He recalled his declaration of September, 1914, "that our aim should be, not merely the defeat of our enemies, but to bring into existence, not as an abstraction or as an ideal, what Mr. Gladstone described as 'the assertion of public right as the law of Europe and the world.' " Mr. Asquith did not, however, claim to have forestalled President Wilson, to whom he gave credit "for having associated himself, and the great people of whom he was the spokesman, with the attainment of the ideal which now goes by the name of the League of Nations."

General Smuts was the member of the inner circle of government who took most interest in what he called "President Wilson's programme for a League of Nations for world peace." In a speech made just after the signing of the armistice he said that one of the circumstances which made the League "a sheer

## SMUTS AND WILSON

practical necessity " was the duty incumbent upon the Allies of providing with food all those countries which were threatened with disaster through shortage of the necessities of life. He suggested, also, that all countries, not only those of the Allies, but former neutrals and enemies as well, would have to be rationed with raw materials during the period of economic reconstruction. In a pamphlet which he issued early in 1919 he set forth in detail a scheme for a League, and made an earnest appeal to all thoughtful minds to realize that, unless the old conditions of statecraft were changed, " people simply will not stand it, and the menace of the great anti-state movement, now finding expression in Bolshevism, will become as great a danger as war itself.

" For there is no doubt," General Smuts continued, in an eloquent survey of the factors in world unrest, " that mankind is once more on the move. The very foundations have been shaken, and things are again fluid. The tents have been struck, and the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march. Vast social and industrial changes are coming, perhaps upheavals which may in their magnitude and effects be comparable to war itself. A steadying, controlling, regulating influence will be required to give stability to progress, and to remove that wasteful friction which has dissipated so much social force in the past, and in this war more than ever before."

Meantime, another speech on the subject of the League had been made by President Wilson. Speaking on September 27, 1918, he said:

If it be, in deed and in truth, the common object of the Governments associated against Germany, and of the nations whom they govern, to achieve by the coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price, that will procure it; and ready and willing also to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality by which it can be made certain that the agreements of peace will be honoured and fulfilled. That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations. And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations, and the clear definition of its objects, must be a part—in a sense the most essential part—the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now, it would be merely a new alliance, confined to the nations

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

associated against a common enemy. It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace, and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought.

Further, Mr. Wilson declared that within the general and common family of the League of Nations there could be no alliances or special covenants and understandings. Nor could there be within the League any special selfish economic combination, nor the employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion, except as the power of economic penalty, by exclusion from the markets of the world, might be vested in the League of Nations itself, as a means of control and discipline.

On the continent of Europe there was, as Lord Curzon had noted, a decided backwardness in falling into line with Wilson's ideas. There were men in France, like M. Léon Bourgeois, who had been advocates of a League for years; but it won no sympathy from M. Clemenceau. Nor was it received with more than lukewarm interest in Italy. The Latin temperament is sceptical of new ideas, and inclines to the belief that bureaucracy is needed for the purposes of order, and that while democracy is useful in theory as a theme for speeches, it does not work well in practice. The smaller nations showed that they were following the development of the League principle with attention, and also with some fear as to how it would affect them. The Vatican approved. Japan's foreign minister, Viscount Uchida, welcomed the prospect, but warned the world that no League would be of any use unless there was among its members a complete unity of confidence in one another. The *noblesse oblige* of the West or the *bushido* of the East must permeate and guide the action of any such association of peoples. Distrust and suspicion must be left outside the door.

In the United States there began to be, as time went on, two currents of opinion. One was strongly in favour of the President's plan. The other deprecated any haste, and was dubious about the wisdom of opening the door to any possibility of European nations interfering in American affairs. There were, indeed, four classes of objectors. There were those who held that the Monroe Doctrine must be maintained in its integrity. There were those who asked sceptically whether too much was not being expected from human nature. The Republican Party leaders were some of them prompted to oppose the scheme

## OPINION IN AMERICA

because it was put forward by a Democrat President, who had excluded them from any share in the management of the war. Finally, the pacifists disliked intensely the proposal to enforce the decrees of the League by armed might.

The case against the League was stated with characteristic vehemence by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, and later was taken up by Senator Lodge, Senator Sherman, and Senator Reed. "Who dares to take from the American people," asked Mr. Reed, "its right to control America?" The result of the November elections to Congress which gave the Republican Party a majority, encouraged the opposition, but it was suggested also that there was something more than party politics behind it.

A business man in California, writing in an English review, pointed out that Mr. Lodge and Mr. Sherman represented the special interests which had not been eliminated from American politics: "Lodge is from Massachusetts, controlled by the Woollen Trust, Rubber Trust, and what is left of the Hartford and Newhaven Octopus" (a railway company which had exercised a sinister influence). "Sherman is from Illinois, not yet freed from the grip of the Meat and Steel Trusts. They are grasping at anything to save them from being overwhelmed by the tide of world ideas and humanitarianism."

Mr. Taft steadily resisted all efforts to detach him from support of the President. He travelled all over the country making speeches in favour of the League. In San Francisco he called Mr. Lodge and those who were associated with him "reactionaries." A voice from the auditorium shouted, "You were a reactionary once," Mr. Taft replied, good-humouredly, "I know more now." He insisted that the League was not a party issue, and, so far as could be seen, carried the mass of his hearers with him. Mr. Root said, in the spring of 1919, that he did not see much controversy among the American people as to the desirability of an effective or international organization to preserve the peace of the world, or of America doing her full share towards the establishment and maintenance of such an organization. Of four hundred prominent ministers of religion who received circulars inviting their support only four refused to give it. Two were Quakers who could not agree to the employment of armed force by the nations composing the League. The other two said they thought the proposal was "inopportune." When President Wilson came to Europe in

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

December he seemed, in spite of the Congressional elections, to have the bulk of the people with him.

He continued to put the creation of the League in the first place among the matters which the Peace Conference had to discuss. He explained with greater clearness what his proposal aimed at. At a luncheon given in his honour by the lord mayor of London he showed how wide he expected the scope of the League to be :

As I have conversed with the soldiers, I have been more and more aware that they fought for something which not all of them had defined, but which all of them recognized the moment you stated it to them. They fought to do away with the old order and to establish a new one. The centre and characteristic of the old order was that unstable thing which we used to call the balance of power. It is very interesting to observe how from every quarter, from every sort of mind, from every sort of counsel there comes the suggestion that there must be now, not the balance of power, not one powerful group of nations set off against another, but a single overwhelmingly powerful group of nations which shall be the trustee of the peace of the world. . . . When war began the thought of a League of Nations was indulgently considered as an interesting thought of closeted students. Now we find the practical leading minds of the world determined to get it. No such sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed in the world before.

A few days later, demanding that there should be open covenants of peace, the President threw a direct challenge to those who still clung to the old diplomatic methods. "The day of conquest and aggrandisement is gone by," he said. "So is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of some particular Governments, and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact," he went on, "now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow the objects it has in view."

The Inter-Allied Conference to decide what terms of peace should be presented to Germany and her supporters met in January, two months after the armistice had been signed. At the second meeting, on the 25th, Mr. Wilson proposed to the

## THE PLAN WORKED OUT

Conference to resolve that it was essential to the maintenance of the world settlement that a League of Nations should be created, that its creation must be treated as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace, and that it should be open to every civilized nation which could be relied upon to promote its objects. In making this proposal Mr. Wilson once more set forth the far-reaching effect which he anticipated for the League:

We are here to see that the very foundations of this war are swept away. These foundations were (1) the private choice of small coteries of civil rulers and military staffs, and (2) the power of a small body of men to work their will, using mankind as pawns in the game. Nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace.

The conference accepted the League of Nations scheme in principle and without any delay named a committee to work out the details of the plan.

This committee met ten times in eleven days, and completed its task in a period of not more than thirty hours. Its meetings were held at the Hôtel Crillon, on the Place de la Concorde, in the salon of the suite of rooms occupied by Colonel and Mrs. House. Here at a big round table sat the nineteen members of the committee; in the corners of the room were smaller tables for secretaries and translators. Every speech was translated as it was being made. The translator followed the speaker only a sentence or two behind. That sounds as if the result might be confusing, but it worked well. All the arrangements were designed for getting the work done as quickly as possible.

Mr. Wilson went back to the United States for a few weeks, and before he went he was anxious to present the report of the committee to the conference. He presided at all the meetings save one, and proved himself adept in smoothing the course of business and preventing unnecessary delay. He knew when to encourage speakers to go on, and when to suggest tactfully that they were wasting time. When some proposal was made which seemed to him to aim at binding future ages, he remarked, with a smile: "Gentlemen, I have no doubt that the next generation will be made up of men as intelligent as you or I, and I think we can trust the League to manage its own affairs."

From the final meeting on February 13 the president was unavoidably absent, and on this occasion his place was taken

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by Lord Robert Cecil. He, with M. Venizelos, M. Vesnitch, Serbian Minister in Paris, and M. Larnaude, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the Sorbonne University, had made the final draft, and the Committee sat late to finish it. At a quarter to eight Lord Robert read out the last article of the proposed Covenant and asked, "Is there any objection to that?" A momentary pause followed. "If not, it is adopted," he said. And then, with a sigh of satisfaction, "Gentlemen, our work is done."

Next day, February 14, Mr. Wilson read the draft covenant to the third full session of the Inter-Allied Conference. He drew attention to the number of human beings (twelve hundred millions) represented by the delegates of the fourteen states who had served on the committee, and added: "When you think of the variety of circumstances among these fourteen nationalities, there is great significance in the fact that we have reached a unanimous result, for that means a union of will for our common purpose that cannot be resisted and one that, I dare say, no nation will ever take the risk of resisting." He warned the Conference that the world would not be satisfied with merely official guidance; the machinery of the League must not be composed entirely of officials. "A living thing is born in this document," he said, tapping the paper he held, "and we must see that the clothes we put on it do not hamper it." Finally, he pointed out that armed force was in the background of the constitution of the League. "If the moral force of the world will not suffice, physical force shall, but only as a last resource." The draft provided for the setting up of two bodies, the first called the body of delegates, the second the executive council.

Each state which belonged to the League to send three delegates to the body, and these delegates to admit other states to the League by a two-thirds majority vote; also to make amendments to the League constitution, and recommendations as to the settlement of disputes referred to it. This body to meet as often as it desired and to be mainly an organ of discussion. Action was to be taken by the executive council, composed of representatives of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan, and of four other states to be selected by the delegates.

The signatory Powers to agree that they would in no case resort to war without submitting the matter in dispute either to arbitration or to the inquiry by the executive council. They decided that a period of three months should elapse between the

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announcement of the result of arbitration or inquiry and the declaration of war.

A court of international justice to be created for the consideration of disputes. Any Power which disregarded its findings or broke faith in any way to be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which would thereupon break off all relations and consider themselves at war. Recognising the limitation of armaments to be desirable, the Covenant referred this matter to the executive council for the formulation of plans.

The German colonies and certain territories formerly part of the Turkish Empire to be administered by "advanced nations which by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position could best undertake this responsibility." These nations to act under mandates from the League, being known as mandatory powers. A permanent bureau of labour to be established for the securing and maintaining of fair and human conditions of work for men, women, and children in all countries. Freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all states belonging to the League to be arranged for. All treaties entered into by any member of the League to be registered forthwith with the secretary-general of the League and as soon as possible published by him. All engagements inconsistent with the obligations of membership of the League to be considered as ceasing to exist.

The draft Covenant was at once published and called forth a great deal of criticism. The French demanded more safeguards against the possibilities of their being attacked again by Germany. The Germans described the draft as the result of a compromise, and as having, therefore, merely a provisional character. Many of those in Britain and in America who had been most eager in their support of the League as proposed by the president were inclined to say that the whole project had been wrecked by the "old gangs." Labour was frankly sceptical. Even Lord Bryce pointed out that the scheme was "in some points vague and in some obscure; that is to say, it is doubtful what precisely are the cases which the words are intended to cover, and it is not always clear what the words mean in their application to these particular cases."

Strong objection was raised at a special national conference arranged by the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party to

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the constitution of the League as proposed by the Covenant. It was urged that the delegates should be chosen from the national parliaments by some such method as proportional representation so as to secure an accurate reflection of public opinion; that the Executive Council should not be independent of the Body of Delegates; and that in all things the latter should be the more powerful organ of the League. As to armaments, it was suggested by the conference that their manufacture should be under the direct control of the League, that no armies should be raised by conscription, and that the Covenant should declare any security for peace which did not include national disarmament to be unreal. It was also claimed that, on the International Bureau of Labour, labour should be directly and adequately represented, and the interests of women also. Finally, the conference agreed that the Covenant of the League ought to form part of the preliminary treaty of peace.

In the United States there was a fresh outburst of opposition to the plan of a League in any form. Some denounced the whole idea. Some concealed their desire to destroy the scheme under a pretended anxiety to amend the Covenant. Senator Lodge called its provisions vague and loosely drawn, with numbers of loopholes which would cause misunderstandings, disputes, and other wars. He suggested that it ought to be altered so as to allow of the retention of the Monroe Doctrine; to prevent any interference in any country's internal affairs; to permit any nation to withdraw from the League, and to make clearer the language used about the use of troops for the enforcement of its decrees. Senator Borah appealed to the distrust of Britain which lies deep in so many American—and especially Irish-American—hearts, and which has often proved useful for election purposes. The proposed constitution of the League was he declared, "the greatest triumph that British diplomacy had won in three centuries of British diplomatic life."

During his short visit home in February and March, President Wilson replied to these and other criticisms, and appealed eloquently to the mass of his fellow-countrymen not to disappoint the expectations of Europe. Immediately after his arrival at Boston he addressed a meeting called to welcome him home. In this speech he said that American prestige had risen very high "because there is no nation in Europe which suspects the motives of the United States," and because Europe had seen

## WILSON RETURNS TO PARIS

that America "not only held ideals, but acted ideals." This confidence which the people of the United States had won laid a burden upon them. Did they mean to take it up? If America failed the world now, men would be thrown back into the bitterness of despair, all nations would set up hostile camps again, the new states would be left unprotected and helpless. The arrangements being made in Paris could not stand for a generation unless guaranteed by the united force of the world.

Again, on March 6, just before he returned to Europe, the president spoke at a meeting in the New York Opera House. His tone was triumphant, but it seemed to hide some doubt as to the light in which the nation regarded the League and to force the note of satisfaction so as to discourage its opponents. He declared his conviction that an overwhelming majority of the American people was in favour of the League with all its implications. He appealed from the politicians to the people.

The men who utter the criticisms, he urged, "have never felt the great pulse of the heart of the world. Those who suffer see. The only vision has been that of the people. What the peoples of Europe are thinking is this: If there is right in the world, stop thinking about the rival interests of nations and think about men, women, and children throughout the world. It would be fatal for Americans to ignore that. It would be a disaster if they did not help the world. We should of a sudden have become the most contemptible of nations. It is inconceivable that we should disappoint them, and we shall not. The day will come when Americans will look back with pride that they have been privileged to make the sacrifice necessary in order to combine their might and their moral powers with the cause of justice for men of every kind everywhere."

With the idea of discovering whether the president was right in claiming that he had on his side "the overwhelming majority," the Literary Digest of New York enquired of 1,300 odd American editors, "Do you favour the proposed League?" Of the replies only 181 said "No." There were 718 editors who said "Yes," and 478 who said they were in favour of a League, but thought that the Covenant needed amending. In the work of amendment Mr. Wilson joined as soon as he reached Paris.

The president then, returned to Europe, with the full conviction that he had at his back in this matter the enthusiastic concensus of American opinion, though the American consti-

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tution gave no guarantee that the nation would ratify the president's commitments. That was a risk which was in effect ignored by the conference. It was accepted at his insistence, that the Covenant with such amendments as might be agreed upon, must be the first article in the treaty which was to establish the world's peace.

In the discussions which followed, Baron Makino, the representative of Japan, proposed an amendment declaring that equality of nations should be a fundamental principle of the League; French amendments were also submitted in favour of an international army police force, and of the verification of the correspondence between actual and nominal limitations of armament by all nations. These, however, were withdrawn, the points being left for decision by the League itself. The Covenant, was adopted at the fifth plenary session of the Peace Conference, held at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris on April 28, 1919, for incorporation in the treaty, and with the signature of that treaty precisely two months later on June 28, the League of Nations was born.

As already stated, the first part of the treaty of Versailles dealt with the establishment of the League and contained the Covenant, a document which forms its charter. Various amendments have been introduced into the Covenant since it was first drafted, and the text given below is the English version of the Covenant as it was on April 22, 1932. The edition has the paragraphs numbered in accordance with the resolution adopted at the seventh ordinary session of the assembly on September 21, 1926, and embodying the amendments to article 6, in force as from August 13, 1924, to articles 12, 13 and 15, in force as from September 26, 1924, and to article 4, in force as from July 29, 1926.

The high contracting parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

## THE COVENANT

### Article 1.

1. The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other states named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing state, dominion or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

3. Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

### Article 2.

The action of the League under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an assembly and of a council, with a permanent secretariat.

### Article 3.

1. The assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

2. The assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the assembly, each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

### Article 4.

1. The council shall consist of representatives of the principal allied and associated powers, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of

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the League shall be selected by the assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the assembly, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the assembly, the council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the council; the council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the assembly for representation on the council.

2 bis. The assembly shall fix by a two-thirds majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent members of the council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

3. The council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any member of the League not represented on the council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

6. At meetings of the council, each member of the League represented on the council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

### Article 5.

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant or by the terms of the present treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meetings of the assembly or of the council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the assembly or by the council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the assembly and the first meeting of the council shall be summoned by the president of the United States of America.

### Article 6.

1. The permanent secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise a secretary-general and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first secretary-general shall be the person named in

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the annex; thereafter the secretary-general shall be appointed by the council with the approval of the majority of the assembly.

3. The secretaries and staff of the secretariat shall be appointed by the secretary-general with the approval of the council.

4. The secretary-general shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the assembly and of the council.

5. The expenses of the League shall be borne by the members of the League in the proportion decided by the assembly.

### Article 7.

1. The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

### Article 8.

1. The members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the council.

5. The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their

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military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

### Article 9.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

### Article 10.

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

### Article 11.

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the secretary-general shall on the request of any member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the council.

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the assembly or of the council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

### Article 12.

1. The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to enquiry by the council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the council.

2. In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

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### Article 13.

1. The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.

3. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

4. The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision the council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

### Article 14.

The council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the council or by the assembly.

### Article 15.

1. If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement in accordance with Article 13, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the secretary-general, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the secretary-general, as promptly as possible,

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statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any member of the League represented on the council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

7. If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the council.

10. In any case referred to the assembly, all the provisions of this article and of article 12 relating to the action and powers of the council shall apply to the action and powers of the assembly, provided that a report made by the assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

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### Article 16.

1. Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under articles 12, 13, or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking state, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking state and the nationals of any other state, whether a member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the council in such case to recommend to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking state, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

### Article 17.

1. In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a state which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the state or states not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the council.

2. Upon such invitation being given the council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

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3. If a state so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of article 16 shall be applicable as against the state taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

### Article 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

### Article 19.

The assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

### Article 20.

1. The members of the League severally agree that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

### Article 21.

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

### Article 22.

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the

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states which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

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8. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the council.

9. A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

### Article 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League:

- (a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;
- (f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

### Article 24.

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

## THE COVENANT

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

3. The council may include as part of the expenses of the secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

### Article 25.

The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

### Article 26.

1. Amendments to the covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the assembly.

2. No such amendments shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

## ANNEX

### 1. Original Members of the League of Nations, Signatories of the Treaty of Peace.

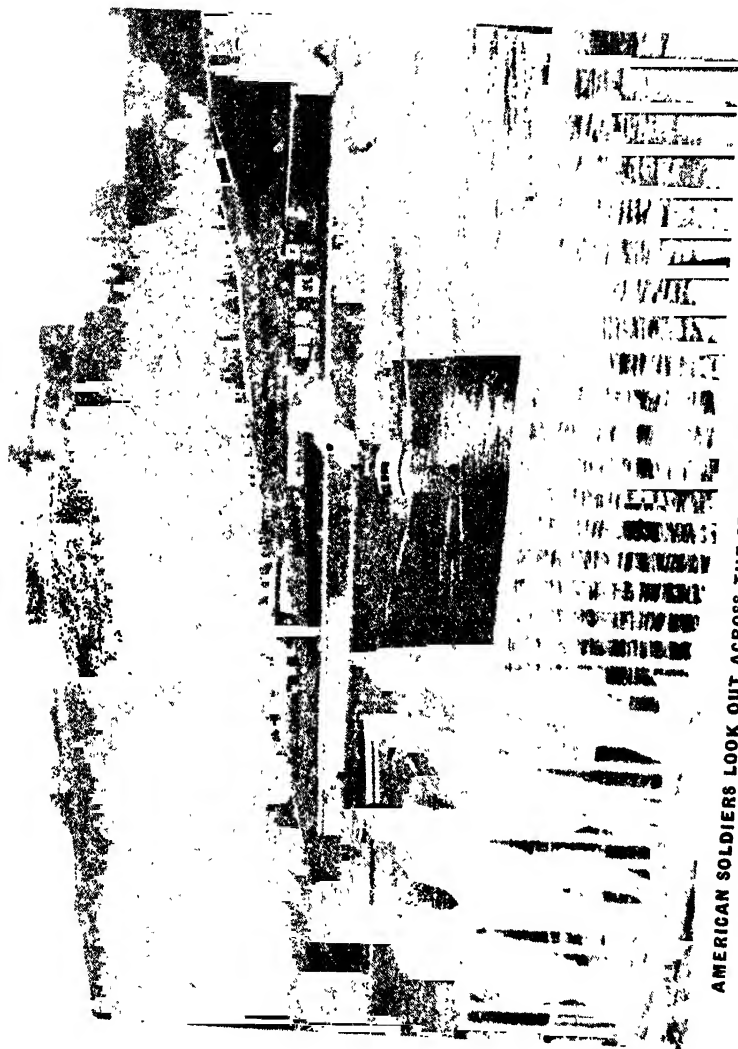
United States of America.	Haiti.
Belgium.	Hedjaz.
Bolivia.	Honduras.
Brazil.	Italy.
British Empire	Japan.
Canada.	Liberia.
Australia.	Nicaragua.
South Africa.	Panama.
New Zealand.	Peru.
India.	Poland.
China.	Portugal.
Cuba.	Roumania.
Ecuador.	Serb-Croat-Slovene State.
France.	Siam.
Greece.	Czechoslovakia.
Guatemala.	Uruguay.

## THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Of the countries that had taken no part in the war, a number accepted the invitations to join the League. These were the Argentine republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Venezuela. Of the countries created by the peace treaties Estonia, Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania joined in 1920 or 1921. Three little states, Albania, Costa Rica, and Luxemburg, joined in 1920. Of the enemy countries Austria and Bulgaria were admitted in 1920, Hungary in 1922, and Turkey in 1932. The Irish Free State was admitted in 1923, just after it had been recognized as a Dominion of the British Empire. The treaty by which, in 1927, Great Britain recognized the independence of Irak provided for its entry into the League at the end of a period of five years and the country was accordingly admitted in October, 1932. There was a similar provision in the treaty made between Great Britain and Egypt in 1929.

The League also suffered several withdrawals. The United States never took up the responsibilities of membership, and Ecuador also withdrew. Argentine ceased to attend the meetings. In 1924 Costa Rica gave notice of withdrawal on the ground of the expense involved. More important were the notices handed in by Brazil and Spain in 1926. In January 1928 Brazil's withdrawal became effective, but Spain decided to continue her membership. Mexico gave notice of withdrawal in December, 1932, and Japan in March, 1933. This action on the part of Japan was due to the attitude taken by the League in the dispute over Manchuria between that country and China. On becoming effective in 1935 it will leave vacant one of the permanent seats on the council of the League.

Japan's notice to withdraw was soon followed by that of Germany. In September, 1926, following the signature of the pact of Locarno, Germany had been admitted to the League, and had been given a permanent seat on its council. Her statesmen took a constant and considerable part in the deliberations at Geneva and elsewhere until the autumn of 1933. At that time the supreme power in the country had passed into the hands of Adolf Hitler, who took a very different line from that adopted by his predecessors in the office of chancellor. Asserting that the Powers had not fulfilled their pledges to Germany, he stated that his country could no longer accept a position of inferiority, and would therefore withdraw from the



AMERICAN SOLDIERS LOOK OUT ACROSS THE STORIED RHINE TO THE FORT OF COBLENZ



OPENING MEETING OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS, JANUARY 18, 1919

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

League and also from the Disarmament Conference then being held under its auspices. The formal notice followed before the end of October, and Germany's representatives also withdrew from the International Labour Office.

The International Labour Organization was constituted by Part XIII of the treaty of Versailles, as an autonomous organization of the League of Nations. Its object is the establishment of social justice since "the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries." Membership of the League carries with it membership of the organization. This consists of the international labour conference, which meets at least once a year, and the international labour office, controlled by a governing body. The conference and the governing body are composed of representatives of governments, employers, and workers.

The decisions of the conference take the form of draft conventions, or recommendations, which each state is required by the treaty to submit to the authorities within whose competence the matter lies for the enactment of legislation or other action. If a draft convention obtains the assent of the competent authorities, the member must communicate the formal ratification of it to the secretary-general of the League of Nations. If the competent authority does not consent, no further obligation rests on the member. The members report annually to the International Labour Office on the measures which they have taken to give effect to the conventions which they have ratified. Machinery also exists for the hearing of complaints made against a member who fails to give proper application to a convention.

The functions of the International Labour Office are the preparation of the agenda of the conference, the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of industrial life and labour, the publication in various languages and periodicals and reports dealing with problems of industry and employment, and any other duties assigned to it by the conference.

## CHAPTER 9

# Demobilisation

**F**OR some months before the armistice the war office had been preparing elaborate plans for demobilisation, and when on November 11, 1918, hostilities ceased there was a natural expectation on the part of the men at the front that they would be sent home with the least possible delay. That was not altogether feasible. The government had to take a long view. Such a large army as the British army in France could not be repatriated in a few weeks or even in a few months. There were military exigencies to be considered. An army of occupation had to be sent to Germany; there was an immense amount of work to be done in clearing up in France; transport had to be arranged, and finally there was the problem of absorbing into civilian employment the men released from service.

Demobilisation of the huge conscript armies of France and Italy was effected with comparative rapidity by the simple process of releasing men in yearly classes. It was felt, however, that such a system, while possessing the virtues of speed and simplicity, must lead inevitably to a serious disorganization of the industrial life of a country such as Great Britain. In consequence, it was decided that the chief factor in the demobilisation of the forces of the United Kingdom and the Dominions should be the ability of industry to absorb the labour released. The indiscriminate liberation of men would undoubtedly have resulted in considerable unemployment, and for this reason the War Office refrained from demobilising by military formations and units. Instead, it proposed to demobilise individuals on a selective basis, according to the requirements of the fundamental trades.

The first phase was, of course, the construction of the military machinery for the process of demobilisation, carrying with it the establishment of cadres for units of all arms, for the care of guns, transport, and equipment other than personal; the formation of units to deal with individuals and cadres in their various stages towards demobilisation. The second phase—the reconstruction

## THE SEVERAL PHASES

of the industries of the country for the absorption of labour—comprised among other things the earmarking of employers, supervisors, and labour required; arrangements for the prompt despatch of each individual to the district in which his services were required; and the compilation of an industrial priority list.

The third phase—transportation by sea—included not only the chartering of ships, but arrangements for wharfage accommodation, coaling, and supply. In addition, load-tables and time-tables had to be worked out. Transportation by land, the fourth phase, also involved the preparation of time-tables. Of equal importance was the fifth phase, the organization of a post-bellum army. This necessitated measures for recruiting, furlough arrangements, rejoining and refitting men at depots, as well as the working out of movements for the units composing the force. The sixth phase was the care of those still unfit for civil life; and the seventh the storage of armaments, equipment, ammunition, etc. The latter phase included arrangements for accommodation, transportation, gradual storage, and the provision of personnel for custody.

Next came the disposal of surplus animals, vehicles, stores, etc. This formed the eighth phase, and comprised their sale (with a concomitant consideration of prices and preferential claims from overseas dominions and Allied governments), the non-disturbance of trade prospects, and registration. The ninth phase—the disposal of personnel on cessation of military employment—covered the return of the individual to the place selected by him, the collection of his arms and equipment, payment during furlough, reclothing, provision for him according to the terms of his enlistment, insurance against non-employment due to no fault of his own, registration for receipt of medals earned, and re-employment in civil life. It also carried with it the necessity of feeding him and providing for him should he fall sick en route.

The tenth phase—the disbandment of units no longer required—involved a decision as to which units should be maintained; the provision of personnel to form cadres for the care and safe custody of animals, equipment, guns, and vehicles until the cadre unit could be transported from its home or overseas station to the place of disbandment; the selection of places, and the proper disposal of arms, equipment, guns, and vehicles; the completion of documentary records and their handing in; and, finally, the closing down of accounts. In the eleventh phase—

## DEMOBILISATION

the final settlement of payments to individuals—credits (furlough pay, separation allowances, family allowance, ration allowance, etc.), and debits for loss of arms or equipment, had all to be brought to account. The twelfth phase was the final adjustment of the accounts of units, etc., and the thirteenth the preparation of plans for remobilisation should it be required. This was an essential part of the vast scheme, which could not have been initiated without every step being considered in conjunction with future possibilities, however improbable. It necessitated the critical examination of every arrangement from this point of view. The fourteenth and final phase was the repatriation of prisoners of war. This called for special embarkation and transportation arrangements, and for prisoners in foreign lands disembarkation, accommodation, and supply arrangements.

The multitude of details covered by that simple and sometimes imperfectly understood word "demobilisation" having been indicated, it is now possible to examine the demobilisation scheme as originally devised. A special army order of October 21, 1918, laid down that each individual should have his industrial group, his actual trade, and his condition, whether married or single, recorded in his Army Book 64. There were altogether forty-three industrial groups, as arranged by the Ministry of Labour. A daily allotment of men for dispersal was then made to expeditionary forces and commands at home and abroad, so as to ensure the return of approximately equal numbers from overseas and within the United Kingdom. As a temporary measure the following order of industrial priority was fixed:

1. Coalminers, who, as long as available, were to compose 50 per cent. of each draft, but not more than 50 per cent. except when there were insufficient men of categories 2 to 8 below to make up the draft.

2. Demobilisers—i.e., men needed by the government for work in connexion with demobilisation.

3. Pivotal men, or men whose release and return to work would enable employment to be found for others.

4. Men ordered for special release as being urgently wanted in the interests of industry.

5. Those for whom approved offers of employment were received.

6. Men over forty-one.

7. Soldiers discharged from hospital and convalescents.

8. Men of Group 43 (teachers, students, etc.).

## BENEFITS FOR THE MEN

This arrangement was made early in December, 1918, and the necessary instructions were issued to all officers commanding units. It was decided also that, in addition to demobilisers and pivotal men, the Ministry of Labour should be free to put forward for demobilisation the names of officers and men who had pre-war work or interrupted training to which they could immediately return. To each officer and man a civil employment form was issued, and this when complete contained all the information desired. It gave the man's occupation, his former employer or employers, his age, condition, and also whether an employer had definitely promised him work, or whether he wished his name submitted to a particular employer.

After the commanding officer had made his consolidated return to the War Office, these forms were sent on to the appointments department of the Ministry of Labour. Correspondingly employers were instructed to make applications for the release of men they needed. Printed application forms were provided for pivotal men, and men whose early release was advisable on industrial grounds. A certain amount of latitude was, however, granted to officers in completing their dispersal drafts, to allow of a small proportion of long-service and time-expired men being released. Also, assuming other conditions to be equal, married men had preference over single.

Drafts for dispersal were sorted abroad and despatched to collecting camps, or, in the case of men serving in the United Kingdom, to military collecting places. Each individual, with the exception of officers, who, as such, were entitled to special gratuities, received twenty-eight days' furlough with full pay and allowances. Further benefits under the scheme included the issue to every man of: (1) An out-of-work donation policy, valid for a period of one year from the date of discharge, and payable for not more than twenty weeks under certain conditions; (2) a railway warrant home; (3) a suit of plain clothes, or an allowance in lieu thereof; (4) a protection certificate; and (5) any gratuities earned. Men were also allowed to retain as their own property a uniform, one pair of boots, and all under-clothing and small kit. The greatcoat had, however, to be returned before the expiration of the twenty-eight days' furlough, and £1 (deducted from the gratuity) was paid on its delivery to a railway station. Payments were made by special money-orders or postal drafts in three weekly instalments. These were

## DEMOBILISATION

only cashable on production of the protection certificate issued at the dispersal station. With certain minor differences the conditions governing the demobilisation of officers were similar to those of other ranks. The guiding principles, except in the case of regular officers, were that they should have definite employment awaiting them, and were not required for military reasons by the arm or branch of the service to which they belonged. Prisoners of war, after arrival in the United Kingdom, were sent to prisoners of war reception camps, where special facilities were afforded them for interviews with relatives and friends, and for the exchange of foreign moneys. Everything possible was done to secure their comfort, and they were demobilised as rapidly as possible.

The demobilisation of Dominion and Colonial forces was largely affected by questions of transport and available tonnage. Repatriation at the public expense was given to all officers and soldiers of the imperial army who:

1. Joined or enlisted abroad after the outbreak of war, or who after that date proceeded to the United Kingdom and joined or enlisted.
2. Arrived in the United Kingdom on or after January 1, 1914, and were temporarily resident therein, and joined or enlisted.
3. At the outbreak of hostilities were temporarily resident in the United Kingdom for purposes of attending a recognized educational or training course (including apprenticeship) whose recognized definite period does not exceed four years.

Officers and men claiming repatriation were grouped thus:

1. Those who wished to defer their embarkation from the United Kingdom and to terminate their service at the first opportunity.
2. Those who undertook to embark from the United Kingdom or Egypt at the first opportunity, remaining in the Service until such time as passages were available.

A repatriation record office was established temporarily at Winchester to deal with the above. The men were conveyed to their own countries either direct or via the United Kingdom, under arrangements made by the home government in conjunction with the government concerned. They did not pass through dispersal stations in the United Kingdom, but were dispersed under arrangements made by their own governments.

Marshal Foch had estimated that on a selective basis 10,000 men per day could be drafted from France to England for

## PROFESSIONAL MEN

dispersal, or, on a non-selective basis, 23,000 per day, and as the selective method was that adopted, an effort was made to maintain the former figure. November passed in preparation for the preliminary dispersal period, as it was termed to distinguish it from general demobilisation, which could come only with the signing of peace. Meanwhile the shortage of coal was still serious, and this, with its stultifying effect upon the industries of the country, rendered imperative the immediate release of coal-miners (No. 3), who were given priority over all others.

Almost at the outset, however, unanticipated difficulties arose in connexion with the scheme. As time progressed, hastily-framed resolutions were made and superimposed upon the original plan. On December 10 the War Cabinet demobilisation committee, formed to deal with the general policy of demobilisation, and presided over by General Smuts, approved the demobilisation of officers and men in command depots. On the same date the Army Council decided that all Group 43 men who desired should be demobilised, providing they were not required for military reasons. This instruction did not, however, apply to regular soldiers on pre-war attestations with colour service to complete.

Group 43 was composed of professors, tutors, lecturers, examiners, inspectors of schools, teachers, including pupil teachers, and all persons who were receiving tuition at a university, or college, or school, or technical college, or other similar institution. The following day another important decision was made. It was announced that all soldiers who had been discharged fit for duty from hospital since November 11, 1918, and on the date of discharge had undergone treatment for twenty-eight days consecutively, could be sent to the United Kingdom for demobilisation by normal routes as soon as shipping permitted. Following upon this came orders for the release of all sick and wounded in command depots. The force of circumstances was thus interfering at several points with the smooth working of the industrial scheme.

Difficulties overseas and elsewhere led, on December 14, to the issue of an order to the effect that no more men of the R.A.S.C., R.A.V.C., R.A.O.C., Remounts, Transportation Services of the Royal Engineers, and Army Pay Corps were to be demobilised until further notice. This, it was stated, was a temporary precaution until detailed arrangements for their relief

## DEMOBILISATION

had been completed, in order that the important services of these corps might not be dislocated.

Meantime dispersal stations were being opened all over the country, and by December 22 no fewer than eleven were at work. The weakness of the original selective scheme became, however, more and more evident with each day that passed. It was too leisurely, and the rate of demobilisation was not quick enough to satisfy an eager and impatient public. Employers were inconvenienced by the failure of the authorities to release important men and by their apparent neglect of repeated applications. Relations and friends of absent soldiers failed in part to grasp the extreme complexity of the problem, and began to clamour for an immediate speeding-up of demobilisation. An agitation in the columns of the daily press gave final expression to this popular dissatisfaction.

On December 20 the prime minister gave Sir Eric Geddes a free hand to organize and accelerate demobilisation of the army. His appointment partly appeased the agitators, but trouble arose in another direction. Men were constantly arriving in the United Kingdom on leave from overseas, and among these were many "pivotal" and "special release" men, who claimed that it was only reasonable they should be demobilised while on their leave, rather than return overseas eventually to occupy valuable shipping space. A decision was made, therefore, that they should be allowed to return to work without going back to their units. Statements giving all necessary particulars had, however, to be sent to the local advisory committees and then handed to the military records offices at least five days before the leave expired; or, in the case of officers, to the local district director of the appointments department of the Ministry of Labour for endorsement.

Subsequently, in response to the growing pressure of public opinion, this concession was extended to include what came to be known as "contract" men. Any man on leave who could produce a written guarantee of employment from an employer in whose service he had been prior to August 4, 1914, was entitled to claim an extension of leave, during which period his papers were examined and approved. As a natural consequence of these constant amendments large numbers of men were released without regard to the prearranged order of industrial priority, and individual grievances were bound inevitably to

## THE RATE OF RELEASE

ensue. At this period the total daily allotment was 10,400, which, with a daily average of 1,000 men released while on leave, made a grand total of 11,400 soldiers demobilised per day. The reaction of Continental affairs on demobilisation was indicated on December 27 when instructions were issued that no men on leave from Archangel, Murmansk, Siberia, Caucasus, or North Persia were to be demobilised without reference having been made to the War Office. On December 28 yet another decision was made, and the Army Council instructed all commands to reserve a half per cent. of dispersal allotments for men released on compassionate grounds. It had to be clearly established that the soldier's demobilisation would be of material benefit to his family, but although the final decision was left in the hands of his commanding officer, a fairly clear idea was given as to what constituted a deserving application.

In spite of all these concessions the rate of release was still low enough to cause dissatisfaction. The War Office, after collecting reports from various sources, came to the conclusion by the end of the year that the delay in releasing men was due to the following causes: a deficiency of army forms, ignorance of orders issued, waiting for return of resettlement forms from the Ministry of Labour, the refusal of commanding officers and others to consider direct contracts to return to pre-war employment, or to verify a man's belonging to a group ordered for demobilisation, and, finally, to the lack of organization in units. The maximum possible rate of demobilisation was, of course, determined by the available shipping and wharfage accommodation and by the number of men sent daily for leave. Of these latter there were 7,000 passing every day between Calais and Folkestone.

Of the Dominion forces 1,500 men were also disembarked daily at Weymouth, and further accommodation had to be provided at Southampton for 1,485 men from Taranto, Italy. On New Year's Day, 1919, it was decided that all cadets undergoing training in special cadet battalions should complete their course, upon which they would be gazetted, passed to the Special Reserve of Officers, and demobilised, without, however, drawing any pay or emoluments other than their regulation cadet pay and allowances while they were on furlough.

Three days passed, and then the smouldering fire of resentment burst into flame. About 10,000 soldiers who were returning from leave and staying in rest-camps at Folkestone made a remarkable

## DEMOBILISATION

demonstration against what they considered to be the slow demobilisation of the troops. Arrangements had been made to send the Brigade of Guards' colours to Cologne via Folkestone, but after being carried with full military ceremonial to Charing Cross Station, London, their departure was suddenly cancelled by the military authorities, Folkestone having been temporarily closed as a port. The origin of the disturbance lay in a misunderstanding. A number of men had obtained an extension of leave in order to complete the "contracts" with pre-war employers which qualified them for immediate demobilisation.

This caused discontent among the others, who declared they had never been informed that such a scheme was in force, and alleged that some were bogus contracts. In consequence they refused to allow the "contract" men to return to London, and also prevented their comrades from going on board ship. The protest was quite orderly, and this greatly facilitated a settlement. The men were first seen by General Dallas from Canterbury, and subsequently by General Woolcombe, G.O.C. Eastern Command. It was promised that their cases should be dealt with individually. Those who had genuine contracts not yet in order could avail themselves of their extension of leave.

A similar privilege was granted to men who could show reasonable grounds for claiming that they were in a position to obtain contracts, on condition that they returned to their units at the end of the period if they failed to do so. Men without contracts were to return at once. The examination of the men's claims was conducted by a number of officials of the Ministry of Labour sent down the following day with a strong staff of clerks. A similar difficulty arose at Dover, but the number of men concerned was smaller, and the dispute was settled in the same way. On Sunday, January 5, it was announced that all officers over 51 years of age, or who attained that age, might be demobilised if they so desired.

The Folkestone incident was but the first of a series of similar occurrences. The tactful and sympathetic way in which the authorities had handled the situation, combined with the success of the negotiations, inspired other bodies of troops smarting under certain grievances to adopt equivalent tactics in order to draw attention to their claims. The most spectacular demonstration took place on Monday, January 6, 1919, when 200 men of the R.A.S.C. stationed at Osterley Park, Isleworth, broke camp and

## PROTESTS AGAINST DELAY

proceeded by lorry to Whitehall to state their case to the authorities. They represented for the most part time-expired infantrymen who had been drafted into the R.A.S.C. Many of them had been wounded after two or more years in France, and in view of the suspension order of December 14, and a rumour that their corps would be the last branch of the Service to be demobilised, they demanded to be placed on an equal footing with the men of infantry regiments. The outcome of this affair was that a deputation of six remained to lay the facts before a brigadier-general, while the remainder returned to camp, accompanied by a staff major, who they insisted should go with them to investigate their grievance.

On the same day 7,000 soldiers, leaving Shoreham Camp, marched into Brighton to protest against the demobilisation delay. They were joined by a detachment of Royal Marine Engineers from Southwick, but on a promise that the matter should be reported to the right quarter, and that no punishment should be meted out to them for their breach of discipline, they returned to camp. In addition a number of men from the Shortlands depot of the R.A.S.C. (M.T.) marched to the Central Hall, Bromley, and made a formal protest. As a result of these various exhibitions of a not unnatural impatience and irritation, it was decided that the R.A.S.C. should be treated on the same lines as infantry, and, further, that one-tenth of the dispersal drafts from France should consist of long-service men. On January 7 the secretary of the War Office made the following announcement:

It is now, and always has been, necessary to retain a number of men, in proportion to the strength of the Army, in order to carry out the vital administrative work of feeding, clothing, housing, and moving the troops, and it must be realized that the more rapidly demobilisation proceeds the greater is the strain thrown upon the administrative services. The demobilisation of the Army involves the continuous employment of men engaged in transportation, and it is on this account that it is impracticable to demobilise the administrative services as rapidly as the combatant branches. By transportation must be understood not merely the railway men, inland water transport men, dock employees, and mechanical transport drivers, but the men engaged in the repair and other shops connected with these services. Every endeavour is being made to keep down the numbers of the administrative services to the minimum compatible with speedy demobilisation, and a beginning has already been made with the dispersal of the

## DEMOBILISATION

Royal Army Ordnance Corps, Royal Army Service Corps, Army Pay Corps, Remounts, Transportation, Royal Engineers, Royal Army Veterinary Corps, who have received a percentage of allotments which is as high as it possibly can be at present, and which will automatically increase as demobilisation proceeds.

By January 8, 1919, some 300,000 men had been demobilised, and the release of pivotal men alone was proceeding at the estimated rate of 4,000 per day. Nevertheless, disturbances continued all over the country. On January 8, 4,000 R.A.S.C. men marched from Park Royal to Whitehall. A delegation was seen by Sir William Robertson, who gave assurances that their claims should be investigated, upon which the demonstrators marched back to camp. Six hundred men of the Flying Service at Westerham Hill Aerodrome, Kent, demonstrated. Several hundred men of the Royal Air Force at Felixstowe marched to the headquarters of the Harwich Defence; 500 members of a Royal Air Force school at Hythe marched to the Hotel Imperial and protested; 100 men belonging to the Highland Light Infantry marched to the headquarters of the Scottish command in Edinburgh; and, finally, a body of men representing the Queen's, Gloucesters, and Wiltshires held a protest meeting in Maidstone, and then marched to the town hall.

The trouble had now become sufficiently serious to receive the attention of the prime minister, who examined the situation in consultation with the military authorities. A long statement was published on January 9 appealing for patience on the part of soldiers and public, and declaring that sympathetic hearing would be given to all legitimate complaints, while everything possible was being done to quicken the pace of demobilisation. As a preliminary it was decided to abolish the "contract" system by which men were enabled to obtain discharge while on leave.

The Army Council gave notice to all units that "officers and soldiers who embarked on and after January 12 for leave in the United Kingdom are only permitted to proceed on leave to the United Kingdom on the distinct understanding that they are to return to their units on the expiration of their leave, and that they will not be demobilised under any pretext whatever while on leave. Experience," added the instruction, "has shown this order to be necessary to ensure the maintenance of the Army of Occupation, the personnel of which must receive leave in their

## THE THIRD PERIOD

turn. It is advisable to release men in the order laid down by the leave rosters, which are prepared many weeks in advance. It has been found that in a high proportion of cases leave drafts from France now consist of men who have been overseas for six or nine months only, and the demobilisation of all men on leave would thus be unfair to long-service men still overseas, and in many cases would not lead to the release of men most urgently required in the national interest."

This somewhat belated explanation of the position, and the obvious sincerity of the efforts of the authorities, began to take effect, and the last flicker of indignation came on January 9 in the refusal of a large number of R.A.M.C. men in Blackpool to go on parade. The restrictions on this corps were, however, removed, and what has been referred to as the second period, that of acceleration, began. January 12 saw the expiration of the contract system. By then the number of pivotal men released daily had risen to 6,000, and altogether 70,000 applications for such men had been received. Further, 125,000 miners had been demobilised. The daily allotment had risen to 20,000, and from January 15 the number of leave men was reduced to 6,000 daily.

A fortnight later the daily figure had risen to 30,000, and promised soon to reach 40,000. No fewer than 140,000 men per week were discharged from commands in the United Kingdom alone, and in view of the increasing strain on the personnel at dispersal stations it was decided that no dispersals should take place on Sundays. The organization at these centres was admirable. The regulation rate was originally fixed at 100 per hour, but at many places this figure was exceeded, notably at Ripon and the Crystal Palace, where 2,400 men were discharged daily. Each man from overseas was provided with a clean shirt and socks, if necessary, given a hot bath and a hot meal, and had a short interview with an army chaplain. The average time spent by the individual in the actual process of receiving his discharge was little more than an hour.

The third period was now rapidly approaching. Preparations for the establishment of a definite army of occupation were practically complete, and it was realized that the policy of demobilisation in accordance with industrial requirements could no longer be strictly maintained. Desirable though it was to prevent unemployment and dislocation, European events had materially changed the situation. The probability that a large

## DEMOBILISATION

British army would be required in Germany and elsewhere for many months, rendered it advisable to create a stable force and to demobilise as quickly as possible all who were not required to serve in it. The Supreme War Council, after consultation with Marshal Foch, decided that the strength of the British contribution to the Allied armies of occupation should be 900,000 men of all ranks and arms. This announcement, together with a notification of the change in the method of demobilisation, and a statement of the conditions governing the new army of occupation, appeared on January 30. It was also stated that no more applications for pivotal men would be considered unless they had been made prior to February 1.

This definitely marked the end of the industrial scheme. The new arrangements promised demobilisation, as soon as the exigencies of the service would permit, to the following warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who:

1. Joined for immediate service prior to January 1, 1916.
2. Were called up from the reserve.
3. Belonged to the Territorial Force, and attested prior to January 1, 1916.
4. Were serving under pre-war conditions of service and had completed their colour service.
5. Were thirty-seven years of age, or subsequently attained that age.
6. Were entitled to wear three or more wound stripes.
7. Had been certified as pivotal men prior to February 1, 1919.
8. Had, prior to February 1, 1919, been recommended by the Ministry of Labour for special release.
9. Had been recommended for compassionate release.
10. Were approved for return overseas to their pre-war homes or businesses.

The following classes were not immediately demobilised:

(a) Warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, serving under pre-war conditions of service, who had not completed their term of colour service.

(b) Warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the non-combatant corps.

(c) Those required for the machinery of demobilisation.

(d) Those serving in overseas garrisons until they could be relieved.

The demobilisation of officers was similarly regulated. The selection of officers for the army was made:

## SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

1. From those who volunteered.
2. By promotion from lower ranks, if such officers were fit.
3. By compulsory retention.

Acting rank was not considered in selection. Officers under thirty-seven were not released at all if they were commissioned on or after January 1, 1916, but officers passed to the reserve on receipt of a commission were not retained. Increased rates of pay were introduced generally to compensate those whose retention in the force was compulsory. From this time onward the rate and process of demobilisation was stabilised, and complaints, individual or collective, became noticeably less. The preference given to men with long service and wound stripes appealed to the popular sense of fairness, and the higher pay and other benefits largely appeased those whose demobilisation was indefinitely deferred. Early in February the daily dispersal rate had risen to the excellent figure of 43,333. On February 3 the total number discharged from the British forces since demobilisation began was 25,344 officers and 1,087,005 men.

On the fifth of the same month Sir Auckland Geddes replaced his brother as co-ordinator of demobilisation. On March 20 the grand total released was 57,082 officers and 2,052,460 other ranks. The governing conditions continued to be age and length of service. Eventually the age of retention was reduced to thirty-six, then to thirty-five. Next, men with two wound stripes were released, and after that, soldiers of 34. In this way the vast army created slowly during four and a half years of war was whittled down until only the desired residuum of 900,000 men remained to form the army of occupation. Demobilisation was then, broadly speaking, complete.

While the question of absorbing the men demobilised from the army was causing the government anxiety, the position of the munition workers was hardly less pressing. At the date of the armistice about forty thousand firms were engaged to a greater or less extent on war work for the Ministry of Munitions, the War Office and the Admiralty. Upwards of five thousand six hundred establishments were definitely under government control. When the armistice was signed the state establishments, or national factories, numbered close on two hundred, and included enormous projectile, shell, and shell-filling works. These national factories employed about 136,000 men and 170,000 women, or 306,000 in all. In private establishments the

## DEMOBILISATION

total number of workers engaged in munitions industries was 2,048,250, and of this huge aggregate about 730,000 were women. Between the national factories and the private establishments upwards of 900,000 persons were employed in the making of destructive munitions, and with the armistice their occupation was gone. Roughly, the position was that upwards of a million people were required to change their work with the cessation of war manufactures, and of these more than half were men.

At the date of the armistice great contracts for munitions of every kind were still running, and though the expenditure on munitions actually reached its maximum about the end of September, 1918, the reduction thereafter to the armistice was very slight. Practically war production was at its top. A possible course for the government to take was to stop dead, as in a moment, all this vast war production. It was plain that this was contrary to public policy, for it was bound to precipitate a highly dangerous industrial crisis, seriously affecting not only employers and employed but the whole nation. In any case a crisis was inevitable, and the government decided to minimise it and tide the country over it. This was achieved partly by adjusting the contracts with the munitions manufacturers, partly by assisting them to get back to peace production, and partly by paying unemployment benefit to workers thrown out of employment.

It had been foreseen long before the armistice that dislocation of employment would inevitably follow the cessation of hostilities, and the government had taken certain steps with a view to dealing with it. As far back as August 21, 1917, the Ministry of Reconstruction had been constituted. It had carried out preliminary investigations, and issued a series of reports on various aspects of the industrial situation.

Further, to tide over the transition period from war to peace, the government brought in some temporary measures with respect to the wages to be paid to the workers. The general rates of wages were stabilised by the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act, passed in November, 1918, and this Act gave statutory force to the rates of wages in operation on November 11, 1918, for six months from that date. It further provided that the same statutory force should be extended to any new standard rates established by agreement between employers and trade unions, provided they were registered by the Ministry of Labour.

## BENEFITS PROVIDED

The object of this Act was to give industry six months in which to get wages on to a commercial basis. After all these measures were taken to make the industrial demobilisation gradual and to provide for the resettlement in industry of the war workers, it was still plain that the demobilisation immediately subsequent to and consequent on the armistice carried with it the certainty of the unemployment at once of hundreds of thousands of men and women. "The Government," to quote from a speech of Sir Robert Horne, "was faced with the immediate prospect of great masses of workpeople being thrown out on the streets without any means of livelihood." The situation was highly critical, and called for some large measure of relief.

It happened that there was something of a precedent. Towards the end of 1915 the government of the day had announced that upon demobilisation members of the forces would be entitled, in addition to other allowances, to receive an insurance policy, good for a year, against unemployment. In the same manner, but not at first for anything like the same length of time, the Government in existence in November, 1918, provided for the war workers thrown out of employment a general scheme of unemployment benefit—the out-of-work donation, as it was called.

As it was held to be impossible to discriminate between those who were engaged in war work and those who were not, the scheme was extended to include all industrial workers. The benefits provided by the scheme were: For men over eighteen 24s., and for women over eighteen 20s., a week; for boys between fifteen and eighteen 12s., and for girls of the same age 10s. a week. An allowance was given in respect of dependent children under fifteen of 6s. a week for the first child and 3s. for the others. The scheme came into operation on November 25, 1918, and was to remain in operation for six months, but during that period the benefit could be drawn for a maximum period of thirteen weeks and no longer. Protests came from all parts of the country of the inadequacy of the amount of the unemployment donation. Demands were made sometimes for a "full maintenance allowance," and sometimes for a "50s. unemployment donation." The Government yielded to the extent of increasing the amount by 5s. in the case of adults, and 2s. 6d. in the case of juveniles, men and women thus getting 29s. and 25s. a week respectively, and boys and girls 14s. 6d. and 12s. 6d.

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A system of contributory unemployment benefit—7s. a week—was in existence throughout the country, but it was not general in its incidence. Under the National Insurance Act of 1911 about two million workers were insured, and under the Munitions of War Act, 1917, one and a half millions were likewise insured. There were also many workers who were insured through their trade unions. When every allowance, however, was made for the number of those insured against unemployment, there remained about ten million workers who had no such provision. The new out-of-work donation was non-contributory; it was a free gift to all workers, war or otherwise, who showed that they were out of work, were willing to work, and could not find work—these were the conditions.

The rules were those of the National Insurance (Unemployment) Acts. Pains were taken by the government to make everyone understand that the out-of-work donation was not intended to be permanent, but was a temporary expedient for minimising distress in the period of change from war to peace. From the public came few objections. The nation, exulting in the victory that was implicit in the armistice, was in no mood to scan the scheme closely. At the moment its heart was fixed on peace, not on retrenchment. In the general election, which took place shortly after the scheme was announced, no candidate ventured to condemn what the Government had done.

Perhaps it was not stated with sufficient plainness to the workers that to take the state's bounty, unless it was necessary, was an unpatriotic act, and that there was no place in the scheme for the "sponger." Provision was, in fact, made to prevent abuse. The applicant for the donation had first to go before a labour exchange; if the particular exchange was not satisfied as to the *bona fides* of the applicant, he next applied to a court of referees—in all ninety-two of these courts, which consisted of employers and workers, with an independent chairman, were established; if he again failed, he could appeal to an umpire appointed by the Ministry of Labour, whose decision was final. The number of applicants constantly increased, the majority of them being women. At the beginning of May, 1919, 215,700 men and about 444,000 women war workers were drawing what was then called the donation.

## CHAPTER 10

### The World after the War (1).

**I**N the reconstruction of the map of Europe the treaties of peace dealt with a subject bristling with difficulties, conflicting interests and sources of friction, not only between victors and vanquished but also among the victors themselves; but the creation of the League of Nations, it was hoped, had at the same time provided an instrument by means of which defects in the treaties might be subsequently compensated, since it was morally certain that defects would be found.

Besides the territorial arrangements and the creation of the League, the treaties had to deal with another thorny subject—the reparations and indemnities which the victors severally might justly claim from the vanquished for the sufferings and losses inflicted by a war for which in the view of the former, the whole responsibility lay upon the latter, who, as they held, had also conducted it with an unprecedented disregard of the recognized ethics of warfare between civilized states. As against those claims they had to calculate the effective capacity for making them good; and in addition they had to provide security against any attempted repetition of the offence of which in their view those powers had been guilty.

The fear of renewed German military aggression in the future was in the nature of things much more prominent for France and Belgium than for anyone else; on the question of the share of compensation due to itself and to others every state had its own views, and those views were divergent; and on the question of capacity to pay there were not and could not be adequate data, while there was everywhere a strong popular disposition to exact the uttermost farthing rather than to consider the general economic effect of so doing.

The problematic character of the whole situation was further complicated by the fact that Russia was an unknown and incalculable quantity. The powers found themselves quite unable to recognize the Soviet government as one which could be relied upon to keep faith and carry out its engagements; since its

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agents were notoriously and avowedly employed abroad in a propaganda which aimed at the overthrow of all existing governments, its activities within Russia itself were condemned by all civilized opinion, and it had already repudiated all obligation to carry out engagements undertaken by the Russian government in the past. The powers desired to revive a settled order: Russia desired to destroy settled order; the two aims being obviously incompatible, there was no possibility of arriving at agreement as to the means. The powers wanted security, and Soviet Russia was a standing menace to all security.

On what we have called the third question, then, there were two aspects of the problem for settlement; compensations, and guarantees for Germany's neighbours against future aggression. The latter was concerned with Germany's effective disarmament, the demilitarising of the German frontier territory facing France, and the present occupation thereof by the Allies. The indemnities imposed were far short of what was considered adequate compensation, but, on the other hand, according to the Germans far in excess of anything they could possibly pay. If they were compelled to make promises, the promises were accompanied by warnings that it was in fact quite impossible to execute them.

At the same time the withdrawal of the Allied forces from the frontier provinces was made conditional upon their execution; and it continued by no means easy for the Allies, and above all for France, to believe in the honesty either of the German protests or of professions of complete disarmament. Napoleon had disarmed Prussia drastically enough after Jena, but the result had not been what he had intended. The Allies were in no mood to rely upon German good faith without the most convincing material guarantees; the Germans were resentful both of the charges brought against them and of the penalties exacted, so that the tone they adopted was not calculated to allay distrust. If the British were disposed to be more lenient than the French, with their devastated lands under their eyes, it was only because it was easier for them to be so. The rival parties to a dispute can hardly be expected to form an unbiassed judgement on the issues, and in the nature of the case one of the parties was here unequivocally the judge as well.

The natural result was that the terms were drastic, and did not tend to early reconciliation. There was a prospect of at

## THE BALTIC STATES

least modifying the nervousness of France in the proposal, to which both President Wilson and the British government assented, that America and Great Britain should jointly guarantee the security of France against German aggression; but it came to nothing, because it was essential that the guarantee should be a joint one, whereas, as with the League of Nations, in the devising of which the president had played so large a part, America refused her ratification. France remained with no more security than she could derive from the treaty of Versailles. Inevitably therefore she was resolved to let go nothing that she could logically claim under its terms. She would take no risks—and Germany as victor in 1871 had acted strictly upon the same doctrine.

The Baltic states that came into being at this time had been separated from Soviet Russia by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk at a moment when Germany conceived that they would as a matter of course become client states of her own, her troops being in fact in effective occupation. The independence of the Ukraine had been at the same time recognized by the Russians and the Central powers. The authority then acquired by Germany passed to the Allied powers with the treaty of Versailles, and with it the responsibility not for enforcing but for procuring such a settlement between them—and Poland with them—as should command their common assent, while precluding the association of any of them with Germany. Between Poland and Russia there had been no settlement beyond the tsar's earlier promise of liberation for Poland; and the soviets had announced that they were not bound by any engagements entered upon by the fallen tsardom. Before long, Poland and Russia were at war, and there were also acute differences between Poland and Lithuania.

Finland was prompt to declare herself an independent republic. She had an immediate dispute with Sweden on the question of sovereignty over the Aaland Islands, once in possession of Sweden. The matter was complicated, but the two states were persuaded to submit it to the League of Nations, and both loyally accepted its pronouncements thereon, which were embodied in a convention signed in October, 1921. Notable in connexion therewith was the League's declaration that the general principle of self-determination did not confer upon every community the right to transfer itself from one sovereign state to another; the Aaland islanders having expressed a preference for

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the sovereignty of Sweden. A boundary dispute between Finland and Russia concerning the title of the former to an ice-free port on the White Sea was settled in Finland's favour in the peace treaty of Dorpat (October, 1920) between these two states, which till then had been technically in a "state of war," the Finnish government having much ado to repress in Finland the Bolshevik activities emanating from Russia.

Esthonia, too, had her initial difficulties, because her government, like all governments, was anti-Bolshevik, for the simple reason that everywhere the Bolshevik propaganda was directed against every government not itself Bolshevik. Consequently some of the anti-Bolshevik Russians tried to make Esthonia their own base for hostilities against the Bolshevik government of Russia, which was hardly more agreeable to Esthonia, because the anti-Bolshevik Russians avowedly did not admit the right of the Baltic provinces to separate themselves from the legitimate Russian Empire. The collapse of the Russian monarchist efforts, however, at the end of 1919 led to the settlement of the Esthonia question to Esthonia's satisfaction by another treaty of Dorpat, in February, 1920, between Esthonia and the Soviet.

The experiences of Latvia were similar to those of her neighbour. Her independence was in like manner recognized by a Russian treaty in August, 1920; but the relations of these two little states with Russia must remain uneasy so long as she is, and they are not, Bolshevik. Even in conjunction it would be difficult for them to resist aggressive activities on the part of their big neighbour, though for defensive purposes the League of Nations stands behind them.

Between Lithuania, Poland and Russia the relations were complicated. The Russian government had accepted the separation from Russia of Lithuania, as distinct from Poland, at the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, with the corollary that Lithuania was intended, in effect, to become a German protectorate. In theory she would be an independent state, as she became when the Versailles treaty washed out the protectorate design. Before the war was over the Lithuanian provisional government was set up at Vilna, but on the German retirement the Russians again took forcible possession of Vilna in January, 1919. Meanwhile, the Poles had established their own provisional government. In their eyes Vilna was Polish, and in April they ejected the Bolsheviks from that city.

## LITHUANIA AND POLAND

Lithuania declined Poland's proposals for the reunion of Poland and Lithuania. The Poles, in spite of Lithuanian resentment, kept their grip on Vilna, which they had won back after Lithuania lost it to the Russians; but in 1920 the Russians renewed the attack and recovered Vilna. They did not stop at Vilna; they marched on Warsaw, the Polish capital, only to meet with very unexpected and altogether decisive defeat on the Vistula. The intervention of the League of Nations brought about an armistice; but a Polish general, on his own responsibility, ignored the armistice, marched on Vilna, seized it, and entirely refused to retire, though, at least officially, he was acting in defiance of his own government. The League, after divers experimental moves which proved ineffectual, left Poland and Lithuania to settle their claims by negotiations between themselves. But the Poles were in effective possession; a majority of the inhabitants of the Vilna district apparently preferred to be attached to Poland, and presently Europe recognized Vilna as being within the Polish sovereignty. Russia withdrew her own claims by the treaty of Riga (March, 1921) with Poland.

Vilna as part of Poland links up Poland with Latvia, and so with the north Baltic states, but severs Lithuania from Russia. As part of Lithuania, it would be a Lithuanian gateway to Russia and would sever Poland from Latvia. Incidentally, Lithuania is an easier channel of communication between Germany and Russia than Poland provides, since Lithuania has not the same historic causes as Poland for antipathy to Prussia. It was perhaps inevitable that western distrust of Germany and of Bolshevik Russia should foster, in France especially, the feeling that Poland must be, so to speak, a watch-dog and custodian in the east.

Of the five states who had taken part in the war and taken on themselves the peace settlement, the United States had repudiated responsibility for European affairs, from which Japan also stood apart. Whatever differences there might be among the others and their fallen antagonists, armed conflict among them was out of the question. The public danger lay in the fact that the sense of responsibility did not weigh heavily upon the minor states, whom it might be difficult to restrain from appealing to arms for the settlement of their disagreements—and bitter experience had shown that small fires may develop into great conflagrations. The east, therefore, with its great congeries

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of minor states was a constant source of anxiety; and between Yugo-Slavia and one of the great powers there were standing sources of friction; the territorial claims of Italy and Serbia on the eastern Adriatic being incompatible.

These last, however, proved themselves capable of adjustment by the good sense of the Italian and Serbian governments. The most notable instance was the case of Fiume. France and Britain had made engagements with Italy on her entry into the war which they were prepared to keep, but they were not prepared to extend them at the expense of the unified South Slavs. They would not support her later-asserted claim to the port of Fiume, which it was extremely difficult to assign to any one nationality. Fiume, like Danzig, was to be an independent free port. The Italian government reluctantly acquiesced; not so the fervent Italian nationalist Gabriel d'Annunzio, who in Garibaldian fashion raised a troop of his own and seized Fiume. So popular, however, was the action of the poet that it was not till the end of 1920 that the Italian government ventured to conclude with Yugo-Slavia the treaty of Rapallo to enforce d'Annunzio's withdrawal. Fiume was declared independent, but even then the position proved to be so impracticable that finally in 1924, Italy and Yugo-Slavia achieved a pact which gave Fiume itself to Italy but secured to Yugo-Slavia privileges in connexion with the port, which met her most pressing requirements.

Another of the threatening storm centres in the near eastern lands was Hungary. The Magyars, always resentful of subordination to the Teuton in the empire under which they were combined, had always been no less insistent on the subordination of the Slav to the Magyar in Hungary. Of recent years they had enjoyed a status of equality with the Teuton while retaining domination over the Slav. Now, in the break-up of the empire, Teuton and Magyar were definitely separated, and so far as disentanglement was possible the Slavs had broken free from the domination of both. But, further, the Slavs, while they had no fears of an Austrian attempt to recover ascendancy over them, felt no such security in regard to the Magyars. The same applied to the Roumanes of Transylvania, now transferred to Rumania. Hungary had taken her stand with the Central powers, shared in their humiliation, and resented as an injustice when meted out to herself the treatment in which she had seen no injustice when meted out by herself to subject peoples.

## HUNGARY

Hungary, moreover, early became a source of trouble, because in March, 1919, her government was seized by the communist or Bolshevik faction, which presented itself as a menace to Rumania, who in her turn had special grudges against Hungary born in the recent war. Rumania invaded Hungary; conciliatory missions from the west failed. The communist government fell, but the Rumanian troops did not withdraw till they had exacted severe indemnities from Hungary. There followed some disastrous attempts to restore the Hapsburg monarchy in Hungary, which to Hungary's neighbours was as disturbing as the plunge into communism. It was not surprising, therefore, that Yugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania made a treaty of alliance among themselves which united them in what was known as the Little Entente for the defence of the common interests for which the western powers did not appear to offer them adequate safeguards; interests which appeared to be threatened by Bolshevism on one side, possibly by Italy on the other side, and by Hungary at the centre. Nor is it surprising that from another point of view the safeguarding of those interests meant the depression of Hungary.

It would indeed be a sound general statement to say that conditions gave strong though by no means absolute security against the rekindling of war in the west, but that as regions lay farther and farther from the armies of the western powers the security for peace diminished. The great powers, including Germany, would leave no stone unturned to avoid collision among themselves; but necessarily it was to this end that their attention and energies were most continuously directed, and their control eastwards was comparatively sporadic, and spasmodic, in proportion as their alertness to the course of events waxed and waned. It was in, and in connexion with, what had been the Turkish Empire that the menace of a serious conflagration suddenly made itself most acutely felt.

The Turkish Empire had matched the Austrian Empire in the completeness of its collapse. The sultan, for four centuries khalif and official head of the Sunni Mahomedan world, though not so recognized in the Shiah regions, still officially reigned at Constantinople, but his temporal dominion in Europe was reduced to the city itself and outside Europe was woefully shrunken. Egypt had gone, Syria and Palestine had gone, Arabia had gone, Irak (the revived name for Mesopotamia) had gone, Armenia

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had gone. How those populations, formerly under Turkish sovereignty, wholly without the experience or even the remote tradition of self-government other than the irresistible authority of a local despot, were to be governed now, was a sufficiently difficult problem for settlement by the powers who had broken down the military tyranny of the Turk; and how what remained of Turkey was to be made to serve instead of disturbing the welfare of the rest of the world was another; but Turkey's own revival was the last thing to be expected.

The sultan's government was permitted to remain in Constantinople mainly for two reasons—the difficulty of placing anyone else in possession (except the Americans, who firmly declined), and the reluctance to inflict on the Khalifate a humiliation which might have a disastrous repercussion upon the Mahomedan world. Meanwhile a considerable area about the straits was demilitarised and Allied troops under British command occupied Constantinople. The responsibility for Turkey's final collapse had lain with the Young Turks and their leader Enver. In his place Mustapha Kemal, who had displayed marked qualities both of soldiership and statesmanship, was sent to the Turkish headquarters in Anatolia.

While the government at Constantinople was negotiating the treaty of Sèvres, Mustapha Kemal, with very different views, was organizing a government in Anatolia, while Enver vanished into more obscure regions in the east, and Greece, almost unresisted, was by force of arms making good her classical but dubious claims to Smyrna and other coastal districts in Asia Minor. Mustapha called a congress at Sivas and formulated the policy embodied in what came to be called the national pact, which Constantinople ignored. Mustapha consequently ignored Constantinople and set up a national government at Angora in 1920. The Angora government, repudiating the Sèvres peace terms, failed to extract the concessions it demanded from the conference of London in 1921; while the Greek forces were continuing to advance, apparently with the intention of sharing the Turkish Black Sea provinces with Armenia, till they were checked a long way from their base.

The Constantinople government was a phantom; that of Angora was a reality which commanded the loyalty of the Turks in Asia and was inspired by a leader of genius. It had ignored but not officially repudiated Constantinople. It struck a treaty

## TURKEY AND GREECE

of its own with the Russian Soviet government. The French and British governments had announced their neutrality in the Graeco-Turkish war, in which the Greeks were conspicuously the aggressors. Without departing from neutrality, but recognizing the facts of the situation, France virtually recognized the Angora government by concluding with it a convention regarding the Turco-Syrian boundaries in October, 1921. Attempted mediation between the belligerents failed; when the Greeks in the following July proposed to occupy Constantinople the Powers, whose troops were in actual occupation, refused to admit them.

And then in August, Mustapha Kemal, who had bided his time, shattered the Greek army, whose retreat soon became an unequivocal rout, while the Turkish army was engaged partly in keeping them on the run, partly in marching towards the straits, on the way to Thrace. The very considerable Greek population in the districts which the Turks were now over-running fled headlong to the coast, where it was taken off by neutral as well as by Greek ships. King Constantine, who had been restored, abdicated for the second time, in favour of his son, George II.

If the Angora troops approaching the straits entered the demilitarised zones on the east of the straits, that would be an act of war. Would the Allies resist it? If they did not, their acquiescence might have on the Mahomedan world an effect which Great Britain was not disposed to risk. With or without support from the Allies she was resolved to maintain the freedom of the zones and the straits. France and Italy declined to support her, and withdrew their troops. The strained relations between the Allies were relieved by their agreement on a joint note inviting Greece and Turkey to a peace conference, and the situation was saved by the combined tact and energy of the British commander, General Harington, and Mustapha Kemal's wisdom and controlling influence over forces flushed with victory and far outnumbering the British at the moment. Some Turkish troops actually crossed the boundary, but were withdrawn in time to avoid a collision. There was no act of war. Mustapha held a conference with the British commander, and agreed to open negotiations with the Greeks. The armistice was signed on October 11.

Three weeks later the Angora government proclaimed the abolition of the Sultanate; the sultan, who had never been more

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than a puppet, fled to security on a British ship, and Turkey became a republic. A new khalif—not sultan—was appointed, but a year later (February, 1924) the government abolished the Khalifate itself—an event which did not have upon Mahomedans at large the disturbing effect anticipated; since it could not be attributed to Christian hostility to Islam. The final peace terms, taking the place of the still-born treaty of Sèvres, were arranged at the conference of Lausanne (1922-23), which was followed by the abdication of George II and Greece became one more among the new republics.

The treaty of Lausanne (July, 1923) was the last in the series of treaties, beginning with that of Versailles, establishing peace between the group of victorious powers and the several defeated powers in the Great War, the relations with Turkey having hitherto been controlled by the armistice, not by a definitive peace. It gave to Turkey substantially better terms than she could have obtained under the treaty of Sèvres, mainly at the expense of Greece, whose aggressive activity had brought that fate upon her. A substantial portion of Thrace was given back to what may be called the new Turkey, as well as Adrianople, the bulwark of Constantinople. The delimitation of the Turkey-Irak boundary was left to the Turks and the British as mandatories for Irak, with the League of Nations as referee.

It is evident, however, that the settlement of 1919-20 lacked one very vital desideratum. It was not, because it could not be, a settlement by consent in which the interests of all parties concerned were judicially adjusted and all were treated on an equality. It was a case in which one party was in a position to dictate its own terms which the other could only accept, or rather submit to, under protest, nursing its own conviction that they were dictated not by justice, but by vindictiveness, and that it was morally entitled to evade them to the best of its power. Security for the victors against renewed aggression by the vanquished, even in a remote future, was for them the first essential, meaning that renewed aggression must be placed—permanently if possible—out of the power of the vanquished. In the eyes of the victors the vanquished had been guilty of gratuitous and criminal aggression developed by criminal methods which, apart from security, deserved salutary punishment. The defeated powers had inflicted damage for which the victors claimed the fullest compensation.

### THREE CONFERENCES

But it was also inevitable that the victors themselves should not see eye to eye as to the methods by which security should be obtained, the extent and the distribution of the compensations available, and the limits beyond which the depression of the vanquished would react to the detriment of the victors themselves. The fact that ultimate security against war could only be achieved by the substitution of good will and mutual confidence for traditional hostility and suspicion was indeed recognized by the creation of the League of Nations; but that was admittedly a tentative experiment which might have incalculably beneficial results but might prove entirely futile. Time alone would show. Meanwhile, an atmosphere of good will was not one of the realities of the situation; and the fundamental necessity was the agreed action of the Allies, whose unanimous will no one else could resist. Hence, the method of "diplomacy by conference" was substituted for the traditional ambassadorial diplomacy as at once more rapid in action and keeping the Allied governments in closer touch with each other.

The execution of the treaty terms was carried out under the supervision of the conference of ambassadors—the accredited agents of the respective governments at Paris. The Versailles treaty itself was the work of the Paris conference which formally terminated in January, 1920, when the ratifications of the treaty were completed. A fresh conference met in London in February, which dealt less drastically than had been expected with the question of the war criminals, since the chief of them was on neutral Dutch territory where he could not be seized and whence the Dutch government declined imperturbably to eject him. It gave up the attempt to settle the question of Fiume, which it left to Italy and Jugo-Slavia, and it decided that the Turk should be permitted to remain in Constantinople. A third conference met in April at San Remo. It agreed upon the internationalisation of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, left Armenia to carry on as best it might, and was chiefly occupied with the thorny question of German disarmament.

German troops had been marched into the Ruhr district, officially to suppress communistic disturbances there. This looked very much like a move of the German military party; it disclosed the fact that the Germans still had under arms a much larger number of regular troops than should have been the case; and the entry of German troops at all into the

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

demilitarised area was a breach of the peace terms. The French at once took alarm, and replied by occupying Frankfort and Darmstadt. In doing so on her own responsibility France was within her technical rights, though in some quarters her action was felt to be needlessly aggressive, while in others it seemed to be more than warranted, not only by Germany's failure to reduce her army, but by her demands that the period allowed for her disarmament should be extended and the extent of the disarmament itself reduced. A reasonable harmony, however, was restored, and the conference rejected the German demands. The German troops were withdrawn, and the French followed suit. But the Germans were also for the first time invited to meet the Allies in conference for the better execution of the peace terms. Before this conference met at Spa, in July, there were several minor conferences, mainly to adjust French and British points of view, and to consider the financial position in Germany.

The aim of the Germans at Spa was to obtain very substantial remissions of their treaty indebtedness on the ground that it was not practically possible to make the stipulated payments. They failed to satisfy the Allies of the genuineness of their plea, though the latter repudiated any intention of victimising them. The chasm, however, between the views of the Germans and those maintained by the Allies was not appreciably diminished.

Nor did the situation become more promising with the London conference of February, 1921. The Germans declared that the scheme of reparation payment submitted by the Allies was impossible of fulfilment, and propounded a counter scheme so inadequate (from the Allied point of view) that its uncompromising rejection was accompanied by the threat of the application of "sanctions" if the Germans maintained what was regarded as a wilful refusal to carry out their treaty obligations. The sanctions were applied; and, by another London conference of the Allies alone, the Germans were given a week to accept somewhat modified terms. A new but far from stable German government submitted. But it soon became obvious that they would again default. A Paris conference in August failed entirely to agree on the settlement of another problem, the partition of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland, which was finally handed over to the League of Nations.

A conference at Cannes early in 1922 was abortive and was followed by a conference at Genoa, in April, which was pro-

## THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

ductive of more discord than harmony. For so far as France took part in it, it was only to emphasize the fact that her own policy was fixed; Germany was, in effect, declaring herself bankrupt; Bolshevik delegates had been invited to attend, and their contributions to debate only served to intensify the distrust with which they were regarded, and the general sense of the utter impracticability of any co-operation with them; and the German delegates took the opportunity to strike with them at Rapallo a treaty of "recognition and commerce" which the Allies could only interpret as a deliberate defiance, while the French premier—in France, not at Genoa—virtually announced the intention of taking such measures as were necessary to the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty of Versailles, preferably with the co-operation of the other powers; but, if that were not forthcoming, without it. In spite of the astonishing attitude of the Russian delegates, Great Britain and Italy endeavoured to procure a convention with Russia, which should at least pave the way for admitting her to the European comity, but failed, since neither France nor Belgium, nor finally the Soviet government itself, would adopt it.

The reign of good will seemed farther off than ever, and the conference powers even took the precaution of making a temporary pact of non-aggression among themselves, Germany and Russia included. But one point of actually hopeful omen was emerging: the powers were beginning to realize that the sickness of Europe could not be cured until her economic conditions were restored. Economic revival was beginning to be recognized not as a minor but as a primary necessity.

Meanwhile, however, another separate conference had been at work at Washington, with much more progressive effect; a conference called not by the treaty powers, but by the United States of America, who took at most a watching part in the European conferences. Europe was indeed concerning itself with disarmament, but in the imagination of Europe that was mainly visualised as the compulsory disarmament of Germany. To America, as to the League of Nations, it meant the discovery of a basis for the permanent universal agreed reduction of armaments to what might be called a police level—the standard of controlled force necessary to the guardianship of the public peace. To a conference with this object, the limitation of armaments, in view, America invited the four treaty powers,

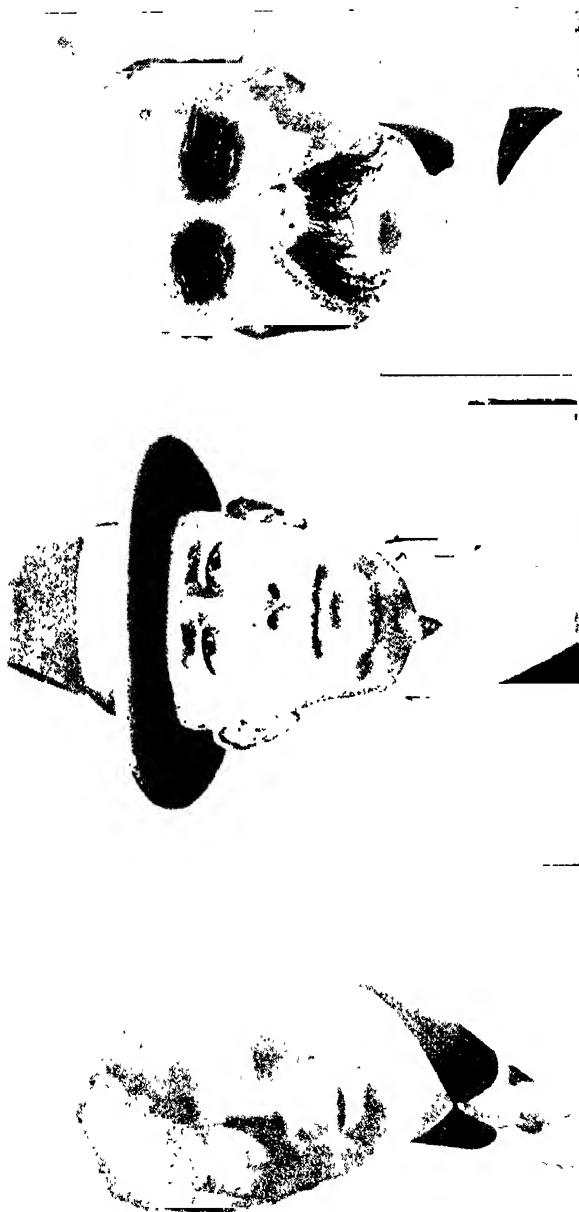
## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, to which were added China and the three minor European states which were concerned with Pacific and Far Eastern questions. The conference met on Armistice Day, 1921, and concluded on February 6, 1922.

It was not long after the dispersal of the Genoa conference that Greece suffered her crushing defeat at the hands of Mustapha Kemal. It has already been told how the advance of the Turks led up to the conference of Lausanne, of which the main concern was the settlement of the Turkish question, and the other main feature was the avoidance of the breach which was threatening between the Western powers. It may be noted that at this moment the British coalition ministry fell and Lloyd George, who was not on the most sympathetic terms with the French premier, was succeeded by the Unionist leader Bonar Law. The coalition Foreign minister, Lord Curzon, remained in office, and almost simultaneously Mussolini became prime minister of Italy.

The Lausanne conference was prolonged; it did not actually conclude until after midsummer in 1923, and there were critical moments during its course; but the most anxious moments of that anxious year were not concerned with the Lausanne conference; for it opened with the declaration, by the reparation commission which was in charge of the matter, that Germany was in wilful default in the discharge of the payments due from her, and more particularly in the delivery of coal. Two days later, on January 11, French troops in concert with Belgian marched into the Ruhr district and occupied it; as, at least in their own view, which it was more than difficult to controvert, they were entitled to do in the circumstances under the Versailles treaty. But, with the exception of Belgium, the action of France was without support from her allies. Britain, in fact, protested very strongly against such violent action.

The German government did not—probably in the state of German public opinion, it dared not—acquiesce. Since active resistance was impossible, there was only one way left—passive resistance. The coal deliveries ceased, work ceased, all payments were refused. But it was on the working population of the Ruhr and in Germany at large that the burden of the consequent suffering fell. France, relatively, was merely inconvenienced. In Germany the mark dropped to a fabulously low level. British public opinion generally supported its government and disapproved if it did not openly resent the French action. The

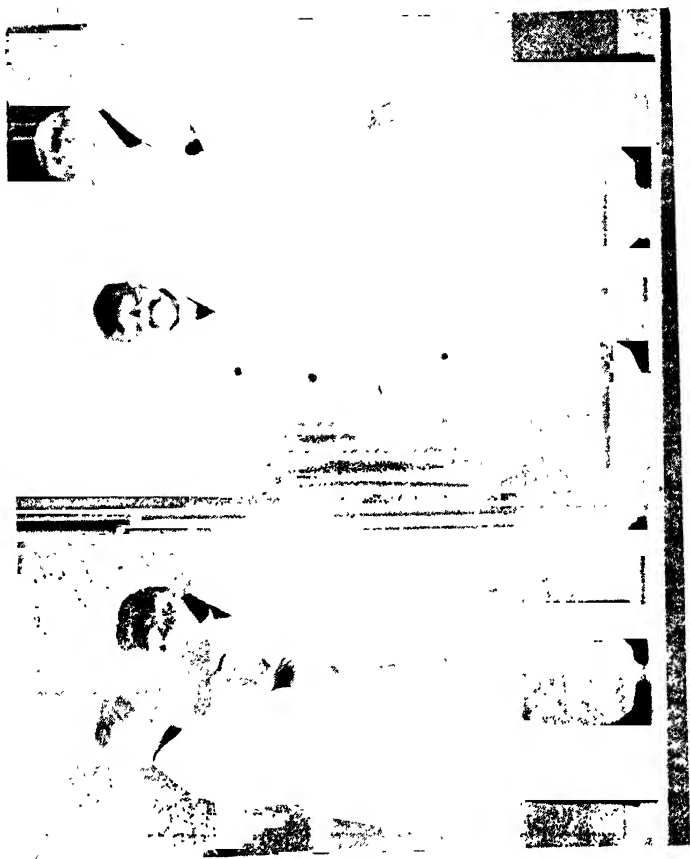


**PROMINENT PERSONALITIES AT PARIS IN 1919.** Left, Sir Eric Drummond, was the first secretary-general of the League of Nations. In 1933 he became British Ambassador to Italy. Centre, Colonel Edward Mandell House was President Wilson's advise on the European situation throughout the war, and was one of America's representatives at the Paris Conference. Right, George Clemenceau, the famous French statesman, premier from November 1917 to January 1920, was the dominating figure at the Peace Conference, January to June, 1919, over which he presided. He died November 24, 1929.

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**REPRESENTATIVES OF THE "BIG FOUR."** Of the five chief countries represented at the Peace Conference Japan took active part only in matters concerning herself. The "Big Four" shown here are, from left to right: Lloyd George, Great Britain; Orlando, Italy; Clemenceau, France; and Woodrow Wilson, America. They drafted the final terms to Germany.

## CONDITIONS IN GERMANY

relations between the two governments, without whose co-operation the restoration of European stability was unattainable, were strained almost to breaking-point—but not quite.

Matters in Germany went from bad to worse. In May she made proposals that were regarded as too futile to be seriously discussed. The French government would not contemplate the evacuation of the Ruhr until the passive resistance ceased. For that reason it rejected a second German offer in July. British notes to France were met by polite but uncompromising replies—including rejection of the suggestion, which looked like a reflection upon the reparation commission, that Germany's capacity to pay should be referred to a commission of impartial experts. It appeared possible that in the impasse which had been reached the British government was contemplating independent action. Germany was only encouraged to maintain the passive resistance by the prospect of a complete breach between France and Great Britain—but for that England herself was not prepared. If she had contemplated independent action, she abstained from taking it. The sword remained suspended, even if it was by no more than a hair.

The strain of the fatal passive resistance policy upon Germany was already more than she could bear. She was threatened not only with complete economic ruin, but with political disintegration by a separatist movement in the Rhineland, mainly traceable to the French occupation of the Ruhr and the revolutionary fever born of hunger; a movement not for union with France, but for an independent republic. France remained immovable. But Germany had at last acquired a ministry whose chiefs had the courage to face facts, the insight and the patriotic faith to deal with them unflinchingly. At the end of September the new government withdrew its predecessor's passive-resistance decrees—and the German army instead of breaking into a militarist revolt stood loyally by the government.

Only a few days before, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, who had succeeded Mr. Bonar Law as head of the British government, had a meeting with M. Poincaré which, without affecting the latter's firmness, did much to relieve the tension. The action of the German government did still more, for France had carried her fundamental point that the cessation of passive resistance must precede any relaxation of the French grip. In November the reparation commission itself—with a French chairman—

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

appointed two independent expert commissions of enquiry, the precise point on which the British government had been most urgent, of which the issue was the Dawes report (March, 1924). The French remained in the Ruhr, but with the passing of resistance their activities there became less obtrusive. While the new British premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, proved himself a most judicious diplomatist, Poincaré was succeeded by the conciliatory Herriot. The tension relaxed.

A London conference was opened in July, which was attended by American delegates. The recommendations of the Dawes report were substantially approved, and greatly strengthened by the unexpected discovery that America was ready to co-operate actively by sending delegates to the reparation commission, whereby the prospect of raising a loan to help Germany on to her feet would be immensely improved. The vital advance was in the recognition of the economic fact that Germany would continue to default, whether wilfully or not, until she was able as well as willing to make the necessary effort.

The armed occupation of the Rhine districts was due, under the Versailles treaty, to be withdrawn by degrees, beginning with the evacuation of Cologne in January, 1925, but only if Germany had duly discharged her obligations by that date; she had not done so, and the occupation continued. The French evacuation of the Ruhr was not completed until after mid-summer; but Germany had dropped her attitude of sullen inertia, and was seriously setting about her own economic revival and showing a marked disposition to endeavour at least to carry out her treaty obligations instead of evading them. Sundry efforts of the League of Nations to evolve a treaty giving a real security against the appeal to arms in the future had broken down or were breaking down, when in February, 1925, Germany herself submitted a tentative proposal to the French government, the essence of which was a security pact guaranteeing the present territorial status on the Rhine, the result of her own defeat.

It was perhaps as well that this notable effort did not attract too much of the public attention, which is apt to produce heated and recriminating controversy in the press, while the responsible ministers of France, Great Britain and other countries were exchanging views on the various knotty points arising from the suggestion, the practical possibility or impossibility of security pacts not only for the Rhineland but in other regions where

## THE PACT OF LOCARNO

boundary questions were international sources of friction; matters upon which there were many divergencies, which did not, however, wreck the keen desire for concord.

The outcome was the momentous conference of Locarno which met in October; momentous not so much for what it actually accomplished as because it marked and emphasized the attainment of a new plane of discussion in which not antagonisms but community of interests held the first place. The value of the Locarno pact was indeed very great; but it was exceeded by that of the new Locarno spirit. The past could not be blotted out, but it could be left behind. To revive old controversies on the rights and wrongs of which men had long made up their minds once for all could benefit no one; as subjects of discussion they were dead and buried, and their ghosts must not be allowed to walk. The ghosts were not as a matter of fact completely laid—they reappear when tempers become provocative; but they were quiescent at Locarno. It was the first time that Germany had come into conference unequivocally on an equal footing with her former foes and as a promoter of peace—actually the prime promoter of the conference itself, since it was clearly traceable to her initiative in the preceding February.

The conference met on October 3; its invaluable work was completed in a fortnight. The work was done in an atmosphere of unprecedented good will, not penetrated by controversial comment from irresponsible quarters, and facilitated by the freedom from formalities in its procedure. The agreements arrived at, when ratified by the respective governments, were embodied in the treaties of London, commonly referred to as the Locarno Pact, in December. All the contracting parties guaranteed the French-German-Belgian frontiers and the conditions applied to the demilitarised zone under the Versailles treaty. Germany and France and Germany and Belgium pledged themselves not to resort to war against each other except in defence against an act of flagrant aggression; to refer disputes, where they could not agree between themselves, to some form of judicial decision, and at once to report any violation of the terms to the League of Nations; all the signatory powers pledging immediate support to the aggrieved party if the League confirmed the charge.

Besides accessory guarantees, there were added arbitration conventions between Germany on the one hand and France and

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

Belgium severally on the other. A more elaborate German-Polish and German-Czecho-Slovakian arbitration agreement left open the possibility of future frontier modifications by mutual agreement between those powers. Two complementary treaties were made, mutually guaranteeing frontiers, by France with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, to which the other powers were not parties, since Great Britain and Italy, while ready to give guarantees in the west, could not extend that readiness to the east. But the vital fact remained. Germany and her former foes had persuaded themselves at least to shake hands.

The note of Locarno was the note of reconciliation; confirmed next year by the termination of Germany's semi-outlawry, an outlawry which had been at once an inevitable corollary of her defeat in the war and an insuperable obstacle to European recuperation and reconstruction. It ended with her admission to the League of Nations in 1926, with the status of a great power therein. She had accepted the conditions which could convert her into a colleague instead of an antagonist. We need not here deal with the story and the effects of that change, nor with the continued abstention of the United States from joining the League, and the persistent hostility of Soviet Russia to everything for which the League stood. The fundamental point of the change that had taken place was not that reconciliation was complete and suspicion and distrust had vanished, for they still lurked beneath the surface and still occasionally broke loose, but that from this time the note of reconciliation was definitely predominant.

Some reference, however, must here be made to minor episodes illustrative of some of the difficulties of preserving peace and evolving good will in a Europe whose nerves had been torn to rags by the strain and the sufferings of the war. Such was the unhappy incident of the murder of some Italian officers upon Greek soil in August, 1923, the consequent high-handed seizure of Corfu by the Italian government, and the compromise under which the League abstained from insistence on its own authority to deal with the matter when Italy chose to acknowledge in its place that of the Council of Ambassadors, whose award probably did not differ substantially from that which would have been made by the League. Such, again, was the sudden menace of armed collision between Greece and Bulgaria in October, 1925, which was stopped by the instant intervention of the League and

## THE RISE OF AUTOCRATS

the self-restraint of the two governments concerned in the face of intense popular excitement.

The aim of the statesmen of the Versailles treaty was a settlement which should be in fact a reversal of all that was most dear to the hearts of the statesmen of the Vienna settlement of 1815. They had shaped the map of Europe on the basis of nationalism, regardless of dynastic claims; only one monarchy, the Bulgarian, survived where the defeated powers had ruled; the new states were all republics save for Yugo-Slavia, which was new only in the sense that the old Serbian kingdom now embraced populations which had before been denied union with it—and Yugo-Slavia was a constitutional monarchy with parliamentary institutions. The American president had declared that the peace was to make the world safe for democracy. Actually, the settlement had resulted in a triumph for dictatorships.

Nevertheless, neither nationalist groupings nor democratic political systems proved to be simple propositions; the first, because within each of the larger groups were minority groups of diverse nationality which did not immediately amalgamate; the second, because democracy presupposes a certain standard of educated intelligence, and of what may be called the co-operative spirit. Democracy found its enemy not as of yore in hereditary privilege, but in communism. In general, democracy was strong enough to cope with communism; but in Russia communism had democracy by the throat; while it is a somewhat ironic commentary on the whole situation that at the end of 1928 Spain, Italy, Yugo-Slavia and Turkey had in fact passed under the control of autocrats, and to these may be added Albania.

There was indeed nothing surprising in the fact that the president of the Turkish republic gained such a personal ascendancy that he became an autocrat under republican forms, except that his power arrived without the normal accompaniments of bloodshed, almost as a thing of course. It was equally natural that Albania, which had never in the whole course of her history submitted to any rule save that of some chief endowed with an irresistible personality, such as Skanderbeg, acquiesced in the assumption of the crown by a president who would seem to possess the traditional qualifications. Rivalries and jealousies between the newly united divisions of Yugo-Slavia drove its king to a coup d'état by which he established his own autocracy, as the only effective means to the enforcement of law and order.

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

Spain, for considerably more than a century, had been struggling to build up a strong government on constitutional lines, for the most part under painfully adverse conditions. The reigning king, his mother and his father, had been more successful than their predecessors, but the governing power was still inefficient; and it was the sense of inefficiency, and perhaps the example that was being set by Italy, that brought about the sudden establishment of a dictatorship still under the crown, in 1923, and the suspension of constitutional rule. This, however, was not a departure from precedent in the theory of government, whatever the developments in store may be; emergencies have produced dictatorships as their only available immediate solution, from time immemorial—successfully or otherwise according to the abilities of the dictator.

Italy, on the other hand, made a new departure. Parliamentary government had brought her neither political nor economic stability, when at the end, of 1922 Signor Mussolini became her prime minister and began to lay the foundations of the Fascist state, hardly veiled by the retention of the hereditary monarchy. The system is one which would have rejoiced the heart of Machiavelli. The people, being a congeries of factions, is incapable of directing an efficient government; for its own good it must have an efficient government, and one that is irresistible and has absolutely unlimited power and right of control; as against the government, the people have no rights. The state is incorporated in the government, and the government is incarnate in the person of its chief. The law as laid down by the government is supreme; only the government itself is above the law, and of it no adverse criticism may be tolerated. That would seem to be the theory of Fascism; and its efficiency in the hands of the duce is so convincing that it is easy to overlook the fact that it appears to be bound up with the personality of Mussolini himself.

The League, the economic problems of Europe after the war, the story of Bolshevik Russia and its influences upon Europe, must find only passing reference here. But Europe, to which, with Turkey, our attention has hitherto been confined, is not the only field which has to pass under review. While America—in the sense of the United States—interested herself actively in European affairs, she rejected the rôle of leader laid down for her by President Wilson, and under his successors, Presidents Hard-

## AFRICA AND ASIA

ing and Coolidge, declined to share the direct responsibilities of the European powers; an attitude regretted by the latter, and not easily intelligible to the mind of western Europe, exciting comment which was always adverse, not always well-informed.

In Africa the most obvious product of the war was the elimination of German influences, with the substitution of the influence of one or another European power in the areas where they had predominated. But in relation to Mahomedan Africa, Africa from Egypt to Morocco, it had become evident before the war that German influences could not be established without a sharp conflict with France or Spain or both, if not with Great Britain as well; while on the remaining section of the Mediterranean littoral her "peaceful penetration" had been checked by Italy's declaration of the Tripoli protectorate. Subject to a reasonable security for her own commercial interests, and a free hand in Egypt, England regarded the expansion of the three Latin powers with a friendly eye, and their relations with each other had shown themselves capable of amicable adjustment.

The African populations, however, were not equally amenable. In Morocco the inland tribes, led by Abd el-Krim, were so successful in their resistance to the Spanish efforts at domination that in 1925 they took occasion to challenge the French also, since the latter were encroaching on what they regarded as their own preserves; and it was only at the cost of severe campaigning that the two European powers were able in combination to compel the submission of the Moroccan champion in 1926. Of the three Latin powers, France was the most successful both in conciliating the tribesmen and in developing the commercial possibilities of the area over which she extended her administrative sway; but the immemorial tribal organization is not of a kind to acquiesce readily in European conceptions of government, or indeed in any alien domination.

In those portions of western Asia where the authority of western "mandatory powers" took the place of the old Turkish regime, the "autonomy" which materialised was extremely tenuous. The first king of the Hejaz was displaced by the chief of the puritan Wahabi sect; his son was made "king" of Irak, but such authority as he had was derived entirely from the British; Syria resented the French regime, which was of a more military character than that of the British in the neighbouring areas. Palestine was judiciously organized largely for the benefit

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

of the Jews, but in such a manner as to develop the prosperity of the non-Jewish populations. In fact, in all these areas the general security was much greater than before, but the new wine of misunderstood Western ideas was fermenting in old bottles. Tact and sympathy were necessary to avoid disaster.

In fact, the secular problem of the irreconcilable divergencies between Orientalism and Occidentalism had come to life again. In Japan the antagonism was least in evidence, because her Orientalism was a thing apart, and she had started on the line of an essentially critical but wholly practical assimilation not of Westernism but of selected Western materials. Something of the kind was being attempted in Turkey under the inspiration of its president and presiding genius Mustapha Kemal, though the problem had for him the additional complication of Islam, and of resistance to Occidental domination with which Japan was not threatened. Turkey's future was trammelled, as Japan's was not, by her past. But all over Asia—during more than the last half-century, by political and commercial penetration more than by military conquest—the tentacles of European domination had been making themselves increasingly felt, while at the same time Asia was increasingly conscious that it was only by learning from Europe how to do it that she could release herself from the European pressure. Now Asia was much disposed to turn to Bolshevik Russia, still more Oriental than Occidental at bottom, for the teachers whom Bolshevik Russia was glad to supply. Her own turn would come, she was convinced, when the ascendancy of the bourgeois powers had been broken.

Turkey had set the example. Persia followed it under the astute leadership of Riza Khan, who successfully engineered the deposition of the dynasty (which had not appropriated Western ideas, but had submitted itself and the country to Western domination) and procured his own recognition as shah. Like Mustapha, he reversed the policy, adopting western methods while rejecting western ascendancy. In 1926 Turkey and Persia, the new Turkey and the new Persia, formed an alliance.

A little earlier, a new amir in Afghanistan, Amanullah, had declared that British ascendancy there must end. As the British had no desire to exercise more control in Afghanistan than would secure her against being used as a cat's-paw by Russia, British acquiescence was readily forthcoming—though the amir's methods had been aggressive enough to enforce a brief but

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE

decisive campaign as a preliminary. The subsequent relations were entirely amicable. But it may be noted that the Angora, Persian, and Afghan governments all signed treaties with Russia at Moscow in 1921. Amanullah, however, was no less zealous to impose western practices on his people than to resist western dictation, so that at the end of 1928 his zeal brought about a revolution and his own expulsion from the kingdom. It is not difficult to see why at that time Bolshevik Russia eagerly propagated and England's enemies eagerly swallowed the curious fiction that the fall of Amanullah was to be attributed to British machinations.

The relations between the several portions of that commonwealth of nations, the British Empire, had been materially affected by the war, though it had by no means weakened the bonds, whether of sentiment or of interest, which held together that great exemplar of unity in diversity. But it had ceased to be possible to apply the old terminology of colonies and possessions which belonged to a bygone age. The change was marked not so much by legislative acts as by the adoption of unprecedented practices as though they were normal developments from the practices of the past.

The Dominions severally, with India, were admitted to membership of the League of Nations, without actual definition of their status. No formal right was bestowed upon them of sharing in the actual direction of imperial policy, but the sense that they had acquired that right was a pervading one—though not yet absolutely as a matter of course. They did not desire complete independence in the control of their foreign relations, but it was tolerably manifest that they would not hold themselves bound by agreements to which their assent had not been given, though it would be given as a matter of course if they had no strong reasons to the contrary. Apart from foreign affairs their autonomy was unqualified. "Dominion status" in short was a condition without rigid definition, but as to which misunderstandings in practice were not likely to arise, or likely to prove difficult of adjustment if they did arise.

Not in the Dominions themselves—though there appeared still to be a few intransigents in South Africa—but in other quarters, demands for separation from the Empire were heard. The scheme for Irish home rule, which had been so much in evidence before the war, broke down as a scheme when the war was over;

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

the old Nationalists, whose loyalty had been so conspicuously displayed in the great crisis, lost control of the movement, which was now guided by the fanatics of separatism, the Sinn Fein party; all the old smouldering passions and hostilities blazed up as fiercely as ever, and Ireland became the unhappy stage of insurrection, outrages, and reprisals, until the British government arrived at a compromise with the less fanatical Sinn Fein leaders. They surrendered the demand for an independent Irish republic, the major portion of Ulster was allowed to separate itself from the rest and remain attached to Great Britain, and the rest of Ireland became the autonomous Irish Free State with Dominion status within the Empire and membership of the League of Nations. The Free State government was left with entire responsibility for the preservation of order and the maintenance of law without British interference. The new constitution came into force in December 1923.

Egypt had been formally separated from the Turkish empire and transformed into a British protectorate at an early stage of the war without being actually annexed. From the beginning, however, in 1882, Great Britain had declared her assumption of control to be in intention temporary. When the war was over the old agitation for the complete independence of Egypt revived. Nationalism was so much to the fore in the European settlement that it was difficult to ignore its claims in dealing with Orientals who declined to accept the theory, of which the truth is so obvious to the Western mind, that the arguments for the autonomy of European communities do not apply to other peoples. In 1922 the British government, not without considerable misgiving and some opposition made up its mind to end the protectorate and leave the Egyptians to govern themselves—or to find out how to do so.

But though she was to be in theory a sovereign state, Great Britain had too many interests of her own, and too many responsibilities at stake, to concede absolutely without qualification this independence, which was granted with reservation of certain subjects. These included the protection of foreigners in Egypt, her defence, and the control of the Sudan, which had never been an effective Egyptian possession and had, as a matter of actual fact, been brought under control not by Egypt but by the British. That control the British were to retain, with due respect for Egyptian interests.

## BRITISH INDIA

Egypt was presented with a constitutional monarchy under King Fuad, who had figured as sultan during the protectorate. But the agitation, by no means favoured by the king, for the total withdrawal of all British controlling influences, continued; with an accompaniment of occasional assassinations and student outbreaks somewhat embarrassing to a party whose business it should have been to demonstrate its own administrative efficiency. That the limit of concession had been reached was made clear when a sympathetic Labour government in England proved as inflexible as its predecessor.

The Asiatic problem—as affected by the war—was no less prominent in India. The loyalty then displayed had given India a right to claim her reward, though whether what her agitators were demanding would be a reward was another matter. A great administrative experiment was at once inaugurated, extending in British India the amount of responsible control to be entrusted to Indians and to Indian elective bodies—the system to which the name of dyarchy was given. It did not touch the autonomous Indian principalities—not under British administration at all—which form approximately one-third of the Indian Empire, a very important fact not always realized either in England or elsewhere. To the princes the unity of India meant the union of diverse states, of which they were the chiefs, in an empire by no means homogenous, focused in the person of the king-emperor, for which unity the only imaginable guarantee is the British imperial sovereignty. In the nature of the case they do not sympathise with movements in British India which tend to weaken that authority, however anxious they may be, individually or as a group, for an increased influence in the imperial counsels.

It was to British India, then, that dyarchy was to apply; and dyarchy may be described as provincial autonomy carried as nearly as possible to the safety limit, based on bodies of elected representatives, on the model—*mutatis mutandis*—of English representative institutions; the supreme government reserving to itself the control of certain specific subjects, a general overriding authority to be brought into play only if necessary, and sundry guarantees. The whole thing was avowedly experimental; it did not and was not intended to convey any promise of full parliamentary institutions, still less of even an ultimate withdrawal of the British authority.

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (I)

Nevertheless, the British supremacy in India is faced—in certain sections of the community within British India—by that anti-European sentiment which we have noted as prevalent in Asia, and which in India, and elsewhere, "is curiously misrepresented, by its most fervent and voiceful propagators, as Indian "nationalism." Dyarchy, therefore, is the reverse of satisfactory to the extremists of Indian nationalism, whose desire is nothing less than the extrusion of the European, which it brings no nearer; so that the disaffected faction have directed their energies mainly to the attempt to make the whole reform abortive by withholding co-operation. But in India, as elsewhere, it is to be noted that the anti-Europeans pin their faith, for the defeat of Europe, to methods and theories which are themselves the product not of Orientalism but of Western political and natural science.

China presented at once the most emphatic and to Western eyes the most chaotic example of this revolt of the east against the West. Very shortly before the war the Manchu dynasty had been abolished, and under the guidance of the idealist Sun Yat-sen the empire had been transformed into what purported to be a democratic republic. Perhaps we may say that the ideal of which the new leaders were in pursuit, was that which Japan had so amazingly achieved for herself in her revolution towards the close of the nineteenth century, when she remodelled herself on western methods scientifically adapted to her own conditions by the patriotic co-operation of the political thinkers and the military caste, without foreign interference.

But in China the political thinkers were befogged quite as much as they were aided, by groping among western ideas; they had no patriotic feudal aristocracy to strengthen their hands, and the Europeans were always in the way. Also from their point of view it might be said that the Japanese counted not as Orientals but as ultra-Europeans. And on the top of this there came the Bolshevik propaganda, fundamentally anti-European—while beneath lay the normally inert masses who were always ready to attribute whatsoever evils befell them to the doings of the foreign devils, more particularly British and Japanese. South China was dominated by the new progressive nationalists, North China by the old reactionaries, agreeing in their hostility to the foreigners and in nothing else. Naturally it was the south, not the north, that was disposed to put its trust in Bolshevik agents.

## THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Though the foreigners had acceded at Washington to many modifications in the treaty rights they had acquired previously, they still retained rights which were galling. Trouble then broke out in 1925 in the form of anti-foreign riots in Shanghai, spreading to Canton, Hankow, and elsewhere. The government, whether willing or not, was no more able than it had been in the past to give the foreigners the security for which they had to make provision themselves; and their doing so, as always, inflamed the popular Chinese hostility, while Bolshevik agents poured oil on the flames.

The Chinese republic had never succeeded in establishing a strong central government, even under the leadership of the highly respected begetter of the New Nationalism, Sun Yat-sen, who died in 1925. The nationalist organization at Canton, whose military head was Chiang Kai-shek, did not recognize the military dictator Chang Tso-lin at Peking; there had already been active hostilities between the two parties, sundry generals intervening, each of them playing for his own hand with a tendency to kaleidoscopic permutations. The Europeans, finding nothing that they could definitely treat as the sovereign authority to deal with, sought to observe a strict neutrality while making such arrangements for security as were possible with any de facto authority which seemed likely to carry out its engagements, and supplementing them by the presence of sufficient naval and military forces for taking action in the last resort.

The civil war seemed in 1926 to be going—with fluctuations—in favour of the Nationalists, whose avowed programme included the demand for the disappearance of all those foreign privileges which, it must be admitted, no European state would have tolerated in its own territories. To those claims Great Britain was much disposed to give full recognition, as soon as there should be a sovereign government in China. But there was no diminution of the anti-British agitation; though the British went to unprecedented lengths of conciliation in the hope of convincing the Canton or Hankow government of their own good faith; while the carefully limited strength of their military precautions was denounced as proof to the contrary and the nationalist government, called the Kuomintang, showed no power of controlling the excesses of its followers.

Its troops captured Nanking (March, 1927), but met with a sharp reverse at the hands of Chang Tso-lin when they advanced

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (1)

on Peking. The Kuomintang was apparently falling to pieces: Chiang Kai-shek tried to absorb its authority into his own hands, but instead he lost his own authority. This happened in August, but in November he was recalled as the one man who might succeed in restoring national unity.

This move proved, at any rate, so far successful that by mid-summer the nationalists were in possession of Peking, the northern resistance was practically broken, and it was reasonably possible to claim that there was once more a supreme government—that of the Kuomintang—in China. Chiang Kai-shek became president in October; the Kuomintang was shaking itself free from the sinister toils of its Bolshevik advisers; an efficient government in China was of more value to the Europeans than concessions extorted from one that was thoroughly unstable; and the year ended with at least a reasonable prospect—though as yet by no means a certainty—of materially improved relations in the near future.

We return then from the Far East to the West. It is to be noted that on the death of the first German president in 1925 the election to the presidency fell upon the most respected, if not the most brilliant, of the German war chiefs, Marshal Hindenburg. Some perturbation was caused by the suspicion that this was a victory of the militarist faction, but this was finally removed by his acceptance of the Locarno Pact. When a soldier so distinguished and so loyal had faced the facts and set himself, without shedding a fraction of his patriotism, definitely on the side of European reconciliation, it was easier for Germany both to trust and to be trusted.

The entry of Germany into the League of Nations followed the pact of Locarno in 1926; in 1927 the French began to withdraw their troops; and in spite of the fact that Germany's claim to have completely fulfilled her obligations to disarmament was in some respects disallowed, the further supervision of her disarmament was transferred to a League commission of control, which replaced the inter-Allied military commission.

## CHAPTER 11

### The World After the War (II)

**T**HE first decade after the Great War ended in November, 1928, on a note of promise and hope; but five years later, at the close of 1933, the world was further than ever from the Utopia of assured peace and steady prosperity that was so widely and eagerly desired. Everywhere the political sky was cloudy, at times stormy, and when something like a breakdown of the prevailing economic system was added to the political unrest, the outlook for the world became in some ways graver than it was even in the summer of 1914.

The political events of the year 1929 were not unduly notable, but they may be summarized before passing to the economic issues. In Great Britain a general election resulted in the formation of a Labour ministry under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. This opened negotiations with Russia, the outcome of which was the recognition by Great Britain of the soviet regime, and ended the British military occupation of Egypt. Great Britain undertook to recommend Irak for admission to the League of Nations and to recognize its independence.

Little of moment took place in the overseas parts of the British Empire. In Australia, as in Great Britain, a general election led to the formation of a Labour government. The general election in South Africa, however, had a different result, the nationalist ministry under General Hertzog being confirmed in office. As regards India, the Government decided that a conference should be held in London attended by representatives of British India and the native states to discuss the constitutional changes recommended in the report of the Simon commission. The nationalist party under Mr. Gandhi continued its activities, and a commission was sent out from England to inquire into labour conditions. Palestine, ruled like Irak under mandate, was disturbed by affrays due to anti-Jewish feeling. In August there was a very serious outbreak in and around Jerusalem. Here it may be mentioned that there was a renewal of this trouble in 1933.

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

In Germany the death of Gustav Stresemann in October proved a calamity for Europe, but Hindenburg remained a tower of strength. The authorities of the Reich had to deal with a number of communist outbreaks, while the financial position was serious enough to make large reductions in national expenditure absolutely inevitable.

The policy of France did not change when M. Briand followed M. Poincaré as prime minister. In Spain there were sporadic risings. In Italy there took place an event of international importance, the concordat between the Pope and the government by which the Vatican became once more a sovereign state and the papacy a temporal power. Russia continued under soviet rule, and embarked upon an ambitious national plan which aimed at doubling the country's production within five years. A dispute with China, due to the seizure by the Chinese of the Chinese Eastern Railway, was composed after there had been threatening movements of troops on both sides.

Czecho-Slovakia remained one of the most prosperous countries in Europe, but Austria was gravely troubled by constant clashes between an organization called the Heimwehr and a socialist counterpart. Large bodies of Heimwehr moved about the land, and its leaders talked loudly about a march on Vienna, a deed inspired clearly by Mussolini's famous march on Rome, and assembled their followers near the capital, where as elsewhere there was some bloodshed. Their activities attracted attention abroad, and led to a fall in Austria's credit; at home their most tangible result was a revision of the constitution.

Nothing very eventful can be recorded about the Baltic and Balkan states, and the same may be said of the Scandinavian countries, of Belgium, and of the Netherlands. In Finland the authorities had to cope with a formidable amount of communism, and in Lithuania a political crisis resulted in a complete change of ministry. Bulgaria and Yugo Slavia had a prolonged dispute over their boundaries, and the latter country was disturbed by the quarrels of its component races. King Alexander met the situation by declaring himself a dictator, or, as it was less directly expressed, "The time has come when there can no longer be an intermediary between the king and his people."

As regards Asia, Turkey under Mustapha Kemal continued to progress on lines borrowed from western civilization. There was a certain amount of restlessness in Persia and Arabia. In

## CONDITIONS IN AMERICA

Afghanistan civil war occupied much of the year. The amir, Amanullah, distrusted on account of the European ideas he had introduced, abdicated in favour of his brother Habibullah, but the latter was soon defeated and a leading Afghan soldier, Nadir Shah, was in October chosen as ruler of the country, taking the title of king. On the other side of the continent there was an improvement in the relations between Japan and China, although the latter country was still troubled by party strife which was hardly distinguishable from civil war.

In the United States, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover entered upon his term of office as president under favourable conditions, and until nearly the end of the year nothing seriously disturbed his administration. In Mexico a rising broke out, and this was only put down after several months of bloodshed. Contributory to it was a quarrel between the Roman Catholic Church and the state, in the course of which an interdict was proclaimed and for some time public worship was suspended. Before the end of the year, however, peace was made on terms satisfactory to both parties. In Central and South America there was an insurrection in Guatemala and trouble in Bolivia, but in the other countries peaceful conditions on the whole prevailed.

The most remarkable event of the year has yet to be recorded, this being the passage of the world from a condition of comparative prosperity to one of economic collapse, for the crisis of 1930-33 really began in the autumn of 1929. To give an idea of the optimism which prevailed at the beginning of the year, the words of the Canadian ministers may be cited. In February they stated in the king's speech :

Never in the history of Canada has there been such industrial and commercial expansion as that which has taken place during the past twelve months. In the production of the agricultural and other basic industries all previous records have been surpassed. Employment has been maintained at a high level and all indications point to be continuance throughout the country of the present favourable conditions.

How different were the conditions, not only in Canada but in the rest of the world less than twelve months afterwards, it is our business now to record.

During the year there were isolated and spasmodic signs of the coming collapse, but not until September did these attract

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

attention. Reference is made in the chapter on reparations and war debts to the cessation of loans by the United States to Germany, a move which brought about a financial crisis in that country, and to the failure of the bank called the Credit Anstalt in Austria. In Great Britain, though it was not realized at the time, the failure of the group of companies controlled by C. G. Hatry proved to be the beginning of the storm, and in the United States about a month later it was heralded by a sudden and severe panic on the New York stock exchange. Other countries also showed signs of financial collapse.

Roughly speaking, the sequence of events in the economic blizzard was as follows. Lending stopped and credit was restricted. The wholesale prices of commodities, especially the primary ones, such as wheat, fell heavily; in some cases they became cheaper than they were before the World War. Rubber fell from 10d. a lb. in 1929, by no means a year of high prices, to under 2½d. a lb. in 1931. In October, 1932, it was stated that the price of wheat was lower than it had been since Shakespeare's time. These and other falls equally calamitous meant that the producers of these commodities and also the holders of their stocks could not, in many cases, meet their liabilities, still less were they in a position to incur fresh ones. There was an enormous fall in the volume of orders sent to the manufacturers, and the number of the unemployed rose by leaps and bounds. This meant a further reduction of purchasing power and so the process continued, until it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the world's income, in terms of money, had been reduced by one half. Concurrently the prices of almost all securities, especially industrial ones, fell heavily, and soon many of them stood at only a fraction of their value in 1928-29.

This economic crisis was a new phenomenon in the world's history. Want and unemployment have, unfortunately, been common enough in the past, and financial collapses have been by no means unknown, but they have usually been associated with some failure of the crops, or other great catastrophe, such as a devastating war; their progenitors have been "plague, pestilence and famine." This crisis was accompanied, not by want but by abundance—super abundance—of all that man needs.

The bulging corn bins of Mr. Lloyd George's imagination really existed in Canada, the United States and the Argentine. Tin and oil, the supplies of which, we were told a few years before,

## UNEMPLOYMENT

were soon to fail, were produced in such quantity that drastic restriction of output was forced upon the industries. Coffee was burned in Brazil, and in Australia and New Zealand there the farmer lost less by driving the sheep to death than in selling them for food. In the United States proposals were made to plough-in part of the unwanted cotton crop. Coal, like oil, glutted the markets. Vast quantities of livestock could not find buyers even at the ruinous prices that prevailed, and a similar story could be told of other commodities. Even gold, which occupies a unique place in the world's economy, was being produced in greater quantities than ever before. If the theories of Richard Cobden had held good, the world, with everything cheap and plentiful, would have been a perfect paradise.

Other features of the situation were almost equally remarkable. The blizzard was devastating alike to the countries of the New World that had been untouched by the Great War and to those of the Old World that had been invaded by hostile armies. It visited equally Germany and Austria, the vanquished, and France and Rumania, the victors. It made no distinction between Great Britain with its free trade policy and the United States and France with their tariffs.

Perhaps the most tragic result was the creation, or rather the augmentation, of the great army of willing but unwanted workers. Great Britain had become used to a standing army of unemployed numbering some 2,000,000, but in 1932 the figure rose to nearly 3,000,000, one-sixth of the working population. In the United States, with its abounding natural resources, unemployment was worse. In 1932 it was stated that there were 12,000,000 persons, about one quarter of the workers, unemployed in that country. Germany's highly efficient industrial system did not prevent the unemployed there from being counted in millions, and from France, Italy and elsewhere came much the same story.

Just as the financiers and economists had failed to give the world any reasoned warning of the coming catastrophe, so they were equally unable, when it came, to agree upon its causes or to suggest an adequate remedy. Each practitioner diagnosed the complaint differently. One attributed it to reparations and war debts and declared that until payment of these was abolished, or at least radically reduced, there was no hope of improvement; another said it was due to tariffs, which

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

hindered the flow of international trade, and a third blamed the restriction of credit by the banks. One authority saw a remedy in the greater use of silver as currency—a form of bi-metallism—and another saw it in the distribution of the hoarded stocks of gold. Inflation was advocated by one, denounced by another, and disguised as reflation by a third. Some urged the issue of great loans to finance public works, while others regarded this remedy as but an aggravation of the disease. The relative merits of spending and saving as solvents of unemployment were freely discussed. To some the crisis proved that the capitalist system was breaking down; it could produce on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, but it had wholly failed to solve the complementary problem of distribution. A return to barter was discussed and transactions of this kind were arranged.

The general contraction of business soon showed itself in the finances of the various nations. By heroic efforts Australia succeeded in avoiding default on her loans, and in bringing about an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure. In Germany, France, the United States and Japan the national accounts showed a marked excess of expenditure over revenue. The smaller and poorer countries, unable to sell their products, were in an even worse position, and in 1931-32 Brazil, Austria, Greece and other states found it impossible to meet the interest on their foreign loans, some of them raised under the auspices of the League of Nations. In 1931 nation after nation followed Great Britain in abandoning the gold standard, until at the beginning of 1933, it was retained only in the United States, France, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands.

In Great Britain the crisis in the nation's finances came in the summer of 1931. In 1929 the Unionist ministry of Mr. Baldwin had been replaced by a Labour one under Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the work of spending had gone merrily on. The bankers, wrong as usual, continued to utter their annual platitudes to the effect that they saw signs of improvement, and the politicians were equally ignorant or, as some thought, worse. In July, 1931, there was a sudden change of tone. Mr. Philip Snowden, then chancellor of the exchequer, spoke of the possibility of an unbalanced budget, and a committee under Sir George May reported that a deficit of £120,000,000 on the year's accounts was in sight. Events then moved rapidly. Early in August there was a sudden fall in British credit abroad. Funds

## BRITAIN'S NATIONAL MINISTRY

were withdrawn from London on a large scale, and the Bank of England, having been forced to secure credits to the extent of £50,000,000 from France and the United States, appealed to the Government for aid in the emergency.

Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues replied by declaring that the budget must be balanced, and a plan to do this was prepared. The majority of the Labour party, backed by the trade union congress, refused to agree to the proposed economies, and on August 24 the ministry resigned. Before this the leaders of the Unionist and Liberal parties had been in consultation with the king and the premier, and with their aid a national ministry was formed, Mr. MacDonald retaining the position of premier.

The programme of the new ministry was to balance the budget and then to submit its case to the electors. Parliament was called together on September 8, and two days later Mr. Snowden introduced a supplementary budget. Economies were made in the public services and taxation was increased.

Yet the crisis was not over. Funds were still being withdrawn from London, and on September 20 it was stated that the credit of £50,000,000 was nearly exhausted. On September 21, therefore, an Act was passed through Parliament relieving the Bank of England from the obligation to sell gold at a fixed price. Britain thus went off the gold standard, to which she had returned, prematurely as many thought, in 1925.

The general election took place on October 29 and resulted in a sweeping victory for the National Government, which now had 558 supporters in a House of 615 members. Mr. Arthur Henderson, who had succeeded Mr. MacDonald as leader of the Labour party, lost his seat, as did most of his colleagues.

Mr. MacDonald had asked the electors for "a doctor's mandate," and before setting about his healing task he reconstructed the ministry. The most important recruits to the Cabinet were Sir John Simon as foreign secretary, and Mr. Walter Runciman as president of the board of trade. Mr. Neville Chamberlain succeeded Mr. Snowden as chancellor of the exchequer.

The first great task of the new ministry was to introduce some kind of protection for British industry, all parties being now convinced that tariffs in one form or other were essential. Heavy, but temporary, duties were imposed on certain classes of goods, pottery and woollens among them, which were entering the country in abnormal quantities, and a little later the same

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

medicine was applied to horticultural imports. In 1932 a general tariff of 10 per cent. was imposed on all goods coming from foreign countries, certain foodstuffs and raw materials being the only exceptions. The tariff policy adopted provided for the establishment of a committee, under Sir George May, the functions of which were to review the duties imposed and to impose others in cases where they were required.

All these changes had been made with the knowledge that a conference was to meet in the summer at Ottawa to deal with the whole question of imperial trade, and for the first time Great Britain's representatives went to such a gathering with unbound hands. They were no longer tied to the obsolete doctrine of free trade, or more correctly, "free imports without free trade." Seven cabinet ministers crossed the ocean from London, and when they returned, trade agreements had been made with all the Dominions, India included, save only the Irish Free State.

Soon after the conclusion of the conference the Government won an unqualified success in the department of finance. Its term of office had been marked by a steady improvement in British credit, and in the summer of 1932 good use was made of the plethora of cheap money. The 5 per cent. war loan, amounting to £2,000,000,000, was converted into a 3½ per cent. one, and a little later there was a further conversion of £300,000,000 of debt. The saving was estimated at £38,000,000 a year.

Having outlined affairs in Great Britain we can now return to describe world conditions. Throughout the three years, 1930, 1931, and 1932, the industrial depression steadily deepened. No country was immune from its calamitous effects on trade and employment, although some suffered more than others. To bring about an improvement various expedients were tried, but as these were chiefly in the direction of imposing or increasing tariffs and placing even more serious hindrances in the way of trade, their chief result was a serious contraction of its volume.

The year 1932 ended, and 1933 opened without any real signs of recovery. Although the prices of some of the primary commodities had risen slightly, the policy of price raising, which had been recommended in 1931 by the Macmillan committee on finance and trade and accepted as fundamental by Great Britain and the United States, had not yet met with anything that could be called success.

## THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

By this time, if not before, it had been generally realized that the problem could only be solved by international action; for national action, being limited in its sphere, was useless. A world conference was therefore suggested, and after several delays this met in London in July, 1933, when Mr. Ramsay MacDonald presided over meetings attended by delegates from more than 60 nations, every sovereign state save one being represented. In spite of much effort and considerable goodwill, no results were achieved, the reason usually given for the failure being the refusal of the American president, Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, to allow his representatives to discuss the subject of stabilising the currencies which, in the opinion of most economists, was an essential preliminary to better and more stable conditions. The discussion of war debts was also vetoed by Mr. Roosevelt.

Although Mr. Roosevelt's influence on the conference was mainly of a negative character, he acted quite differently in his own country, where his proposals for the restoration of prosperity were of the most positive, and thorough-going character. In the previous November (1932) he had been elected president by the enormous majority of 6,500,000 over Mr. H. C. Hoover, in spite of the fact that he was the nominee of the party—the Democrats—that had only succeeded in returning two presidents—Cleveland and Wilson—since the Civil War.

When Roosevelt took the oath as president on March 4, 1933, the economic position of the United States was about as bad as it could be. All over the land, banks were closing their doors and tradesmen and others were unable to pay their debts. Farmers were selling their produce at less than the cost of production, and the output of the factories was reduced by more than half. Unemployment was increasing rapidly, and the efforts made to provide maintenance for the unemployed were puerile. The national budget promised an enormous deficit, and the budgets of states and cities were, if anything, worse.

Roosevelt lost no time in putting his plans into operation and some improvement was soon seen. His schemes were ambitious. A Reconstruction Finance Corporation was created and vast sums were placed at its disposal. The National Recovery Act gave large powers to the administration to regulate prices and control industry. The president was not content with a single effort. As soon as one line of attack failed he launched another. He took the country off the gold standard, and when this did not

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

produce the desired results began a policy of buying gold, both in America and in Europe, at prices fixed by himself and above the market rate. Presumably his idea was to reduce the value of the dollar, but there was a good deal of speculation about his ultimate aims. At all events, he was trying to establish the sound principle that money should be the servant of man, not, as so often in the past, his master.

Mr. Roosevelt's policy has been divided by an observer into four phases. The first was an attempt to salvage the banks. The second was the abandonment of the gold standard, which implied the hope that the fall of the dollar would raise American prices and enable the whole problem of banking, industry, and agriculture to be solved indirectly by the depreciation of the currency. The third phase was marked by the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the insertion into the latter of the so-called inflation amendments and into the former of the public works proposals, by which some three and a half billion dollars were appropriated for public works. The fourth phase was the decision to buy gold at a fixed price.

In Great Britain, although there were no spectacular developments as in the United States, there were distinct signs of improvement before the end of the year 1933. The amount of unemployment showed a considerable decrease, and the returns of the banks, railways, and other undertakings began to increase instead of decrease week by week. In October the Federation of British Industries stated :

The review of industrial production during the past three months shows a general advance throughout the world. The rate of increase in Britain has been slower than abroad, but practically all industries have participated.

Australia, one of the first lands to feel the blasts of the storm, was one of the first to recover, regaining her credit more rapidly than even the optimists had believed possible. This was due in large measure to the rise in the price of wool; and the increases in the prices of other primary commodities, small though they were, were reflected in business conditions generally. Figures issued from Geneva in the autumn of 1933 showed that in nearly all countries unemployment was diminishing, while other figures proved that the amount of international trade was increasing. Although the world was still very far from making

## NEW POLITICAL IDEAS

even a moderate use of its vast productive capacity, it is safe to say that the worst was over by the Christmas of 1933.

This economic crisis which, although serious, was in its nature only temporary, was accompanied by a movement in the political sphere that promised a certain amount of permanence. This was the substitution of dictatorship, or something like it, for parliamentary government, a move along a trail blazed by Mussolini, and successfully followed by Mustapha Kemal. For just about a century after 1832 there had been a tendency nearly all over the world for countries to copy the British system of parliamentary government, the essential principle of which was that the ruler, represented by his executive, was responsible to parliament and parliament to the people. It is not surprising that the states of the British Empire had framed their constitutions on this model, or perhaps that it had found imitators in most of the countries of Europe, but it is more remarkable that it should have invaded the ancient civilizations of Asia and found a foothold in Japan, Persia, Siam, and elsewhere.

Just before the centenary of the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 was celebrated, a reverse tendency set in. It began in Italy, and its ideas were stated in a speech already mentioned by one of Mussolini's imitators, Alexander, king of Yugo-Slavia, who said that "there can no longer be an intermediary between the king and his people." But in the period under review, its most striking developments were in Germany and Austria.

In Germany about 1928 uneasy political conditions, coupled with the economic crisis, led to the rise of a new party. Its members were called National Socialists—in short Nazis—and were led by an Austrian named Adolf Hitler. In 1930 they secured over 6,000,000 votes at the general election and became the second strongest party in the Reichstag. They were not, however, yet strong enough to overthrow the ministry under Dr. Brüning, the chancellor, who took office in March, but during his term of power their activities were a constant source of anxiety. In 1932 there were several trials of strength between the new party and the old order, and when the presidential election came round Hindenburg was again elected, but Hitler secured several million votes.

In July, a general election made the Nazis the strongest party in the state, and a constitutional crisis took place. The president ignored the parties in the Reichstag and made Franz von

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

Papen, who had no following therein, chancellor, the government being carried on by decree. By one of these the ministry in Prussia was dismissed and von Papen was entrusted with the control of affairs there. In this way the ministry continued to function without any pretence that it was supported by the electorate until November, when, the Reichstag having been dissolved, there was another election. The Nazis again polled the largest number of votes, although 2,000,000 fewer than in June.

In January, 1933, Hitler, having become naturalized, was appointed chancellor. He declared his aims to be the revision of the treaties of 1919, the return of the colonies and the suppression of communism. Having secured exceptional powers by a decree of the president, he proceeded to suspend the socialist and communist newspapers, and to persecute the Jews. A general election in March returned many of his adherents, but did not give his party an absolute majority in the Reichstag. However, he went steadily on his way. Commissioners belonging to his party, following the example of von Papen in Prussia, took control of the governments in all the states, the diets, or parliaments, being ignored or dissolved and many of the officials dismissed.

In March Hitler obtained by decree the powers of a dictator for a period of four years. Under this he, and not the president, was to promulgate the laws and, although the Reichstag remained in being, its powers were considerably curtailed. In November, after the withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations, Hitler asked for the support of the people in a general election and a referendum concurrently. The general election, however, was very different from its British namesake. The only candidates for election were the names on a list approved by the directors of the Nazi party, and the only speeches allowed were made by the chancellor and his associates who carried on a very vigorous campaign. The result was an overwhelming victory for Hitler, who celebrated it by releasing many political prisoners. An event that caused much excitement early in 1933 was the burning of the Reichstag building in Berlin. This was believed to be the work of incendiaries, and three Bulgarians were arrested, their prolonged trial arousing much interest.

Not only the boycotting of the Jews, which increased in intensity as the year 1933 went on, but also imprisonments on a large scale and other activities of the Nazis caused considerable disquiet in Europe and the United States, and formal protests

## A DICTATOR FOR AUSTRIA

were made by the British and other governments. This was particularly the case with regard to Austria, to which country Hitler and his followers gave a good deal of attention. Efforts, by broadcasting and in other ways, to influence public opinion in that land led to much friction and together with the unrest caused by the prevailing economic and political conditions had important results. A socialist armed organization called the *Schutzbund* was suppressed, and the diet, declared incapable of fulfilling its functions, was forbidden to meet. A new constitution was prepared, but the real change was to add, in the person of the chancellor, Engelbert Dollfus, one more to the dictators of Europe. His popularity had been increased by an attempt on his life, and apparently had not been diminished when he asserted that parliamentary government was dead.

Repercussions from Germany affected other neighbouring countries. Belgium and Switzerland, like France, took steps to strengthen their defences. The three Scandinavian countries considered common action to safeguard the Danish frontier. Poland accepted a dictator when in March legislation gave its government power to rule for a stated time without a parliament. There was trouble between this country and the free state of Danzig, where in May, 1933, the Nazis had secured a majority in the legislature. The ensuing differences between them and the high commissioner were referred to the League of Nations.

In France, after the resignation of M. Poincaré in 1929, M. Briand, although not premier for long, remained the dominant figure almost until his death early in 1932. In 1931 M. Paul Doumer was elected president of the republic, but he was killed by an assassin in May, 1932, his place being taken by M. Albert Lebrun. Second only in importance to the question of security was that of finance. Efforts to reduce expenditure led to the fall of the ministry of M. Edouard Daladier in October, 1933, when he was succeeded by M. Albert Sarraut.

In 1931 a rising in Spain, differing little save in its results from many earlier ones, forced King Alfonso to leave the country, and a republic was proclaimed. Under the president, Senor Zamora, autonomy was granted to Catalonia and later to the Basque provinces, while the church and the large landowners lost their estates and the clergy were forbidden to take part in educational work. Italy, which was now definitely one of the

## THE WORLD AFTER THE WAR (II)

great powers, continued to make progress, and in October, 1932 the tenth anniversary of the march on Rome was celebrated.

In Russia the Soviet authorities under Joseph Stalin continued to function. The first five-year plan, although in some respects a failure, had done a good deal. Great cities such as Stalingrad and Magmetogorsk had been created and, according to one writer, 20,000,000 peasant holdings had been turned into collective farms. A second five-year plan provided for a greater consumption of the nation's products by the Russians themselves. The arrest and trial in 1933 of some British engineers led the British Government to place special duties on Russian imports, but these were removed when the men were released. Negotiations for the recognition of the Soviet by the United States were begun at Washington in October of that year.

In Asia a new state, Manchuria, or Manchukuo, then part of the republic of China, was created largely by the action of Japan, its birth year being 1932. Just previously the League of Nations had sent out a commission under the earl of Lytton to report on the position there and its conclusions created some tension. Japan refused to accept its findings and withdrew from the League, retaining, however, her mandated islands. Meanwhile fighting went on in Jehol until 1933, when there was a cessation of hostilities and the relations between China and Japan gradually improved. In July, 1932, a brief revolution converted Siam from an absolute into a constitutional monarchy, but about a year later the new order was overthrown. A dispute between the ruler of Persia and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was settled satisfactorily earlier in the year. In November, 1933, the king of Afghanistan was murdered.

South America did not escape the prevailing unrest. There were risings in Brazil, Chile and Ecuador in 1932. In Chile a socialist regime was established, and the great nitrate combine known as Cosach was attacked as the cause of the country's troubles. Uruguay in 1933 accepted the rule of a dictator, and in the same year the war about the ownership of the great Chaco district was renewed between Bolivia and Paraguay.

In the United States the most important development, apart from those concerning the economic crisis, was the end of prohibition. In November, 1933, the requisite number of states had voted for the repeal of the amendment, and in December the sale of liquor was allowed, subject only to state regulations.

## CHAPTER 12

### Reparations and War Debts

**A**T the time of the Armistice the world had been pouring out its wealth in an orgy of destruction for four and a quarter years. During that time not only had the industries of the world been robbed of the services of millions of its young men, but also the machinery of its production had been turned to an unbelievable extent into the channels of destruction. It is estimated that, in material loss alone, the War cost the world the enormous sum of £24,000,000,000; and this sum had been drawn from the wealth that had laboriously been built up through many years of industrial prosperity.

The efforts of generations past, present, and to come, had been squandered in the madness of four years. It was therefore natural that, faced with the enormous load of debt which the years of conflict had piled upon the shoulders of the people, confronting the ruin that had been wrought and remembering the agony that had been endured, the victorious nations should turn for compensation to the country which was primarily responsible for the tragedy. Exhausted and beaten, facing starvation and bankruptcy, Germany was in no position to resist the demands of her conquerors.

A brief review is desirable of the negotiations which resulted in the drafting of the clauses in the treaty of Versailles covering the question of reparations. On November 5, 1918, President Wilson presented in Berlin a note in terms of which the Allies were prepared to make peace. The preamble to the note read that the Allied governments, "subject to the qualifications which follow, declare their willingness to make peace with the government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down" in Wilson's Fourteen Points. Germany accepted these terms, although not without protest, and the Armistice was concluded. But it should be pointed out that by the terms of this note, the Allies were bound no less than Germany. They, too, had entered into solemn international covenants, and President Wilson had stressed the point of no contributions and no punitive damages.

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The substance of the clause relevant to the question of reparations reads as follows: that "compensation will be paid by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." It would seem quite clear from this phrase, that at that time none of the statesmen of the Allies had the idea of exacting from Germany any indemnity in respect of the total costs of the war.

It is necessary, then, to say something about the various heads under which on a proper interpretation of the clause which governed the question, compensation could be claimed from Germany in 1919. Mr. J. M. Keynes, in his book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, has enumerated those heads roughly as follows:

(a) Damage to civilian life and property including damage by air raids, naval bombardments, submarine warfare and mines.

(b) Compensation for improper treatment of interned civilians.

(c) Damage done to property and persons of civilians in the war area and by aerial warfare behind the lines.

(d) Compensation for loot of food, raw materials, livestock, machinery, etc., in territory occupied by Germany.

(e) Repayment of fines and requisitions levied on municipalities or nationals in occupied territory.

(f) Compensation to nationals deported or compelled to do forced labour.

(g) The expenses of the relief commission in providing food and clothing to maintain the civilian population in the occupied districts.

After a careful and detailed survey of the question, Mr. Keynes proceeds to estimate the figures under these heads. The totals he gives are as follows:

Belgium .. .. .	£500,000,000
France .. .. .	800,000,000
Great Britain .. .. .	570,000,000
Other Allies .. .. .	250,000,000
<b>A grand total of ..</b>	<b><u>£2,120,000,000</u></b>

This figure is sufficiently staggering, and it is well to remember that Mr. Keynes is careful to point out that he has erred on

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the side of excess. In his view a bill for £2,000,000,000 was one which the Allies were entitled within the terms of their undertaking to present, was one which Germany would have accepted, and which, in certain circumstances, she could have paid.

The actual course of events was very different. After the signing of the Armistice it became clear that the condition of Germany was even worse than had been supposed: that, in short, she was incapable of resisting the imposition of any terms however severe. Unconditional surrender could have been forced upon her with the same ease as were the terms of the Armistice. This helplessness of Germany undoubtedly encouraged the Allies to increase their demands. But a second and vital cause of the change of attitude which was adopted by the statesmen of the day, was the discovery that an unlimited measure of popular support could be evoked for more severe claims upon the German nation. The loss and misery which Germany had inflicted upon the world were to have their logical consequences. Of the twin attributes of God, justice rather than mercy was to dominate the policy of the victors.

Yet another contributory cause of the change of temper was the general election in England. Mr. Lloyd George, the then prime minister, had derived from the victory of the Allies a popularity which has seldom been accorded to any British statesman, and at the general election of December 1919, his Government was confirmed in power with a huge majority. During the electoral campaign Sir Eric Geddes had declaimed that he would make Germany pay "until the pips squeaked," and Mr. G. N. Barnes, another member of the War Cabinet, had shouted, "I am for hanging the Kaiser." Such phrases had taken the imagination of an excited and still nervous people. The election manifesto issued by the leaders of the victorious coalition had as its first point "trial of the Kaiser," and its third point, "Fullest indemnities from Germany." Mr. Lloyd George thus secured his seat at the Peace Conference, but he went there with his hands tied. Because of his election pledges he was committed to a policy which could not but produce the gravest consequences for Europe. Extravagant promises had been made to the British electorate. Sums like £20,000,000,000 were bandied from mouth to mouth, and the British taxpayers were assured in effect that the whole of the British national debt would be transferred to Germany.

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In support of a policy which had for its avowed objective the extraction of every possible penny of German wealth Mr. Lloyd George found a warm ally in M. Clemenceau. The French budget was in a deplorable condition, and this fact only hardened French opinion against Germany and stimulated a natural desire to obtain the largest possible sum in reparations. Coupled with the political motive which prompted statesmen like M. Clemenceau to encourage any scheme which would break Germany's power for ever, such facts proved irresistible. The extremely pertinent question of how much Germany could be made to pay was largely shelved. M. Klotz, the French finance minister, announced that the total Allied claims would reach the figure of £15,000,000,000, that this sum would accumulate at compound interest until 1921, and principal and interest would then be paid off by 34 annual instalments of £1,000,000,000 each, of which France would receive over half.

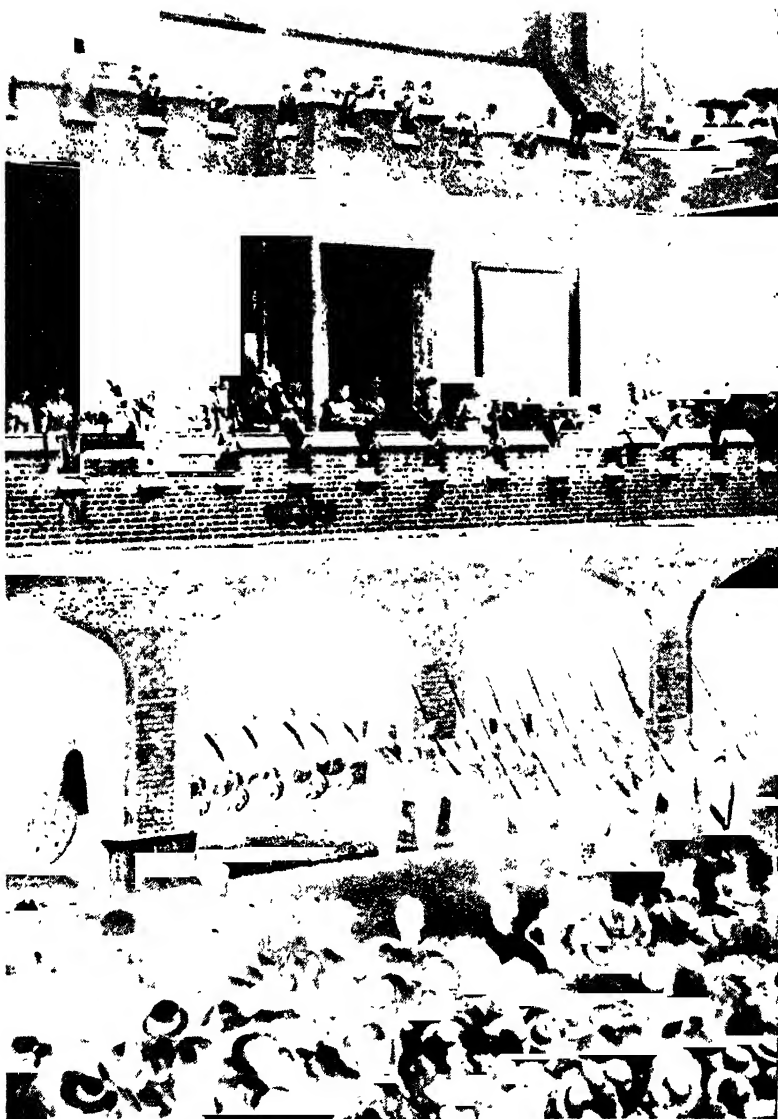
Long before the Peace Conference was concluded it was starkly apparent that the maximum that Germany could pay, either then or in the future, would be only the merest fraction of the amount which the leaders of the Allies had led their peoples to expect would be forthcoming. Driven inexorably to demand sums which, in the view of eminent economists, represented more than double the capitalised wealth of the entire German nation, the framers of the reparation clauses in the treaty found themselves caught between the Scylla of their own pledges and the Charybdis of facts.

It is impossible to specify in detail the nature of the claims and the number of the demands liability for which Germany was compelled to accept. Apart from other items the general claims which were preferred against Germany were estimated by Mr. Keynes to amount to between £6,000 and £8,000 million sterling. In the treaty itself no specific sum has been named. The concern was to fix the amount of annual payments and the date on which the first should become due. One of the gravest defects of the treaty was this failure to specify a definite amount of reparations; but this vagueness is quite understandable in view of the statements which had been circulated in regard to Germany's capacity to pay, and also with regard to the claim the Allies proposed to establish. To have fixed both those figures would have revealed a discrepancy between facts and fancy that might seriously have shaken the confidence of the people in their leaders.



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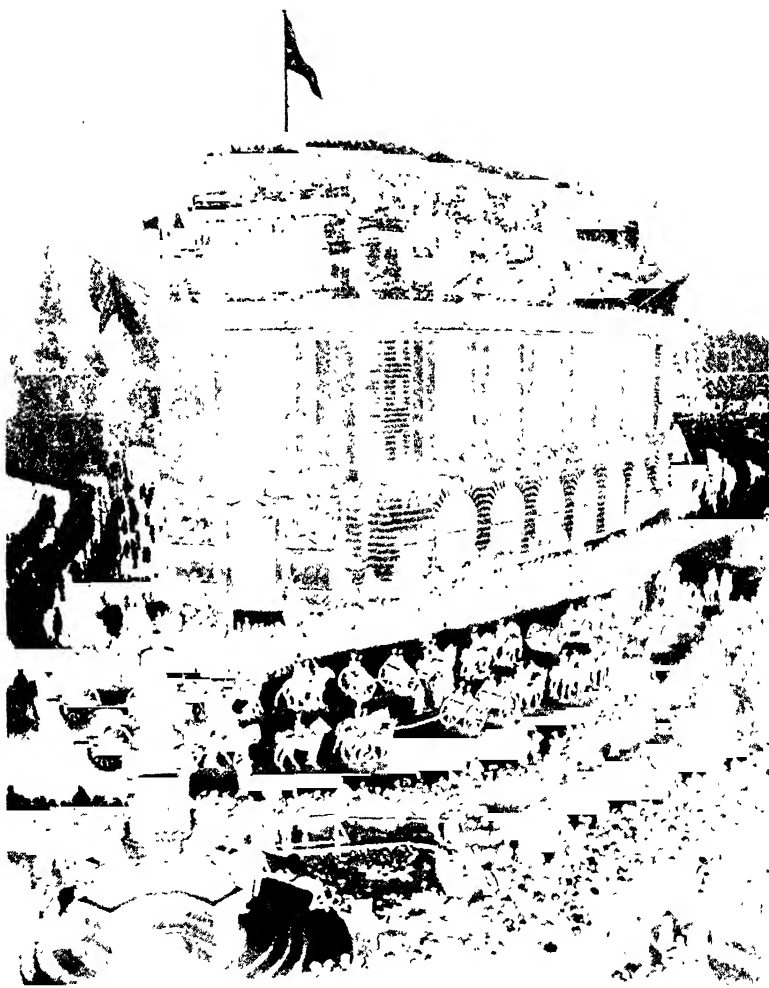
**SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY AT VERSAILLES.** The Peace Treaty was signed in the historic Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, on June 28, 1919. This painting of the delegates signing is by Sir William Orpen, R.A., and shows Dr. Johannes Bell, the German representative, appending his signature. Seated, from left to right, in the centre, are President Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Arthur Balfour. Next to the latter are Lord Milner and G. N. Barnes.



**READING THE PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.** The Peace Conference between the Allied Powers was formally opened in Paris on January 18, 1919. The peace terms were presented to Germany on May 7, and those concerning Austria on June 21. The former signed the Treaty on June 28, and the latter on September 10. The Earl Marshal is seen here reading the proclamation at St. James's Palace, London.



**AUSTRALIAN CAVALRY IN FLEET STREET.** The Australian forces, their great task accomplished, came to London in 1919 and made spectacular marches through the streets. Their cavalry are here seen in Fleet Street, London, on Anzac Day, April 25, the anniversary of the landing of the Australians in Gallipoli.



**DOMINION TROOPS IN LONDON.** This fine photograph shows the imposing triumphal march of the Australian troops in London on May 3, 1919. The artillery are seen passing Australia House at the junction of Aldwych and the Strand. Londoners gave a particularly warm welcome to the gallant Anzacs who fought so splendidly in France, Gallipoli and other battle areas.

## THE CLAIM PRESENTED

The full bill for reparations was not presented to Germany until 1919. But on the immediate close of the war the following conditions were imposed. In the first place, the whole of Germany's colonial empire and about 13 per cent. of her European territory, including Alsace-Lorraine, were surrendered. In 1921 a decision of the League of Nations took away a further area comprising rather more than half of Silesia. Her colonial territories had previously been one of her chief sources of raw materials, and the ceded territory in Europe comprised some of her best agricultural and industrial areas. Mr. G. D. H. Cole has estimated that about 15 per cent. of her total productive capacity was thus taken from her, including 48 per cent. of her iron supply and 16 per cent. of her coal. In addition to these yields of territory, Germany handed over her fleet and most of her mercantile marine, 5,000 railway engines, 150,000 motor-cars, 5,000 goods trucks, and all the rail equipment of Alsace-Lorraine. One million pounds in cash was also demanded before May, 1921, together with large quantities of coal.

In May, 1919, the real claim against Germany was presented. Mr. Cole's estimate of it—136,000 million marks—is remarkably near to Mr. Keynes' figure. No specific sum was stated. It was simply insisted that Germany should begin to pay off her debts at once. Her annual contribution was fixed at 2,000 million marks and 26 per cent. of her exports. Germany, while protesting that the terms were both ridiculous and impossible, was compelled to sign. A Reparations Commission was set up, and the Allies threatened economic reprisals in the event of default. Provision was made for the postponement of annual payments at certain complicated rates of compound interest. Mr. Keynes has pointed out in his book that on this original basis of reparations, if Germany had paid £150,000,000 a year for 15 years from the date of her first payment, she would owe at the end half as much again as she did at the beginning.

The significance of these figures cannot be fully grasped until some attention is paid to Germany's ability to find such sums. In a caustic passage Mr. Keynes has written :

It is evident that Germany's pre-war capacity to pay an annual foreign tribute has not been unaffected by the almost total loss of her colonies, her overseas connexion, her mercantile marine, and her foreign properties, by the cession of ten per cent. of her territory and population, of one-third of her

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coal and three-quarters of her iron ore, by two million casualties amongst men in the prime of life, by the starvation of her people for four years, by the burden of a vast war debt, by the depreciation of her currency to less than one-seventh of its former value, by the disruption of her allies and their territories, by revolution at home and Bolshevism on her borders, and by all the unmeasured ruin in strength and hope of four years of all-swallowing war and final defeat.

Essentially, Germany could only pay in a limited number of specific ways. In the main these consisted of transferring gold, securities, or goods to her conquerors, or performing services for them. Of gold she had almost none at the end of the war, and what she had was urgently needed for the purpose of stabilising her currency and meeting her obligations for food and raw material, without which she would not only be quite unable to recover her industrial prosperity, but would actually starve; while, unless that prosperity were recovered, no reparations could be collected. Her securities were in no better case. Before the war her foreign investments had been considerable, but during the four years of fighting everything that could be realized had been sold to pay for the imports she so urgently required. What were left were securities held mainly in the countries of her former allies, Turkey, Austria, and Bulgaria, and obviously worth rather less than the paper on which they were printed.

With regard to the export of goods, the position was even worse. So complete had been the drain on German resources that, in 1919, it was obvious that for many years to come every article which Germany could manufacture and export would be urgently needed to pay for the bare food and raw materials she would have to import if she were to keep herself alive and produce articles of manufacture. An available surplus of exports could not be built up easily or quickly. Even if it could be built up and used to pay reparations, its effect would be simply to hit the industries of the countries to which it was sent. The paradoxical nature of this situation has been demonstrated by the post-war history of Europe, and further reference will be made to it later. At this stage it is only necessary to add that Germany's ability to produce any goods at all had been most seriously diminished by her deprivation of so much of her pre-war territory and population and of so much of the deposits of coal and iron ore on which her industrial

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activities had to be based. Finally, Germany had surrendered practically the whole of her mercantile marine. Before the war the services which her ships had done for the world constituted an invisible export of very large dimensions. Her ability to pay reparations by performing transport services for the allied countries had therefore been destroyed.

It will be clear from this short review of Germany's economic situation that the policy of the Allies in endeavouring to extract the maximum of reparations from their former enemy was bound to fail. This policy has been described by Mr. Cole as an insane attempt to ruin Germany on the one hand and to make her pay on the other. But Mr. Keynes goes very much further. Reverting to the note in terms of which the Armistice was signed, and the clause in it which, in his view, bound the Allies, in respect of their claims for reparations, to a sum estimated by him to amount to some £2,000,000,000 maximum, he avers that the subsequent behaviour of the Allies constituted a breach of moral obligations.

There are few episodes in history which posterity will have less reason to condone—a war ostensibly waged in defence of the sanctity of international engagements ending in a definite breach of one of the most sacred possible of such engagements on the part of the victorious champions of those ideals.

Whatever view be taken of the morality of the claims for indemnity, it is difficult to doubt that economically they were unwise. For some two years after the fixing of the reparations Germany did manage to pay considerable sums. These sums never equalled the demands of the Allies, but in the circumstances were very large. By the end of 1922, Germany had paid, in securities, goods, and cash, a sum very little short of £400,000,000. The effect upon her internal stability was disastrous. In order to keep up any payment at all, she had to realize every single one of her few remaining foreign securities, export thousands of tons of coal that were urgently needed for home production, and further devalue her currency in order to make cash payments. The mark, which in 1918 stood at 500 to the £ instead of its parity value of just over 20, began to slump heavily and continuously. It became increasingly difficult to make any payments in cash, and only intensified the obstacles in the way of payment in kind. The cost to Germany herself

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was appalling. The whole of her old rentier and middle classes, whose fixed incomes were suddenly and drastically swept away, were destroyed. It had two other consequences: it abolished Germany's national debt; and it utterly destroyed foreign confidence in that country's financial position.

Before 1921 was out, the Reparations Commission was compelled to agree to a partial moratorium on cash payments. Other deliveries also began to fall behind, and disputes arose as to exactly how much had been paid. France began to accuse Germany of wilfully inflating the mark in order to increase her difficulties of payment, and the tension grew and grew. With the collapse of the discussions undertaken with a view to granting a loan to Germany, France, asserting that there had been wilful default, marched troops into the Ruhr. The action, which was strenuously opposed by Great Britain, aroused bitter resentment in Germany. Powerless to resist by force, she called upon her people to offer passive resistance. Miners refused to work the mines, officials refused to co-operate with or instruct the French, the people maintained an attitude of unqualified though quiet hostility. Diplomatic relations between Germany and France and Belgium were broken off, and the mark soared to millions. For eight months this siege of a nation continued; factories closed; no business was done. But at length resistance broke; Germany accepted the Allied terms unconditionally.

By this time even France had realized that Germany must be allowed to live if she were to pay, and in the result a committee of German and Allied representatives was set up under an American, General C. G. Dawes. The task of this committee was not to examine how much Germany could pay or assess how much she had paid, but to produce a scheme for the rehabilitation of her finances and to discover a method whereby she could transfer large sums abroad in reparations without upsetting the exchanges, and her own most of all. Within these limits, the committee did its work well.

Its findings can be summarised under five heads:

1. The mark was to be stabilised. A new currency, the reichsmark, was to be issued by a reorganized German national bank, the Reichsbank. The reichsmark was based on gold and in value was worth a shilling.

2. A new scale of annual payments was evolved. Beginning at 1,000,000,000 rm. they would rise by stages to 2,500,000,000 rm. in 1928-9, when they became fixed.

## A PERIOD OF INFLATION

3. German taxation was reorganized, and the national finances were in part relieved of the burden of reparations. The annual payments were to be collected very largely from a series of new taxes to be imposed as Germany's position improved.

4. An international loan of 800,000,000 rm. was to be raised partly to reorganize German finances but largely to cover the first year's reparation payment.

5. A new officer, the agent-general, was created in the Reparations Commission and Germany had simply to transfer the annual payments to him. It was his duty to hold the fund for the Allies, who undertook not to transfer that fund into other currencies if to do so would endanger the stability of the German reichsmark.

This last point requires further explanation. Although Germany was entitled to pay in reichsmarks, the problem of transferring them into other currencies was extremely difficult. Germany had very little gold, and needed most of it for the stabilisation of her currency. She was only in a position to transfer wealth abroad if she could buy foreign currencies. Lacking gold, she had to buy in goods. But that she could only do if she could export goods and if foreign countries would be willing to take them. They had first to be manufactured, and German industries needed reorganization and equipment.

During the period of inflation, money was so cheap in Germany that her industries had all received a fillip. A large sum could be borrowed one week and repaid the next in a currency worth half its former value. In consequence, the inefficient industries had been able to compete successfully with their more efficient foreign rivals, and hundreds of vast paper fortunes had been built up. Hugo Stinnes is a well-known example of such a capitalist. With the return of Germany to the gold standard, all this was changed. Fortunes collapsed like packs of cards, and the German industries found themselves threatened with extinction at the hands of their better-equipped foreign competitors.

Capital was urgently needed if Germany were to be set on her feet. The Dawes Plan had restored foreign confidence in German stability, and she was able therefore to borrow abroad, the loan raised being known as the Dawes loan. Ear-marked for reparations, this was easily borrowed, and for the next five years foreign money continued to pour into Germany. Great Britain

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subscribed very largely, but the chief investor was the United States. France held aloof.

The crisis, it seemed, had passed. The Dawes Plan was put into operation, and Germany began to recover her prosperity. With the money that she raised abroad she was able to rebuild her factories and workshops, and to meet the annual reparations payments. All payments under the plan were met punctually. Up to March, 1930, there was no sign of default. But clearly this situation could not continue indefinitely. By the end of 1928, 8,000,000,000 reichsmarks had been successfully transferred abroad by way of reparations, and, moreover, the interest on the foreign loans raised by Germany had also been met. But the other side of the picture was terrifying. In the same period Germany had borrowed from abroad the equivalent of 25,000,000,000 reichsmarks. She had, in fact, paid nothing, but had really trebled her indebtedness. She was floating on a stream of borrowed capital, and if that stream were to dry up, reparation payments would cease at once, and Germany herself would be on the verge of bankruptcy and collapse.

The Dawes Plan had been a temporary measure, designed only to tide over a few difficult years. In spite of the regularity with which it enabled Germany to meet her obligations, difficulties of transfer still occurred. The administration of reparation funds was on an unsatisfactory basis, and the whole problem of the total indebtedness was still a source of friction. A second committee was appointed under another American, Mr. Owen D. Young. Set up in 1929, it had for its scheme of reference the whole question of reparations, including the amount due, Germany's capacity to pay, and the annual instalment. It was hoped to put reparations on a commercial basis, and once and for all solve the problem they represented. The findings of this commission and the scheme it drafted, no less than the acceptance of this scheme by the various nations concerned, demonstrated that a sense of realism was at last coming into the councils of the world.

German reparations were fixed at slightly more than £5,500,000,000, this figure, payable by annual instalments of, on average, £100,000,000 each, being the total of the reparations and interest thereon. Secondly, one-third of the annual instalment was made non-postponable—that is, one-third had to be paid independently of all exchange conditions. Thirdly, the

## THE CRASH COMES

Reparations Commission was abolished and the permanent bank for international settlements was set up. Bâle was chosen for its headquarters. Finally, the Rhineland was to be evacuated, Germany was to be freed from foreign control, and once more welcomed into the comity of nations instead of being treated as a criminal.

These drastic changes were all to the good, and had they come five or ten years earlier might well have saved the world from a great deal of misery. But the Young Plan was destined to be put into operation only to be at once discarded. Scarcely had the new machinery of payment and control been established than the whole question once more became a vital and pressing issue. While the Allied countries were still disputing hotly at The Hague as to their respective shares in the new reparation payment, the crash, which had been growing ever more threatening, at last came.

In order to understand that crash and to appreciate the course of subsequent events, it is necessary to know something of the skein of finance in which the victorious nations had been involved ever since they brought the war to a successful conclusion. What was true of the financial and economic state of Germany in 1918 was true in greater or less degree of every other nation. The war was the most expensive as well as the most terrible that had ever been fought, and the drain upon the resources of the world had been colossal. In order to feed their ever-growing armies, to manufacture uniforms, rifles, guns, tanks, battleships, submarines, aeroplanes, howitzers, field guns, shells, poison gases, and all the other masses of costly machinery and stores that were destroyed almost as soon as they were created, the nations of the world had been obliged to pledge the wealth not only of past and present generations, but that of generations yet to come. Governments had borrowed, and borrowed and borrowed again, until the point was reached at which whole nations would be for ever enslaved if they were to pay but the interest on the stupendous sums which voracious war had swallowed in four short years.

These borrowings had been of two kinds. Governments had borrowed from their own peoples and from other governments. Thus national and foreign debts had been created or vastly increased. National debts present rather a separate problem. We have seen that Germany abolished her own national debt

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by the terrible expedient of inflating her currency to a point at which it became almost valueless, thereby ruining hundreds of thousands of her people, and destroying all confidence in her financial security. France was forced to adopt a similar expedient: in her case the inflation was sufficiently drastic, and the effect upon the small capitalists and peasants in the country was tragic in the extreme; but her currency was saved, and by fixing it at one-fifth of its pre-war value, France abolished by a stroke of the pen four-fifths of her national debt. In varying degrees several other countries did the same, with the remarkable exception of Great Britain, who emerged from the war with a mountain of internal and external debt upon her shoulders, but with her reputation as the financial centre of the world not seriously shaken.

In an endeavour to preserve that reputation and to reap the advantages that accrue from such a position, Britain reversed the European policy, and by deflating her currency from the war-time level actually increased by an enormous amount the real weight of her national debt. Opinions are sharply divided as to the wisdom or otherwise of such a step, but the efforts of the British government in 1932 to scale down the rate of interest on that debt showed the strength of her financial position.

Foreign debts, however, are usually based on gold. They cannot, therefore, depreciate with the inflation of the currency of the debtor nation, but, on the contrary, rise in proportion as those currencies fall. Moreover, since debts, although assessed in money and paid largely in gold, can only be met by goods and services, any fall in the level of world prices inevitably means that more goods and more services must be given for a specified amount of gold. Now, it is notorious that at the end of the war prices were abnormally high, and continued to rise until 1921. In other words, war debts and reparations were fixed when prices were far above their usual levels. After 1921 prices slumped heavily and have continued to fall ever since. The result is best illustrated by an example. A debt of £100 (valued in terms of goods and services), contracted in 1920, was worth in 1931, £294. In other words, the real burden of debts had increased nearly three times in about ten years.

The debts were, in any event, heavy enough to begin with. During the war vast quantities of food, munitions, and stores were sent by America to Europe. In order to pay for these

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goods, securities which Europe had held for years in America were sold, and when the proceeds of these sales were exhausted enormous loans were raised in the United States by European governments to meet the cost of more and still more goods. The greatest of the borrowers was Britain. Loans totalling \$4,604,000,000 were raised. France came next with \$4,025,000,000. A very large proportion of the money so raised by Britain was reloaned by her to one or other of her allies, Russia, France, and Italy each receiving enormous sums. Indeed, at the end of the war the amounts owing to Britain totalled, on paper, the enormous capital sum of nearly £2,000,000,000, exclusive of reparations.

On the other hand, very nearly £1,000,000,000 was owed to the United States. As early as 1922, Great Britain in the Balfour note put on record her view that the only sensible way in which to treat the problem of debts was to cancel or drastically reduce them all round. Britain had to recognize that, of the vast sums lent by her to other nations during the war, a very large part would have to be written off as bad debt. The loans to Russia, for example, would never be collected. In the result, Britain's position was peculiar. She stood to gain or lose very little by the payment of the debts. Whatever she received she would pay to her creditor, the United States. It is very greatly to her credit that so soon after the war she should display such a generous but financially wise attitude. Since her claim for all-round cancellation was rejected, she asserted that, as she did not propose to enrich herself at the expense of her late allies, she would demand from them no more than would be sufficient to pay her debts to the United States.

Following this declaration, the British debt to America was funded by Mr. Baldwin in 1923. At a time when nearly every nation in the world was striving to evade its responsibilities, this action of Britain's was certainly magnificent but deplorably precipitate. By this agreement Britain undertook to pay the U.S.A. the staggering sum of \$11,106,000,000, spread over a period of 62 years, by annual instalments of some £30,000,000 each. This figure represents 82.3 per cent. of the capital value of the debt when it was incurred. It is in striking contrast to the terms which were granted by the United States to other countries and by Britain to the same countries when in later years other funding arrangements were made. Translated

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into percentages of their original values, some of the figures are illuminating. Germany's reparations were reduced to 31 per cent., France's debt to the United States to 49.6 per cent., Italy's debt to the United States to 25.9 per cent., while France's debt to Britain fell to 42.6 per cent., and Italy's to the remarkable figure of only 15.1 per cent. Britain pursued her traditional rôle of paymaster to Europe with all her accustomed abandon.

It is as well to point out here that as the United States was the final creditor, so Germany was the final debtor. France and the other allies of Britain had so fixed the value of the reparations they would receive that not only would their debts to England and America be covered, but they would receive a considerable sum for themselves. On this sum their national budgets, shaken by extravagance, relied. This fact, to a very large extent, has determined the willingness or unwillingness of the various nations to agree to the cancellation of all debts.

France and Belgium particularly had suffered great devastation. They were therefore extremely reluctant to forgo that portion of reparations which automatically accrued to them. They preferred, if anything, to continue their agreements with the United States, for their debts were always paid by Germany. The United States clearly would be opposed to cancellation. The money, raised by the American government during the war, which had been used to finance the loans granted to the Allied governments, had been subscribed by the American people. On those loans the American taxpayer was liable to pay annually enormous sums in interest. The cessation of debt payments from abroad would at once increase the burden of taxation by a very large amount.

Only Great Britain was in the peculiar position of having nothing to gain or lose by cancellation, and it is therefore not remarkable that she has consistently been the advocate of what is agreed by most experts to be the wisest course—complete cancellation of all war debts and reparations. Before this subject can be discussed in more detail it is necessary to relate the events which led up to the great crisis in 1931 and to sketch in outline the effect which the payment of these enormous instalments of debt has had upon the finances of the world.

What is true of reparations is true of debts. Debts between nations can only be paid in a limited number of ways, and if the creditor nation is unwilling to accept payment in those ways,

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chaos ensues. By far the most important of those ways is payment in goods. Thus if Germany exported annually £100,000,000 worth of goods more than she imported, she could conveniently use her foreign credits for those goods for the purpose of paying her reparation instalments. In the same way, if Europe exported annually to America goods to the value of £70,000,000 more than she imported, she, too, could pay her debts to America. But the whole trend of post-war international trade was to make such a course impossible. All the great countries of the world, with the notable exception of Britain, consistently adopted a policy of tariffs, whereby the goods of other nations were shut out from the home market.

This has been particularly true of Germany and France and, even more so, of the United States. Germany's case is clear. Being a debtor, it was essential that she should deliberately restrict her imports in order to acquire a favourable balance of trade by which she could meet her debt commitments. But France and the United States were both creditor nations, and it is the opinion of many eminent authorities that the policy they have adopted has been largely responsible for a great part of the acute crisis through which the world has passed. If countries will not accept payment of the debts due to them in goods, then they have to be paid in gold. It is because of this that the United States and France succeeded in attracting to themselves in the years after the war most of the world's gold supply. In order that a country should export gold, she has first to buy it, and gold can only be bought with goods. Moreover, gold is vital to the free working of international commerce, and the accumulation of vast stores in the vaults of the French and American banks has had a serious effect upon the smooth running of international trade.

This policy of demanding payment but refusing to accept it in the only coin, namely goods, in which the debtor can pay is, unfortunately, more reasonable than would appear. For every nation has its own industries to consider, and if France and the United States permitted themselves to be flooded with cheap goods imported from Germany and Europe generally their own industrial prosperity would suffer. This, at least, is the argument employed.

As we have seen, from the date of the adoption of the Dawes Plan until the end of 1930, the payment of reparations by

## REPARATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

Germany was regularly made. During the same period Europe was able also to meet her debt payments to the United States. These payments were only made possible because the United States continued to lend to Europe more than she took from her. After the war a short boom in 1921 was followed by a shorter relapse. This in turn was followed by another boom which rose by leaps and bounds year after year. Particularly in America prosperity steadily grew. Industrial activity had never been so high, money had never been so plentiful, goods had never been so abundant. All this accumulated money sought profitable employment; and it found it in the starved areas of central Europe, which were simply clamorous for capital.

American speculators embarked on a policy of wild and indiscriminate lending, as Germany, Austria and other countries were willing to pay exceptional rates of interest. Even British speculators were attracted, and during the boom years millions of pounds poured in a broad stream from America and Britain into the pockets of central Europe. So long as this stream of money continued, an artificial air of prosperity could be worn by the whole world; but if the lenders were to take alarm or to find a more profitable use for their money, the whole of this unsound structure would collapse like a pricked bubble. And it was impossible to tell whom it would drag down in its fall. America, as Mr. Cole has graphically pointed out, was pursuing a policy which would finally make her the owner of the whole world on condition that she took nothing from it.

How was central Europe using the money which was being poured into her? A large part was used in the payment of reparations and debts and interest on new debts. Another part was expended in re-equipping factories and installing modern machinery, but a considerable part was borrowed by local governments and spent lavishly on social services. The amazing blocks of workmen's flats which for example, were built in Vienna and Berlin during this time, were in fact paid for largely by America. It is perfectly clear that only a small portion of the borrowed money was profitably employed. The factories which sprang up, equipped with the most modern machinery could not earn very much more than the interest on the capital which had been sunk in them. The interest on the other capital used to pay reparations and debts and to build flats could never be earned. Moreover, most of the money was lent for a short

## WORLD PRICES SLUMP

period only. It became quite impossible to pay it back on the date due, except by borrowing again. And so the snowball grew.

Towards the end of 1928 and in the beginning of 1929, the American boom reached its peak. Speculation ran mad; stocks rose to unbelievable heights, and an insane fury of share dealing swept across the continent. Here was a strong incentive to employ money in America, and at once the stream of wealth crossing the Atlantic began to dry up. The position of central Europe became grave. Interest rates for the shortest loans rose to phenomenal heights, all developments ceased, prices began to tumble. In the middle of this frenzied scramble for money at any price, the American boom broke. The crash on Wall Street in 1929 was the worst financial disaster the world has ever seen.

The most serious feature of this catastrophe was the way in which world prices further slumped. They had been steadily falling for some time, but now they collapsed. At once the burden of interest and debt payments became immeasurably heavier. The position of the debtor nations, already extremely grave, became impossible unless they could keep up a favourable balance of trade, and every country in the world began to try to sell more than it bought. The rising tariff walls put further brakes on international trade already badly crippled, and only intensified the gravity of the situation.

In Germany production began to slow up everywhere, unemployment, already serious, began to increase at an alarming rate, new taxation further depressed the low standard of living and laid new burdens upon an already overloaded industry. Desperate efforts were made to stave off the crisis, but bankruptcy succeeded bankruptcy and day by day the inevitable crash came nearer. All over the world the economic blizzard raged unchecked. Nation after nation raised higher and higher its tariff walls in a vain effort to shelter behind them from the worse aspects of the storm.

Britain, with her free trade policy which had made it comparatively easy for her debtors to pay her, temporarily gained as the result of a further fall in the price of living on account of foreign imports; but her export trades were quickly affected. Not, however, for some time did the effects of the crisis really make themselves felt. The financial ramp had been comparatively small compared with that in America; but the Hatry crash, in 1929, was a significant reminder of the close relation between the

## REPARATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

finances of Britain and those of the world. Unemployment began to mount sharply, and the "refractory million" was soon nearly doubled. Even so, Britain's position was fortunate compared with that of many central European countries. Her crisis was postponed and, when it did come, its effects were mercifully tempered.

France's position was peculiar. Little involved in the financial collapse of her European neighbours, largely self-supporting and artificially protected by tariffs which were abnormally high even for the post-war world, she felt but little the storm which raged around her.

Already the crisis had assumed such gigantic proportions that beside it, the menace of reparations and war debts paled to insignificance. This had been emphasised even in 1930; but in the summer of the following year, it was driven home with renewed force. The Credit Anstalt, the leading Austrian bank, overwhelmed by its commitments, suddenly failed. The position was critical. If such a reputable concern was compelled to close its doors, whose money was safe? Investors suddenly and acutely aware of the situation in central Europe began frantically to withdraw their holdings; the inquiry following the crash of the Credit Anstalt revealed to a horrified world that it stood on the brink of complete financial collapse. It was no longer a question of whether central Europe could pay reparations; it was painfully clear that she could not even pay the interest on the sums she had borrowed since 1923.

American and British banks were very deeply involved, and the world wide apprehension created by this fact precipitated a panic which was only checked by President Hoover's prompt suggestion for a moratorium for a year on all war debts and reparations, which was announced in 1931. France, still largely unaffected, stubbornly refused to forgo that portion of the reparation payments then due, which under the Young Plan had been made non-postponable. At the eleventh hour a compromise was arrived at; the non-postponable reparations were paid into the Bank for International Settlements and at once re-lent to the German railways. In that way the money was kept in the country and the danger of the complete collapse of Germany's finances was averted for the moment. The situation was, however, still critical. The world had a year in which to solve its problems. But the worst had yet to come. Throughout 1931

## A RUN ON THE BANK

the condition of the United States got steadily worse; bank after bank failed, factory after factory closed down. The budgetary outlook became ever blacker, and the shoulders of the taxpayer became more heavily laden. It was clear that the collapse was far from a passing phase; and if further proof were needed the case of Britain supplied it.

Many financiers and business houses throughout the world keep a credit account at the Bank of England. Being the money market of all nations London is the most convenient centre in which to make settlements, and many transactions between foreign traders in remote parts of the world are ultimately settled by a series of entries in the ledgers of the Bank of England. But the collapse of the Credit Anstalt and the revelations which followed, seriously undermined foreign confidence in the Bank. Britain it was known, had invested heavily in central Europe. One by one the foreign business houses, particularly French, began to withdraw their deposits from the Bank. Britain's free trade policy had many advantages, but it had not built up a favourable balance of trade. For years she had imported more than she exported, paying for the difference with the services her ships, and insurance and banking houses performed for the world, and with the interest she drew on her vast foreign investments.

Such a state of affairs did not conduce to a solution of the present run on the Bank. Foreign credits not being available, gold had to be exported. As in every case, the run on the bank had a snowball effect. Very soon the drain on the Bank's gold became serious; credits were secured from Paris and New York, but were rapidly exhausted; stringent public economies were enforced. The crisis led to the general election of 1931 and the formation of a coalition or national government. But the new government failed to secure French confidence, which was further shaken by ridiculous and exaggerated reports of a naval mutiny at Invergordon; and the run on the Bank increased. Action could no longer be delayed, and on September 21, 1931, the government relieved the Bank of the obligation to pay out gold on demand—Britain had gone off the gold standard.

Although this caused a deep sensation at the time, subsequent events belied the confident and terrible predictions of the pessimists. The £ remained firm after falling to about 13/6 on the international exchanges, and the energetic measures of the

## REPARATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

new national government did much to restore confidence. It was, however, only another sign of the disturbed times that Britain, besides abandoning gold, should so soon afterwards abandon free trade. Imposed partly to counteract the unsettling fluctuation of sterling, the cautious tariff policy upon which Great Britain embarked in 1931, was undoubtedly one more factor in the slowing down of international trade.

Early in 1932 European statesmen began seriously to face the problem of debts once again. The shock which Great Britain's abandonment of gold and free trade had given to world opinion produced a salutary effect. The Hoover moratorium expired in February, 1932, but there was then no more chance of Germany resuming her payments than there had been a year earlier. Once the embargo on withdrawals of money from Germany was lifted, a run would at once begin. Within a few weeks Germany would default and her bankruptcy would drag down most of the small European nations with her. Too much foreign money was locked up within their borders to permit the contemplation of such an eventuality. The moratorium was accordingly precariously renewed from month to month. Meanwhile, the European statesmen continued their discussions. In June, 1932, common sense triumphed, and the policy which Britain had urged ten years before was unanimously accepted. By the Lausanne agreement, all the creditor European nations agreed to forgo both reparations and war debts.

But there was a reservation in this agreement. France's willingness to forgo reparations was conditional upon America's willingness to forgo the French debt. The next instalment on that debt was due on December 15, and the whole problem was really still contingent. One thing, however, was clear. The Bâle report had proved beyond cavil that Germany could not pay reparations either now or for years to come. Her debts incurred since 1923 would consume her available surplus for many years ahead. If those credits were to be unfrozen, far from being able to resume reparation payments, Germany would be in serious need of a long-term loan.

For the time being, the United States remained aloof. Overwhelmed by her own troubles, she had little time or inclination for those of Europe. With an army of unemployed numbering nearly 12,000,000, with a budget deficit of over £200,000,000, with her trade stagnant and her savings withering, she was in no mood

## THE BRITISH NOTE

to listen to the plea of Europe for lenient treatment on the question of war debts. The Presidential elections had just been held and had been won partly on the pledges given by the candidates for Congress, that no cancellation of European debts would be tolerated. Clearly as the wiser and more responsible members of the American people saw the justice of the European case and the benefits which Americans would reap from the increased ability of Europe to buy American goods, following a cancellation of war debts, it was impossible to persuade the people as a whole that it would benefit America more if she did not receive payment.

It is in any event a difficult argument, and it is small wonder that the taxpayer of the United States, watching his job growing daily more insecure, his savings diminishing and his taxes increasing, should be extremely reluctant to make a present of millions of dollars to European countries. He had an unanswerable argument: what right had Europe to ask his indulgence when year after year she was spending on armaments sums amounting to many times the amount of the American debt instalments? His attitude, expressed by his government in words the effect of which were, "Cut down your armaments by one-third, and you will save much more than you have to pay me," was one to which Europe could find no adequate reply.

Late in November, 1932, the British government sent a note to Mr. Hoover asking for postponement of the instalment of £30,000,000 on the American debt due on December 15. The president replied with a refusal, but asked for further reasons. On December 2, the text of the second British note was published. For the first time the full and staggering facts of the war debt position were placed before the public. Undoubtedly destined to become one of the great documents of history, it disclosed a state of affairs which can only be described adequately, to quote its own phrase, as a record of "tragic book-keeping." After giving a detailed account of the figures involved in the original debt, in the course of which it emerged that Britain had spent the enormous sum of £2,400,000,000 in the United States during the war, the note went on:

. . . the receipts of His Majesty's Government from their debtors have amounted to less than half the payments to their creditor. The relative position is that the United States of America made loans amounting to £2,055,000,000, and the

## REPARATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

United Kingdom made loans amounting to £1,600,000,000; the United States of America have received for the benefit of their taxpayers £434,000,000, and the United Kingdom have received for the benefit of their taxpayers—*nothing*; have passed on all their receipts to the United States of America, and have paid out of the pockets of their taxpayers to the United States of America £134,000,000. In fact, when interest has been taken into account, some £200,000,000 has been found by the British taxpayer.

The rest of the note was devoted to an examination of the grave consequences which the payment of the due instalment would have upon the international exchanges. But the United States again refused. France and Italy had also proffered requests for postponement of their instalments, and in France particularly political feeling after the Lausanne agreement was running high. In the result, on December 15, Britain earmarked gold to the value of the instalment due, and left it in the vaults of the Bank to await shipment to America. M. Herriot fought valiantly to preserve a united front with Britain, but after a tumultuous sitting of the French assembly, held to the accompaniment of a shout of "Pas un sou," uttered by a crowd of hot-heads outside, the French ministry fell, and France defaulted. Italy followed her example. The tension became acute: as Mr. Low, the cartoonist, graphically portrayed, the graves had opened and the spectres of Reparations and Debts were gibbering across the cemetery.

Little, however, could be done until the new president took office. This occurred in March, 1933. Mr. Roosevelt came to his post on an almost unprecedented wave of popular enthusiasm. His chief concern was clearly with the deplorable internal situation of the U.S.A., but stepping by force of personality into a position closely resembling world leadership, he organized with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald a World Economic Conference to meet in London. Unfortunately, tied by awkward political pledges, he was compelled to exclude the subject of war debts from the agenda. Such an exclusion roused opposition and resentment in London, Rome, and Paris, but nothing could be done. Independent discussion of war debts was promised; but until the conference was under way, it was useless.

Before the conference started the unimaginable had happened. The United States had gone off gold. Many of the world's small nations and all the British colonies had their currencies tied to

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

sterling rather than gold, and when Britain quitted the gold standard, they were automatically compelled to do the same. The result had been to give their exporting industries a great advantage over those in the countries still on gold. America and France tried by increasing tariffs to preserve their old trade balances and thus keep their position as creditors. But for the United States such action was not enough. Her position grew daily worse, and as a final drastic expedient Mr. Roosevelt was compelled to abandon gold in an effort to force up internal prices and help American industries to compete with foreign rivals both in their home and oversea markets. This action wrecked the economic conference, which split on the issue of stabilised currencies. Mr. Roosevelt's refusal to commit his country to a definite pledge to return to gold produced a situation in view of which further discussion was abortive.

Two schools of thought had emerged quite clearly from the conference. The first was led by France, the second by America. France maintained with considerable force that the disorganization of world trade was more the result of financial causes than of tariffs. In her view normal conditions would most easily be restored by concluding agreements whereby the various countries of the world undertook to restore their currencies to the gold standard at a date to be fixed. Against this view, President Roosevelt contended that the disturbances in world commerce which had followed the ending of the war were conditioned partly by the fact that the currencies of many countries were now over-valuated in terms of pre-war parity, and that such currencies must be unchained from gold and permitted to find their own level according to the movements of world prices. In particular, he refused to stabilise the dollar until the then position had changed, until, in other words, it was possible to see what value in terms of post-war francs and pounds the dollar could maintain.

The controversy was not decided; but as the year progressed the question of the half-yearly debt payment again became prominent. While in England and France public opinion had hardened since December, in America it had slightly weakened. The new negotiations were protracted, but no results were reached. Full discussion of the whole problem was postponed to a future date. Under those conditions just before June 15, 1933, Great Britain offered to make a token

## REPARATIONS AND WAR DEBTS

payment of 10,000,000 dollars, or £2,000,000, and this was accepted by the United States, Mr. Roosevelt stating that he could not regard it as a default. The sum was paid in silver, which was bought from the government of India and held in Bombay on account of the United States. France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Latvia followed this example, also making token payments in silver.

In October, 1933, when the date of another instalment of the debt was drawing near, further conversations took place in Washington between the British and American representatives, but again it was found impossible to reach a final settlement. Again a token payment was offered and accepted, this being one of 7,500,000 dollars (£1,500,000). A variety of reasons contributed to the failure of the negotiations, but undoubtedly the most potent was the condition of the United States, where no solution had been found for the grave economic and financial problems that confronted the people.

In accepting the British offer Mr. Roosevelt said :

It has, therefore, been concluded to adjourn the discussions until certain facts in the world situation—commercial and monetary—become more clarified. In the meantime I have, as Executive, noted the representations of the British Government. I am also assured by that Government that it continues to acknowledge the debt without, of course, prejudicing its right again to present the matter of its readjustment, and that on December 15, 1933, it will give tangible expression of this acknowledgement by the payment of 7,500,000 dollars in United States currency. In view of these representations, of the payment, and of the impossibility at this time of passing finally and justly upon the request for a readjustment of the debt, I have no personal hesitation in saying that I shall not regard the British Government as in default.

## CHAPTER 13

# Disarmament

ONE of the most solemn pledges given by the Allied governments to their peoples while the Great War was in progress, was implicit in the famous phrase, "the war to end war." Hundreds of thousands of young men gave their all that the world might for ever be freed from the menace of another such disaster. They performed all that they were asked to do. The war was won. The great shout of "never again" which went up from all the peoples of the world was a warning that their governments would now be called upon to honour the pledge they had given. Expression was given to this new attitude in article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Even in the peace treaties themselves, treaties in which the victorious nations imposed punitive conditions on the conquered, and thereby sowed the seed of bitter dissension for years to come, the same thought is in evidence. Thus in the preamble to part V of the treaty of Versailles, the paragraph occurs:

In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of the armaments of all nations, Germany undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval, and air clauses which follow.

This statement clearly binds the victors as much as the conquered; any doubt on the point was finally decided by an exchange of notes. The Germans made the following comment:

Germany is prepared to agree to the basic idea of the army, navy, and air regulations . . . provided that this is a beginning of a general reduction of armaments.

## DISARMAMENT

In reply to this comment, M. Clemenceau, writing on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, made the statement:

The Allied and Associated Powers wish to make it clear that their requirements in regard to German armaments were not made solely with the object of rendering it impossible to resume her policy of military aggression. They are also the first step towards the reduction and limitation of armaments which they seek to bring about as one of the most fruitful preventives of war, and which it will be one of the first duties of the League of Nations to promote.

From that date onwards, the same idea found expression in a large number of treaties, and has been solemnly and repeatedly affirmed by all the leading statesmen of the world.

A sentence from Mr. P. J. Noel Baker's book on Disarmament provides an admirable frame into which the reasons for disarmament may be fitted, and it is proposed to adopt it here for the purposes of clarity. Mr. Baker says:

It is commonly agreed that the purpose of disarmament is twofold: first, to reduce the economic burden laid upon the peoples of the world by excessive preparation for war: second, to prevent that competition in preparation from which war results.

That armaments are expensive is never denied. But the full cost to the world of the preparation and maintenance of the armies, navies, and air forces which it supports is seldom realized. It was pointed out by the financial conference of the League which met at Brussels in 1920, that "some 20 per cent. of the national expenditure is still being devoted to the maintenance of armaments and to preparation for war." Since that date, the figure has if anything, increased. But large as it is, by itself it does not represent much more than a tithe of the full cost direct and indirect, involved in armaments. In 1930, world expenditure amounted to just under £1,000,000,000. This sum although it gave a considerable amount of employment was, from the economic point of view, unproductive. Battleships, tanks, and the rest, differ from houses and machinery in that they are destructive rather than creative in their purpose.

These facts are based entirely upon peace-time expenditure. The enormous increase in cost which results on the outbreak of war, is only too well known. The total national income of Great Britain is generously estimated at the annual figure of £3,500

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE AEROPLANE

million. It has been estimated that the cost of the Great War, including "not only the material capital expended and destroyed, and the cost of the war effort of those who took part in it in various ways, but also an average allowance for the productive work which the killed, both civilians and soldiers, would have done in the remainder of their lives, had no war occurred" amounts to the staggering sum of £70,000 million. In other words, during those four years of fighting, the world squandered as much wealth as the whole of the workers and the industrial organization of the British Isles could produce in 20 years of labour.

Great weight has been lent to the arguments for disarmament since the end of the Great War, by the developments which have taken place in armaments themselves. The evolution of the aeroplane has advanced tremendously since 1918. Future wars, it is pointed out, will no longer be fought by armies and navies; they will be fought between fleets of aeroplanes. Against attack by aircraft there is no adequate defence. Confirmation of this gloomy prognostication was furnished by Mr. Baldwin in the House of Commons in 1932; practical proof has been forthcoming at each and every air manoeuvre carried out by the Air Ministry since 1918. This fact at once brings a new danger into being: no longer can a country shelter behind its armies and its navies.

Innumerable examples have been furnished during the ten years, 1923-1933, by experts of all nations, of the new deadliness and speed which the aeroplane has given to war; but nothing has revealed so clearly the developments that have taken place since the war, as the following extract from a speech made by Brigadier-General Groves in 1930, before the committee on aerial navigation appointed by the League of Nations:

Four years ago the British secretary for air stated that the air forces of one Continental Power could drop within the first 24 hours of conflict a weight of bombs equivalent to the total weight dropped in England by German air forces in the war (nearly 300 tons) and continue that scale indefinitely. That represented a 1,500-fold increase in striking power in six years.

The developments which have taken place in aviation since 1926 are no less remarkable than those which occurred from 1920 to that date. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the effective striking-power of modern armaments has increased not inconsiderably since the above statement was made.

## DISARMAMENT

More disturbing even than the development of the aeroplane, has been the progress made in the application of chemistry to the purposes of war. Poison gas was in its experimental stage during the Great War: its killing power was largely incalculable, and reliance was placed as much on its psychological effect as upon its inherent deadliness. But research and experiment have now removed it from the level of a novel weapon to that of the deadliest menace of civilization. The combination of aeroplane and poison gas has produced a new weapon beside which the most powerful ever produced sinks into comparative harmlessness. On this matter General Bradner, of the chemical warfare service of the American army, has remarked:

One plane, carrying two tons of the liquid (a certain gas-generating compound), could cover an area of 100 feet wide and seven miles long, and could deposit enough material to kill every man in that area by action on his skin. It would be . . . possible for this country to manufacture over 1,000 tons of it a day. . . . If Germany had had 4,000 tons of this material and 300 or 400 planes equipped in this way for its distribution, the entire 1st American army would have been annihilated in ten to twelve hours.

In relation to the effect of gas on urban centres, General Groves can be quoted again:

The gas bomb is probably by far the most effective weapon for use from aircraft. . . . This form of attack upon great cities such as London or Paris, might entail the loss of millions of lives in the course of a few hours. The gas bomb employed would contain gas in liquid form, the liquid would be released on impact and expand to many hundred times its volume. The gas clouds so formed would be heavier than air and would thus flow into the cellars and tubes in which the population had taken refuge. As the bombardment continued, the gas would thicken up until it flowed through the streets of the city in rivers. All gas experts are agreed that it would be impossible to devise means to protect the civil population from this form of attack.

This brief review of some of the major reasons for disarmament provides some explanation for the attention which the statesmen of the world have given to the problem since the end of the war. Roughly summarized, those reasons may be stated as follows: War, it is recognized, is criminal: modern war is

## VAST EXPENDITURE

worse; for so deadly have become the means of destruction that another outbreak such as 1914 would probably entail the collapse of civilization. Everything, therefore, which can be done to eliminate the danger they represent must be done. The nations of the world have therefore bound themselves in the covenant of the League, in the treaties of peace and in a succession of treaties ever since, to devote themselves to the supreme task of drastically reducing and eventually abolishing armaments.

The following table tragically illustrates the lack of progress that has been made towards disarmament since the war to end war was concluded. It sets out the amounts in round figures which the chief countries spent on armaments by seven of the leading countries of the world in 1913 and 1930:

	1913	1930
U.S.A. . . . .	\$245,000,000	728,000,000
Russia . . . . .	448,000,000	579,000,000
Great Britain . . . . .	375,000,000	535,000,000
France . . . . .	349,000,000	455,000,000
Italy . . . . .	179,000,000	259,000,000
Japan . . . . .	96,000,000	232,000,000
Germany . . . . .	463,000,000	170,000,000
Total	<u>\$2,155,000,000</u>	<u>2,958,000,000</u>

The first steps taken towards disarmament concerned the defeated powers. By the peace treaties drastic reductions were imposed on Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary. Germany's army was limited to 100,000 men recruited on a voluntary long-service basis. She was forbidden to maintain any territorial or reserve forces, her frontier fortifications were demolished, and all tanks, armoured cars, military aeroplanes, together with guns and howitzers above a certain calibre, were denied her. In naval affairs she was made to surrender every one of her ships, but under the treaty she had the right, at certain future dates, to lay down a number of vessels not exceeding 10,000 tons in size armed with guns of a specified maximum calibre.

Similar limitations were imposed on Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary, whose armies were fixed at 30,000, 35,000, and 35,000 respectively. All of the defeated powers were forbidden to trade in war material or arms, but no limitation was imposed on the

## DISARMAMENT

amount which might be spent on the armaments to which they were entitled within the terms of the treaty. One result of this has been that the modern German army of 100,000 men is maintained at a cost of very nearly 40 per cent. of the amount spent on Germany's pre-war army of 700,000 men.

Steps were taken to ensure that the provisions of the treaty were carried out, and an inter-allied commission of control was established in order to supervise the process and to control future expansion. Effective disarmament to the satisfaction of the commission was completed by 1925. Since that date the status quo has been maintained. But the bitterness which the existence of the control generated in those countries, and the resentment aroused by the failure of the other countries to carry out their pledges and to disarm themselves, produced consequences which had the most serious effects upon the chance of achieving world disarmament. As early as 1927 it became necessary to dissolve the commission. In substitution for it, the council of the League was given the right, acting by majority vote, to send a commission of enquiry to any of those nations upon the demand of any state member. Up to 1933 that right had not been exercised.

With every year that passed after the end of the war the claim of the defeated nations to a status of equal footing with all others in the councils of the world and to equality in armaments became more insistent; and with every year it became increasingly difficult to deny the justice of that claim or to resist the legitimate demands that resulted from it. Great steps were taken in the direction of granting its theoretical justice, and in political matters the fullest expression was given to it in 1926 when Germany entered the League. But it was not until 1932 that belated recognition was made of Germany's right to equality of armaments. There were not wanting indications that the nations had delayed too long, and that their dilatory methods had fostered German resentment to a point menacing to the peace of the world, the regular protests of Germany and her late allies against the remaining members of the League for their failure to honour "their legal and moral obligations in regard to disarmament" being accompanied as time went on by growing threats to claim the right of rearming, on the ground that the victors had failed to carry out their obligation under the treaties.

## A COMMISSION APPOINTED

In May, 1920, the council of the League set up the permanent advisory committee on armaments in accordance with article 9 of the covenant. Composed of military, naval, and air experts, its duty was to examine some of the technical questions on the existing state of armaments. This commission still meets whenever the League requires its services. But it early became apparent that on the negative and unconstructive reports of this committee little could be done. It is perhaps not surprising; the method of achieving disarmament by entrusting the problem to a group of men whose livelihood is dependent upon armaments is certainly curious.

Accordingly, in March, 1921, a temporary mixed commission was set up, consisting of experts and politicians, whose task was to prepare a scheme on which a conference could work; but it came to an end after the failure of the Geneva protocol in 1924. Its work, however, was valuable in that it explored the ground thoroughly, and for the first time disclosed the many difficult problems awaiting solution. Particularly valuable was the emphasis it put upon the question which subsequently loomed so large in disarmament discussions—that of security. It clarified the issue of whether security was to precede disarmament or to come from disarmament.

Among the positive contributions which the commission made to disarmament were: (1) The convention for the control of the traffic in arms. This convention imposes stringent supervision and regulation of the trade in arms with certain less civilized areas of the globe. By 1930 it had been ratified by twelve states, including France and Britain (with reservations), but was still awaiting the signature of, among other powers, the U.S.A., Italy, and Japan. (2) A protocol attached to this convention for the prohibition of the use in war of asphyxiating and other gases. Twenty-seven states signed this protocol, with the general reservation that it should cease to bind them in the event of an attacking state breaking its provisions. Unfortunately, this instrument is limited in its application to war time. No provision is made for controlling or preventing the peacetime manufacture and preparation of poison gases. (3) A report on the private manufacture of arms. The chief suggestions were that manufacture of munitions should only be conducted under government license; that bearer shares in armament firms should be converted into nominal shares, in order to ensure publicity

## DISARMAMENT

as to interests in and ownership of the concern; that periodical reports should be required from all armament firms as to their financial status, with details of their other interests; and that no such firm should be permitted to hold shares in newspapers. Attempts were made to incorporate these suggestions in a convention, but the difficulties proved too numerous. The problem, together with the major issues on the traffic in arms, was accordingly referred to the Disarmament Conference proper.

In 1922 Lord Esher proposed a comprehensive scheme of disarmament based on the ratio principle; but the problem of security was then prominent, and the commission rejected the proposal in favour of one by Lord Robert Cecil. A growing body of opinion, led chiefly by France, was in favour of the argument that disarmament was only possible after adequate guarantees had been established for the safety of the nations which disarmed. For several years this indirect approach to disarmament was to prevail, and Lord Robert's proposal was the first of a series of pacts and treaties all designed to provide security. The general scheme had been an attempt to set up a universal agreement by which all the signatories should bind themselves to aid any one of their number which was attacked. Considerable progress has been made in this direction, but, on the whole, the measure of security offered in the pacts which have been signed has been inadequate, while those in which security was more satisfactory the nations have been unwilling to sign.

The idea of security or sanctions was included in articles 11 and 16 of the covenant. Lord Robert Cecil's treaty of mutual guarantee endeavoured to link up with disarmament itself the provisions those articles contain. After declaring aggressive war an international crime, it proceeded to lay down the principle that any state subjected to aggression would be entitled to the assistance of all other states; but this provision was made conditional upon the achievement of a general disarmament, in order that no risks would be incurred until the world was in a better position to afford them. In spite of its admirable though limited nature, the treaty failed to secure general acceptance. Sixteen states approved it, including France and Italy, but Britain, the U.S.A., Russia, and Germany rejected it, ostensibly on the ground that no adequate definition was provided of the term aggression, actually because of their disinclination to commit themselves to binding treaties which might possibly

## GREAT BRITAIN'S REFUSAL

involve their participation in the quarrels of other nations about the issues in which they had little concern.

The fifth assembly of the League in October, 1924, was therefore compelled to recognize that the proposed treaty had failed to secure sufficient support to make it possible. In the meantime, however, the smaller nations, ably led by M. Benes, of Czechoslovakia, and M. Politis, of Greece, had produced a modified but extended version of the treaty which they proposed to affix as a protocol to the covenant. The Geneva protocol laid a new emphasis upon arbitration; it linked up that problem with those of security and disarmament, and, after providing a basis by which every dispute between nations, whether justiciable or not, should be automatically brought before a competent international tribunal whose decision should be binding, made willingness to submit to arbitration the broad test of aggression. The League council was given extended powers to declare a truce, and if that truce were broken could declare a blockade against the offending nation. The sanctions of article 16 were more clearly stated, and their speedier application was provided for. Finally, the protocol was also made conditional upon general disarmament.

Most of the European states signified their acceptance of the protocol which had earlier received the support of the Labour government in Great Britain; but the fall of that government at the end of the year led to a reversal of British policy. The new foreign secretary, Sir Austen Chamberlain, in a long speech to the council in March, 1925, explained why Britain could not accept the protocol. Objection was taken to what was considered too rigid a method of applying sanctions, and to the fact that the protocol tended to fix the status quo in Europe. The main objection was contained in the fact that the U.S.A. had consistently refused to recognize the authority of the court of international justice, that the U.S.A. traditionally was determined to maintain the doctrine of the freedom of the seas, that the U.S.A. was a great naval power outside the League, yet liable to be involved in European disputes, and that therefore Britain must refuse to put her name to an instrument which might well involve her in a clash with America.

Britain's refusal was sufficient to ensure the failure of the protocol; but methods of seeking security were still tried. Partly to atone for the consequences of her refusal, Britain became the

## DISARMAMENT

supporter of a series of proposals which were eventually incorporated in the famous treaties of Locarno.

Although these treaties were not made directly under the League of Nations, and are, in fact, limited in their effect to seven nations, they are claimed by many as being the greatest contribution to security that has yet been made. In substance they consist of a series of mutual undertakings and guarantees. France and Belgium on the one part and Germany on the other, undertook to submit any disputes to arbitration, while Germany renounced war as an instrument for altering her western frontier. Britain and Italy guaranteed military assistance to France and Belgium if attacked by Germany, or to Germany if attacked by France or Belgium. Similar guarantees were entered into by Poland and Czecho-Slovakia in connexion with the eastern frontier. In this limited sphere the principle of international assistance for states attacked by their neighbours was recognized. One great result achieved by the treaties was the entry of Germany into the League which followed after the treaties had been signed at Locarno on October 16, 1925.

While Sir Austen Chamberlain acclaimed the treaties as the "real dividing line between the years of war and years of peace," the cordial relations which it was hoped they would promote between Germany and France did not come into being, nor did they give to France that sense of security lacking which she maintained her position as the most heavily armed nation in the world. They did for a time improve the atmosphere of international relations, but even after Germany's entry into the League it was obvious that neither she nor France was proposing seriously to modify the course of their respective foreign policies.

If disarmament had to follow security, it was soon clear that disarmament would not yet be achieved. Existing international covenants did not provide sufficient guarantees to allay the fears of nations. After the failure of the conference in 1927, called by the American president, Calvin Coolidge, a period of acute pessimism followed which only heightened the growing sense of insecurity.

Before this, however, the American secretary of state, Mr. F. B. Kellogg, in association with the French statesman, M. Briand, had begun negotiations early in 1927 with a view to the drawing up of a covenant outlawing war. These received world-wide public support, and largely because of this the

## THE KELLOGG PACT

Kellogg-Briand pact was signed at Paris on August 27, 1928. Fifteen states signed originally, and by 1930 over 60 states had bound themselves to observe its provisions. Those were, shortly, two. The first\* was a declaration condemning war and renouncing it as an instrument of national policy; the second was an undertaking never to seek the settlement of any dispute except by pacific means.

Admirably lucid and direct as were the terms of the pact, they unfortunately advanced the cause of disarmament but little. No provisions were made for limiting or reducing armaments, and, more seriously, no machinery was provided to give effect to the second of its two main clauses. As a moral stimulus to the world its effect was undoubtedly valuable, but as a practical contribution to disarmament it proved of small use.

The problem of arbitration, while it did not receive the attention which was given to the question of security, was nevertheless the subject of considerable discussion. In articles 11-15 of the covenant the principle and the necessity of arbitration were recognized by all the signatories, who bound themselves to attempt the peaceful settlement of their disputes. But the machinery provided for effecting such settlements was neither universally applicable nor coercive, and the disputants regained a right under the articles to go to war if conciliation and arbitration failed to provide a settlement after nine months of effort.

The chief cause of difficulty in giving effective expression to the principle of arbitration was that the majority of the dangerous disputes between nations—disputes, that is, most likely to lead to war—are not strictly justiciable. Conciliation rather than arbitration is required, but by its very nature conciliation lacks power to make its achievements or its effects binding. The dispute between Austria and Serbia which precipitated the Great War in 1914 was typically one in which no real legal principle was involved, and it is difficult to visualise a tribunal before which such a dispute could be brought for arbitration. The efforts of any such tribunal would clearly be devoted almost entirely to conciliation.

Until 1928, therefore, the acceptance of arbitration was left on a voluntary basis. The League as a body contented itself with encouraging the making of bilateral treaties of arbitration between states—of which several hundreds have been signed—and urging all nations to sign the optional clause attached to the

## DISARMAMENT

statute which set up the permanent court of international justice at The Hague. Acceptance of this clause binds the signatory to submit all legal disputes to the court. Progress in this direction was considerable, and the number of signatories steadily grew. Amongst them were all the states of the British Empire. It was open, however, to any nation to deny that its dispute with its neighbour was a justiciable issue. By that means arbitration could be avoided. Moreover, by waiting for a period of nine months a nation had the right under the League covenant to resort to war. It was the object of the Kellogg pact to close this dangerous loophole, and in theory it succeeded. Not only was war totally renounced, but also peaceful methods of settling disputes were accepted. Only the machinery was lacking.

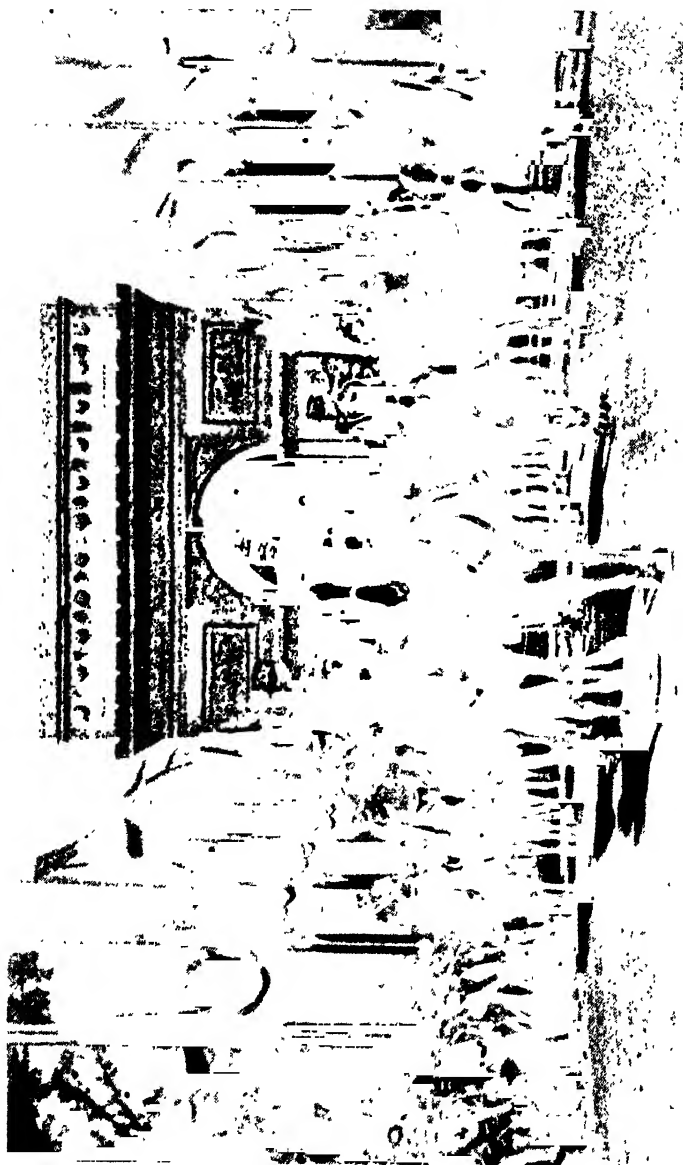
As a result, much attention was paid to the work of a committee on arbitration which had been set up in 1927. It had already produced a number of model conventions which had been used repeatedly as the basis of non-aggression treaties between several states, and had defined methods for dealing with actual disputes which were employed with marked success by the League itself in a number of concrete cases. In 1928 the General Act, open for signature to every nation in the world, was accepted by the League Assembly. Built up of three of the draft treaties which the committee had produced, its provisions included an undertaking to submit all legal disputes to The Hague and all non-legal treaties to a conciliation commission. If the commission failed, then the dispute was to be referred to a special arbitration tribunal whose decision was to be binding. Although not universally accepted, the general act was signed by a large number of states.

Considerable results were therefore achieved. The League covenant, the Locarno treaties, the Kellogg pact, the optional clause, and the General Act represented real progress. Unfortunately, the achievements in the matter of disarmament did not reflect a similar progress, and the most that the world was able to achieve was the prevention of the rearming of the defeated nations and of an armament race between the others.

In the attempts which the great powers made among themselves to limit and reduce their armaments their main concern was with naval armaments, and the poor success which attended their efforts was largely the result of the fact that armaments cannot be treated piecemeal, but are a single problem which



**MEN OF THE TANKS CORPS WITH TANKS IN LONDON'S VICTORY PAGEANT, JULY 19, 1919**



**PARIS CELEBRATES THE PEACE.** Like London, Paris staged a wonderful triumphal march to signify the national joy at the coming of peace. Here are seen Marshal Foch (left) and Marshal Joffre at the head of the victory march through the French capital.



**FIRST SESSION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT GENEVA.** On November, 15, 1920, the first Assembly of the League of Nations met in the Salle de la Reformation at Geneva, proving the truth of the remark made by Padewski, who was present, that "the League lives." Paul Hymans (Belgium), who presided, was elected deputy president. A prominent figure was Lord Robert Cecil, who supported the application for membership put forward by Austria, Bulgaria, Albania and Azerbaijan.

*I. H. Julien, Geneva*



**GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO AT FIUME.** Dissatisfied with the attitude of the Peace Conference towards the fate of Fiume, Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian poet and patriot, decided to seize the port. He raised a band of enthusiastic troops to assist him in the raid, and annexed Fiume on Italy's behalf, setting up a provisional government on September 11, 1919. He is here seen addressing his legionaries.

## NAVAL STRENGTH

can only be treated as a whole. The first of the several conferences of the great powers was held at Washington in the winter of 1921-22, and was summoned in order to avoid, if possible, the naval competition which was ominously impending. Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Japan, and Italy were able to agree to a ratio of strength in large battleships and aircraft carriers and to limit the maximum tonnage of certain classes of vessels. Britain, the U.S.A., and Japan were able particularly to agree to the scrapping of some 70 ships, and the conference did much to check competitive building in large craft. But cruisers, destroyers, and submarines proved too difficult a problem.

Signs were not wanting in 1926 that a serious situation was developing between Great Britain and the U.S.A. in regard to cruiser construction. The very point on which the Washington conference had broken down was proving the danger. It was made clear at Washington that governments were no longer deeply concerned to maintain or lay down enormous capital ships, whose slow speed and huge bulk made them particularly difficult to defend against attack by aircraft. Little trouble had therefore been experienced in finding a basis of limitation.

Cruisers, however, were in a different category. The U.S.A. claimed the right to build cruisers of a maximum tonnage of 10,000 tons, armed with 8-inch guns, up to a total tonnage of 300,000 tons. This tonnage on the basis of such large vessels would not have allowed Britain the number she considered adequate. She insisted upon a smaller maximum tonnage for each vessel and upon 6-inch guns, or upon an increase in the total tonnage available. The U.S.A. refused either to increase the aggregate tonnage or decrease the size of her cruisers. These issues were hotly debated at a conference summoned by President Coolidge and held at Geneva in 1927. The best comment upon it was contained in the remark: "Ostensibly a disarmament conference, it became an armaments conference."

This conference failed also, and for a time the position appeared serious, distorted versions of its failure leading to a growing coolness in British and American relations that culminated in scarcely veiled threats by America to outbuild every other navy. Wiser counsel, however, prevailed; but stalemate, which brought to an end temporarily all work by the preparatory commission then sitting, was evident. Accordingly, in

## DISARMAMENT

the autumn of 1928, Britain and France, after protracted negotiations, reached a mutual agreement on certain points. It was decided to divide naval armaments into four classes, the limitations of which should be fixed by the disarmament conference when it met:

1. Capital ships of over 10,000 tons or armed with guns over 8-inch in calibre.
2. Aircraft carriers of over 10,000 tons.
3. Vessels under 10,000 tons armed with guns between 6 and 8 inches in calibre.
4. Submarines over 600 tons.

The first two classes were already limited by the Washington treaty. The last two might present some difficulty but could probably be fixed. But the weak point of the agreement was that no mention was made of light cruisers and small submarines. Italy, Japan, and America, already suspicious of the Franco-British entente, would have nothing to do with a treaty that left Britain and France free to build as many of their pet craft, light cruisers and small submarines, as they chose. The Anglo-French agreement therefore proved abortive.

The great success of the Kellogg pact induced the powers to try again, and after much discussion, in which the rivalry of France and Italy clearly emerged, a treaty was signed at London in January, 1930. As between Great Britain, Japan, and the U.S.A., for the tonnage of warships a fixed ratio of 5—5—3 was accepted. The tonnage fixed was maximum, and an understanding was reached between all five powers whereby none of the signatories would build the replacement battleships which, under the terms of the Washington treaty, they were entitled to lay down between 1931 and 1936.

But this agreement between the three countries was the limit of success. Italy claimed the right to parity with any power on the continent of Europe, while France, pointing to the interdependence of naval and military armaments—which had been strangely avoided by previous conferences—demanded the right to increase her navy on the ground of the lack of any adequate general guarantees of security. All attempts to reconcile these views proved abortive, and no agreement was reached. The French view was determined largely by the fact that Germany was building a revolutionary type of ship. Under the Versailles treaty she was permitted to build capital ships up to an aggregate tonnage of 60,000 tons, and not exceeding 10,000

## A POCKET BATTLESHIP

tons for any one vessel. She had announced the laying down of the first of six 10,000-ton vessels in 1927, and its construction was causing considerable anxiety in France.

Largely through British influence an agreement was reached in Paris in February, 1931, in terms of which Italy and France agreed to accept Part III of the London naval treaty. Both countries were to be permitted two large capital ships of over 20,000 tons, and a compromise was arrived at in other categories. But the launch of the new German vessel, the *Deutschland*, in May, led to a revival of French fears, and France refused to accept certain understood limitations over replacements. The agreement therefore fell through.

The *Deutschland* was a masterpiece of engineering. Only 10,000 tons in size, armed with six 11-inch guns as well as other armaments, and possessing an 18,000 mile radius of action at a speed of 26 knots, she was well-named the pocket battleship. Fast enough to escape from anything that could sink her, and powerful enough to sink anything that could catch her she put all existing ships out of date. Her construction caused grave disquiet not only in France, and she definitely affected the whole course of naval disarmament. From the date of her appearance no attempt was made by the powers in separate conference outside the League to bring about new acceptances of the London treaty. All subsequent disarmament discussion took place through normal League channels.

After the failure of the Geneva protocol in 1925, the temporary mixed commission on disarmament was dissolved; but following the signing of the Locarno treaties, the League assembly set up the famous preparatory commission which began its work in May, 1926. This commission was composed of statesmen, representatives of the nations on the Council, and invitees, and it was hoped that points of difference between various states would be solved by direct negotiation. The work of this Commission was completed by December, 1930, when the text of the draft convention on disarmament was agreed. The members of the Commission included not only the great European powers and Japan, but the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.: it was thus the greatest committee of world powers that has ever met. Altogether the commission met in plenary session on six occasions, but work on sub-committees was practically continuous. The early sessions of the commission were devoted mainly to the

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question of security. French and British views diverged early. France was prepared to go a long way in naval but not in military disarmament, while Britain was extremely conservative in naval affairs. The discussions were further complicated by the reiterated claim of the German representatives to equality. Progress was slow and painful. By the end of the third session the position had, however, been greatly clarified. Disagreement had been reduced to four main heads:

(1) Were all armaments, naval, military and air, interdependent or not?

(2) Were trained reserves and material to arm them to be limited or not?

(3) Were naval armaments to be limited by fixing total or global tonnage or only by limiting certain classes of vessel?

(4) Was disarmament when achieved to be ensured by international supervision or was it to be left to the good faith of the signatories to the Convention?

In an attempt to resolve these difficulties and to cut through the skein of discussion which was rapidly growing more tangled, the Soviet delegation produced at the fourth session of the commission their drastic plan for complete and absolute general disarmament. The plan was simple, direct, and lucid, and was admirably comprehensive. All armaments of every sort were to be abolished, but provision was made for the maintenance of an international army and navy to police the world. On the inevitable rejection of this plan which followed at the fifth session, the Soviet promptly produced a modified scheme for gradual reduction on a fixed percentage basis. The plan was similar to the earlier one of Lord Esher propounded to the temporary mixed commission, but once again the commission at the same session rejected it.

Growing world dissatisfaction at the delay in the commission's work, forced the hands of some of the powers and at two sessions held in 1930, the commission was able to finish its preparation of the draft convention. This was agreed only by a majority vote, and left still undecided most of the great controversial issues. It was divided into five parts:

(1) Limitation of personnel. Provision was made for fixing the total number of officers and men employed in all services and police for each country. This number was not to be exceeded. The term of service was delimited, but no provisions were made for fixing reserves or dealing with conscription.

## A DRAFT CONVENTION

(2) Limitation of material. On account of the acute differences of opinion which existed, no attempt was made to fix any limits on, or classify, land armaments. The method of budgetary limitation was adopted by which each country would bind itself not to spend more than a maximum amount annually on land weapons of all sorts. In naval matters, direct limitation was adopted. Provision was made to fix maxima numbers and tonnage for all vessels divided into certain classes on the basis of the London Treaty. Aircraft were to be limited by number and total global power.

(3) Exchange of information. Provisions were made for securing publicity on all armament budgets.

(4) Chemical warfare. Poison gas, bacteriological warfare, and all other chemical warfare were absolutely forbidden. No provision was made either for destroying existing manufacturing plant or prohibiting further research.

(5) Miscellaneous provisions. A permanent disarmament Commission was to be established to supervise and give effect to the terms of the convention, and other provisions regarding procedure and complaint, were made. •

The Disarmament Conference opened at Geneva on February 2, 1932, under the chairmanship of Mr. Arthur Henderson. Sixty-one of the sixty-four states invited were present. Although the draft Convention was theoretically the basis of discussion, no state seemed prepared to prefer it to its own particular scheme. After summarily rejecting the proposal of M. Litvinov to proceed on the basis of the former Soviet plan of complete disarmament, the Conference divided into a number of sub-committees to examine the various problems in detail. For several months while awaiting the sub-committee's reports, the Conference continued the discussion of a number of alternative proposals, the chief of which was the Italian plan for qualitative disarmament.

The only general agreement which emerged was that armaments should not be abolished. Reduction and limitation were to be the basis of the convention, but on the question of which weapons were to be abolished, and by how much the remainder were to be reduced, it early became clear that no state would fix its own reductions until it saw what armaments its neighbours proposed to retain. In April, Britain lent her weight to the Italian principle and the Conference adopted a resolution in favour of qualitative disarmament. Certain classes of weapons were to be abolished; other classes were to be reduced and limited; others

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were not to be touched. The determining factor was to be the question of whether a weapon was offensive or defensive, and the problem of deciding into which category certain weapons fell was accordingly transferred to a number of expert sub-committees. Pending their reports, the Conference ceased to function. For two months the experts of the various nations wrangled and argued in the sub-committees, and their reports when at last they were handed in, were so obscure and vague as to be valueless.

On June 22, 1932, the Conference was seriously shaken by the simple proposals of President Hoover for a one-third reduction of armaments all round. Italy promptly accepted it without reservation. Other powers moved more slowly, and although a majority of delegations gave a tentative approval after a time, few accepted without reservations, the effect of which were to make such a scheme inoperative. The Benes resolution, which was passed by 41 votes to 2 on July 23, contains little that was related to the Hoover proposals. This resolution reiterated the solemn objects and intentions of the Conference, and recorded a few meagre points on which agreement had been reached; but it recorded many and more important points on which agreement was as far off as ever.

Germany had voted against the resolution, and in doing so her delegate, Herr Nadolny, delivered in effect an ultimatum that Germany would no longer participate in the Conference unless some satisfactory agreement were reached on the question of equality of rights. M. Herriot in replying for France, had once again stressed security. But the matter did not rest there. On August 28, Germany presented a memorandum on equality to the French government, and on September 14, informed Mr. Henderson that as no satisfaction on the point had been obtained, Germany was withdrawing from the Conference.

Germany's case was undoubtedly very strong. In accordance with the terms of the Versailles Treaty Germany had disarmed. Any discussion of disarmament was to her, therefore, academic. By the terms of the treaty the other signatories had solemnly pledged themselves to follow her example. In 1926 they had received Germany into the League of Nations, and every year had renewed their pledges about disarmament.

Meanwhile, the conference continued in being, but without the German delegates; though both within and without the League it was realized that any proceedings were fatuous

## EQUALITY FOR GERMANY

without German adhesion. Prolonged negotiations were begun to induce Germany to return, but for a time no result was attained. While they were proceeding France submitted her proposals. Designed partly to meet the German case and partly to provide the security on which France insisted, they amounted to a scheme whereby partial all-round disarmament was to be followed by the virtual pooling of remaining armaments and the placing of them at the disposal of the League of Nations. All air services were to be internationalised, and a special highly trained and heavily equipped international army was to be formed. By this plan France hoped to revive the idea of mutual assistance, provide herself with security, and ensure the peace of the world. Nations were not left defenceless, but their power of aggression was heavily limited. The trained army of the League, armed with the most modern and deadly weapons, all of which would be forbidden to other powers, would provide the strong arm of world law.

Although the scheme had much to commend it and gained considerable support in many quarters, it also had many serious defects and equally roused great opposition. The simplest but most pungent criticism was that it was not disarmament. The United States and Russia were quite opposed to its provisions, and it did not succeed in bringing Germany back to the conference.

On November 17, Sir John Simon, for Britain, unequivocally accepted the justice of the German claim and, subject to the proceedings of the conference, recognized the German right to equality. This recognition of the case by Britain was largely responsible for the general declaration of the five powers—Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the U.S.A.—made after a long conference, on December 11, that one of the principles of the conference should be the grant to Germany of equality. As a result of this declaration Germany returned to the conference on December 14, which shortly afterwards adjourned until January, 1933. The session of 1933 was clouded by two main issues. The first concerned the British insistence upon the right to bomb districts for police purposes; the second was the growing tension due to the political developments in Germany.

Much of the early part of the year was devoted to technical considerations of the British draft convention, modelled on the convention submitted by the reparatory commission, but based

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upon qualitative disarmament. The chief issue centred on aircraft. A surprising unanimity was shown by all delegations in the condemnation of bombing and their desire to abolish all military aeroplanes. This desire was shared by Britain, but with the reservation that she should be entitled to retain "police" planes and the right to use them to quell disturbances in outlying parts of her empire. Cheap and possibly humane as such methods of restraining warlike and aggressive tribes may be, it was obvious that so long as Britain insisted upon retaining military aircraft, for so long would other powers demand a similar privilege. The conference being more than once in serious danger of collapsing on this issue, it was postponed for later consideration.

Throughout the spring and summer German politics had been more and more the focus of world attention. Herr Hitler, the new German dictator, was embarked upon an internal policy of reorganization and purification that to a large part of the world was indistinguishable from ruthless tyranny. But the advent of the Nazi regime had resulted in a great increase of the spirit of militant nationalism within Germany's borders. At this spirit France looked askance. It was admitted that the policy of the victorious powers after the war was in no small degree responsible for the uprising of German nationalism in its new and unquestionably threatening aspect. But the more intense it became, the more unwilling was France to disarm. In Hitler she saw a new threat, and her insistence upon security became more and more pressing. The speeches of Hitler, militant and aggressive, tended only to confirm French suspicion, and the declaration upon German equality began to prove extremely inconvenient.

In the British plan the problem of security was dealt with by the principle of organizing a commission of international control over armaments. The method of control was hotly debated, but the general principle was that the League should exercise through its agents the power of inspecting the state of the armaments of any and every nation. This inspection should be annual, and if it proved successful, at the end of a period of years, disarmament according to the approved convention should then begin. Meanwhile the status quo was to be preserved. There was to be no disarmament until the power of the League to control armaments had been tested; but, more

## THE GERMAN WITHDRAWAL

important, there was to be no rearmament. During the trial period of five or more years Germany was to remain disarmed. The plan met with enthusiastic French support, and corresponding German contempt, which was transformed into growing anger as it became more clear that the letter of the proposed convention would be upheld.

Attempts at compromise by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Davis, the American delegate, failed, and Germany propounded her ultimatum. Either the nations should disarm to the German level, or Germany should be left free to rearm to their level. France at once uttered warning concerning the breach of treaties, but Germany was in no mood to give way, and after the resumption of the conference on October 16, her representative, Baron von Neurath, communicated to Mr. Henderson the German decision to withdraw. This was coupled with a threat to leave the League, and the threat was carried into execution a week later when formal notice of withdrawal was communicated. The conference at once adjourned, but its committees continued to function and efforts were made to call it together again.

In no country was the action of Germany regretted more than in Great Britain. In a speech at the Guildhall, London, on November 9, 1933, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald outlined the British policy in these words :

The policy of the British Government has been to carry out its own pledges with regard to disarmament, to use its good offices on the councils of the nations so that grievances might be fairly considered and removed and both the conditions and the will to cooperate between nations established, and thus help to provide for the nations of Europe the security of peace which is the only security which nations can ever have. As regards our own armaments in the air and on the sea and land, we have reduced our armaments to a point where we can rightly claim in the face of the whole world that not one pound of our public money is being spent on our fighting Services that is not necessary for defence in the light of present conditions.

## CHAPTER 14

# The Medical Services

**T**HE vast medical organization which cared for the sick and wounded of the British armies at home and abroad grew from a very small nucleus. In the early months of the war the whole of the work fell upon the Royal Army Medical Corps. At the outset it had not even the requisite numbers to provide the personnel for the British Expeditionary Force, which should have had about 800 medical officers, over 3,000 non-commissioned officers and men, and about 500 nurses.

The official strength of the R.A.M.C. in August, 1914, was just over 1,000 officers, of whom over 500 were serving in India and at other stations abroad, while there were fewer than 4,000 non-commissioned officers and men. In the reserve and special reserve there were about 250 officers and just over 6,000 other ranks. Immediate steps were taken to make up the deficiency by giving commissions to civilian practitioners, who volunteered in large numbers, and by enlisting men who, in civil life, had followed occupations which fitted them for work in the R.A.M.C. without further training. By these means the personnel with the expeditionary force was brought up to full strength. In matériel, however, there were deficiencies, particularly in the provision of stretchers and the equipment of ambulance trains. Besides the advanced base, there were three sea bases for the medical service: at Boulogne, where the first British military hospital was established: at Havre; and at Rouen. The plans for the mobilization of medical services had included the utilization of two great civilian societies, the British Red Cross Society and the St. John Ambulance Brigade.

A brief account of their origin will be found of interest. Until about the year 1905 there were two organizations in Great Britain covering, to a certain extent, the same ground—The National Aid Society and the Red Cross Council. The first was founded by Lord Wantage, a gallant and famous soldier, who had won his Victoria Cross in the Crimean War, and who knew, from life in the field, the sufferings of the wounded and sick

## NATIONAL AID SOCIETY

in a campaign, and the need to help them. Lord Wantage's idea has been the note of the Red Cross work since. It was well expressed in Lady Wantage's Memoir of her husband:

What he (Lord Wantage) saw and experienced during that campaign (the Crimean War) impressed itself deeply on his mind; he realized that, however well organized an army medical service may be, it never has been, and never will be, able to cope adequately with the sudden emergencies of war on a large scale, and he held that voluntary organizations, unimpeded by official restrictions, are alone capable of giving auxiliary relief and of providing extra comforts and luxuries with the requisite promptitude and rapidity. He felt, moreover, that the British people would always insist on taking a personal share in alleviating the sufferings of their soldiers, and that some recognized and authorized channel through which public generosity could flow was a matter of paramount importance.

The National Aid Society did magnificent work in the twenty-five years of its life, raising and spending half a million of money. In 1898 the Central British Red Cross Council was formed by the authorities representing the War Office, the Admiralty, and various voluntary bodies. Experience in the Boer war showed that the dual organization was capable of great improvement, and in 1905, on the direct suggestion of King Edward and Queen Alexandra, the two were joined together as the British Red Cross Society, a body wholly voluntary, and in times of peace independent of the War Office and the Admiralty. This organization was formally recognized by the government under the Geneva Convention. One part of its activities in times of peace was to organize Voluntary Aid Detachments, to train men as stretcher-bearers and male nurses, and to instruct women in first-aid and in the elements of nursing. It also drew up schemes for dealing with contingencies that might arise in war time.

Working independently of the Red Cross Society was another body, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, more generally known as the St. John Ambulance Brigade. This order claims descent from a famous foundation which arose in the earliest days of the 12th century, with the object of giving shelter and assistance to pilgrims to the Holy Land, who were at that time suffering under the heel of the Turk. Its task at the present day is very different. From its home at St. John's Gate, in Clerkenwell, it organizes ambulance brigades which are a familiar feature in most parts of England. It had in the days before the war some

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30,000 members who had secured their certificates in first-aid, who worked under discipline, and many of whom had been given a certain amount of training each year in naval and military hospitals on the understanding that their services should be available in case of war. When they were called upon to serve, the response of these voluntary workers was wholly satisfactory—so great, indeed, that the county associations were at times embarrassed, not only by the numbers, but by their zeal. The names of over 23,000 men and over 47,000 women were registered at the War Office, and they volunteered en masse, but it was eventually found advisable to call them up in batches as their services were required.

It became evident at the beginning of the war that these voluntary bodies would have to raise money on a previously unknown scale. A joint war committee was formed of the British Red Cross and the Order of St. John, and the task of raising the money was undertaken, at the request of Lord Rothschild, the president of the joint committee, by "The Times." A donation of £20,000 from Mr. William Waldorf Astor practically started the fund. Public organizations at home and in the Dominions helped liberally, and all kinds of schemes for raising the funds were devised. Thus there was a great sale at Christie's lasting many days, of works of art and of curios. People of every rank, from the King to the humble private citizen, picked out some of the choicest of their treasures and sent them for sale. A very large sum was realized. By the latter part of February the amount subscribed had passed £1,000,000, and by midsummer the total had exceeded £1,500,000, a larger sum, it is believed, than was ever raised in public charitable subscription before.

In Canada the work of the Red Cross was taken up at the very beginning with immense enthusiasm. When the Canadian contingent arrived in England the ships that bore the troops carried, not merely a full medical and nursing staff, but every kind of medical comfort likely to be required. About the same time as the contingent reached Plymouth, Colonel Hodgetts, the chief commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross, arrived in London and established himself in an office in Cockspur Street. This office became a centre through which a constant stream of gifts poured into the United Kingdom and into France. Large donations of money were given by the Canadians to the British Red Cross. Many motor-ambulances were purchased. Comforts of

## TRANSPORTING THE WOUNDED

all kinds, foodstuffs and supplies, were gathered and distributed. These gifts were by no means confined to the Canadian troops. In addition to the large gifts of money, a number of motor-ambulances were presented to the British Red Cross. A coach was provided for a hospital train which Princess Christian was procuring, and a Canadian ward was built in a hospital which the St. John Ambulance Society was constructing at the front.

One of the most pressing problems which had to be dealt with during the early months of the war was the transport of the wounded to the base hospitals. The R.A.M.C. units attached to the expeditionary force had a number of ambulances, and it was originally intended that these should be supplemented by the use of ordinary transport wagons which, after taking up supplies to the line, could carry wounded men on their return journey. But this plan proved impracticable as the transport convoys were not under the direct control of the medical services, and were not always available when required. In consequence it became necessary to send a large number of motor-ambulances to France. Special cars were built, and drivers enlisted. In the meantime private cars, lent by their owners, were sent to France and hastily adapted for ambulance work.

In several instances complete convoys of motor-ambulances were presented by individuals. The Maharajah of Gwalior gave one, and Captain du Cros another, which he took to France at his own expense. A better service of ambulance trains soon became necessary, and six which had been built for use in England were sent to France, while additional ones were rapidly built—public subscriptions and private donors providing many of them. At first only three hospital ships were commissioned, but there was not much difficulty in adding to the number as the need arose.

In countless ways the R.A.M.C. was helped in its work, and assisted to bear the enormous strain that it underwent in the opening months of the war. Many hospitals were opened, and V.A.D.'s sprang into existence, appreciably lightening the burden. Civilian doctors, at the instance of the British Medical Association, offered their service, and men of eminence in the medical profession devoted themselves to special aspects of the difficult problems arising out of the war. When the Indian troops went to the front the Indian Medical Service cooperated wherever possible with the R.A.M.C. The medical services of

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the Dominion forces also were most helpful. As the war continued, and drew into it more and more millions of men, so the army medical service expanded to cope with the situation.

First of all came the doctors—surgeons, physicians, and specialists—who formed the great majority of the officers of the corps. The Royal Army Medical Corps supplied many, but the bulk were taken from civil life on the basis proposed by the British Medical Association; this was, that medical men under forty were to serve with the troops, while those over forty were to work in the hospitals. Such was the general basis, but as it was impossible to deprive the ordinary population of too many doctors, arrangements were made by which medical men at home gave part of their time to war work, undertook to attend officers' and soldiers' relatives in addition to their ordinary practice, or did part of the civil work of neighbouring practitioners who were engaged in military work. In this way hundreds of doctors were added to the corps. To meet the emergency, doctors were obtained from the Dominions and even from America.

At the R.A.M.C. temporary headquarters at Blackpool was established an officers' school of instruction, under the commandant, which provided a course of training spread over 14 days in the duties of a regimental medical officer, in army sanitation, in tropical diseases, in squad and stretcher drill, in equitation, and in gas conditions. There was a gas school as well, capable of dealing with 2,000 men a month. Trained nurses were as necessary as doctors, but at the beginning, and for a considerable time afterwards, there was a marked shortage of them. Appeals made by the War Office brought in a fair number, and many responses came from the staffs of hospitals and infirmaries. Nearly 200 arrived from Canada, Australia and South Africa. Still more were wanted, and the V.A.D., with other organizations, stepped into the breach. The War Office for a while cancelled its order that sick and wounded soldiers were to be attended only by trained and certificated nurses, the slight cases being cared for by probationers and V.A.D.'s. Eventually, just as the doctors were found, so were the nurses.

Before the war all R.A.M.C. recruits were trained at the R.A.M.C. depot at Aldershot, and the depot provided all reserves and reinforcements. At the outbreak of the war it was necessary to form R.A.M.C. training centres for the training of the field ambulances of the new divisions. As the divisions of

## THE BLACKPOOL DEPOT

the new armies were mobilised, the field ambulances joined them, and the training centres then took on the functions of the depot. The centres received and trained recruits, mobilised new units, and prepared drafts for overseas. Each centre was commanded by a Regular officer, and the training was carried out by special reserves and temporary commissioned officers, assisted by a few Regular N.C.O.'s. It was then decided that units could be more efficiently and economically administered if they were concentrated in one station. Ripon, Codford and Sheffield training centres were transferred to Blackpool, and an administrative officer, with headquarters staff, was appointed.

Subsequently, the R.A.M.C. depot was also moved to Blackpool, and placed under the same administrative officer; at the same time, the Birr and Crookham training centres were absorbed. But as each centre retained its identity, and there was thus a considerable reduplication of work, accompanied by lack of system and centralization of training, a fresh reorganization took place in August and September, 1917. The depot was enlarged, two new companies being formed, and it was thus enabled to carry out completely the work of final training, mobilisation of units, and preparation of drafts for the R.A.M.C. in all theatres of war. The three training centres ceased to exist as such, and eight training battalions, each of 947 officers and men, were established, each having the same functions. They received recruits and transfers from other arms, vaccinated, inoculated, clothed and equipped them, and put them through a course of preliminary training for a month on squad and stretcher drill, and first aid.

The bulk of the recruits were selected on purely medical grounds. Men of certain medical categories and of fair intelligence were posted to the R.A.M.C. up to the number required. Special instructions were issued by the army council each month that all men with certain qualifications should be sent into the corps. In addition to these, men with particular qualifications were enlisted into the corps by the War Office. All specialists after enlistment were examined, and when found satisfactory were registered as such by the officer in charge of the R.A.M.C. records. Masseurs were supplied by the Almeric Paget Massage Corps. Courses of instruction for other ranks of the R.A.M.C. were given at the King's Lancashire Military Convalescent Hospital, Blackpool, and these courses were of a

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comprehensive nature. Opticians were enlisted and posted where their services were needed. Mental attendants were trained by the R.A.M.C., and many of the staffs of the asylums which were taken over by the army were specially enlisted into the corps. Cooks, too, were specially enlisted, and trained at the school of cookery at the depot, Blackpool. Any specialists required in excess of those available were often obtained by transfer from other arms through the branch of the department of the adjutant-general, known as "A.G.I." In all these ways was the personnel of the corps obtained and built up.

Properly to appreciate the wonderful work of the army medical service, that work and the conditions in which it was performed must be understood. Its duty among the forces was twofold—first, to care for and heal the wounded; and second, to fight and conquer disease, or, what was better, to obviate disease by the use of the new preventive medicine. At the start it was the wounded, as was natural, who held the chief place in the thoughts of most people, whether doctors or laymen. But the good health and fitness of the whole army were even more important, and it was soon perceived that the general principle that must govern the work of the R.A.M.C. was the welfare of all the troops and not merely the treatment of the wounded.

In former wars the losses suffered by armies from disease, from the ravages of plague and pestilence, had been far heavier than from actual casualties in the field, the proportion being estimated at something like four to one. This tremendous reduction in the strength of armies was extremely serious, and obviously it was pre-eminently desirable to take any measures that would prevent or, at least, lessen it. To take such measures was the business of the medical service of an army, and according as these succeeded so the wastage was checked, and the medical service, by keeping more fit men in the army, became endowed with a value which had not been realized before.

The problem the army medical service set itself to solve was to preserve the health of the troops. Medical science had already suggested the way by discovering the germs that caused some diseases, and by devising the means for killing these germs, or holding them at bay and making them innocuous. The human body was immunized against their attacks by vaccination or inoculation. In the wars of the past, typhoid had been one of the diseases that had scourged the armies, and steps were taken

## DANGER FROM TETANUS

to prevent an outbreak amongst British troops engaged in the war. An anti-typhoid vaccine was in use, and treatment with it had been brought to perfection, due largely to the work of Sir Almroth Wright, Sir William Leishman, and other officers of the R.A.M.C. At the outbreak of war, immunizing inoculations were given to the soldiers who were willing to undergo them; the vast majority were willing, and practically the whole British army in the field was inoculated. In the course of the war the R.A.M.C. supplied upwards of 15,000,000 full doses of the prophylactic typhoid and paratyphoid vaccines, nearly all of which, with other vaccines to be mentioned later, were manufactured at the army medical college. With the elimination of carriers—men who carried the disease, and might give it to others—and with a strict supervision of water and food, in addition to the vaccine, which was the principal agent in this marvellous business, the result was that there were but few cases of typhoid in the British army in France and Flanders.

One of the earliest discoveries of the R.A.M.C. was that a very large proportion of the wounds were infected. This infection took various forms. One of the most serious arose from the bacillus of tetanus, or lockjaw, which was present in the richly-manured soil of France. During the retreat from Mons, soldiers slept on the ground as opportunity offered, and their muddy and dirty clothing was a breeding-ground for this and other organisms. If the men were wounded, the bullets or bits of shell drove these bacteria into their bodies, and infected them with the disease caused by these bacteria. The tetanus produced was of a deadly type, and there appeared to be no cure for it. An anti-tetanus serum was in existence, but it had succeeded only in a few cases of treatment of the disease.

In September, 1914, what may be called the tetanus situation occasioned the greatest anxiety. The remedy, however, was found in administering the serum to every wounded man immediately after he had been hit instead of some time afterwards to men when the symptoms of the disease were observed, as had been done previously. From that time onwards there was a marked improvement. All the wounded, as a matter of course, were given the serum at once, and by the beginning of 1915 tetanus ceased to occur. In brief, the serum prevented the disease and saved thousands of lives. During the war the R.A.M.C. issued nearly 11,000,000 doses of the prophylactic

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tetanus antitoxin, as well as 27,500 much larger doses suitable for the treatment of the disease by the antitoxin.

Science also came forward to prevent two of the diseases that had ravaged armies—cholera and dysentery. Early in 1915 the medical research committee of the National Insurance Act sent Dr. Freeman, of St. George's Hospital, to Galicia to procure the bacilli of cholera, and from these a cholera vaccine was prepared in the same way as the typhoid vaccine had been made. Provision for dealing with possible outbreaks of cholera was made early in the war, and outfits were devised each containing sufficient apparatus, chemicals and drugs, for dealing with 100 cases of the disease. Of these outfits, 545 were furnished by the R.A.M.C. The corps also supplied to the army in the different theatres of the war many vaccines used in the prevention or treatment of various diseases. Among these vaccines were influenza and plague vaccines; of the former it issued 215,000 full doses of the prophylactic, and of the latter upwards of 122,000. In addition it made use of 668,000 full doses of other prophylactic vaccines. Besides the sera already referred to, it supplied 90,000 doses of anti-meningococcus (spotted fever) serum, about 200,000 doses of anti-diphtheria serum, and nearly 190,000 doses of 12 varieties of other sera.

To prevent disease, great precautions were taken by the R.A.M.C. with respect to carriers. It was known that the organisms of enteric fever and of dysentery always originated from a human being who bred them in his body. This breeder or carrier might be an ordinary case of one of these diseases, probably the least dangerous type of carrier, as he was likely to be safely isolated in hospital before long. Or he might have the disease in so mild a form as to be unaware that there was anything seriously wrong with him. On the other hand, he might be a man who had got over his attack, but in whom the organisms still multiplied and passed out from his body. There was also the chance that a man might be infected and become a carrier without having shown any symptoms at all.

In the army the number of carriers was reduced to a minimum by facilities for early bacteriological diagnosis of suspicious cases of disease. No person who had suffered from either of these diseases was employed in any capacity entailing the handling of food until he had been proved by repeated tests to be free from infection. In spite of all efforts, however, some carriers were

## INFECTION OF FOOD

sure to escape detection, and the authorities adopted stringent measures to render them harmless to their fellows. Even then it was possible that these measures, through carelessness or lack of discipline, might be ineffective, and infected material might gain access to food and water supplies. Therefore, in the field, all water was sterilized, generally by bleaching-powder. When a new area was taken over by the troops the various sources of water were rapidly tested, the best were selected, and directions posted up stating the quantity of bleaching-powder which had to be added to render the water fit for drinking.

The most common cause of the infection of food was the fly, which fed on infected matter, and carried the organisms on its legs and body. To limit the spread of fly-borne diseases, breeding grounds were destroyed as far as was possible. Flies were killed by "swatting," or in traps, of which various forms were designed. Poisons also were used, as were sprays for dealing with large collections of flies. If any of these precautions failed in protecting the soldier from disease, there was the prophylactic inoculation, the vaccine and the serum. Injections, generally two, were given of an emulsion of killed bacilli, which was tested and standardized before use. The systems of the soldiers responded to these injections by producing "antibodies" which protected them against living bacilli of the nature of those used for the protective or preventive inoculation. It was the scientist's and the medical man's way of safeguarding the soldier by making him take "a hair of the dog that bit him"—or, rather, that was likely to bite him.

With respect to malaria, prevalent in Salonica and Macedonia, quinine prophylaxis was largely used, but the results did not come up to expectation, for infection actually took place during the course of the preventive treatment. As against that, however, quinine prophylaxis was attended by very good results, the administration of large doses, combined with a general tonic treatment, preventing relapses in the majority of cases, and this permitted a definite policy to be fixed for the prevention of relapses in the army.

Up to that time there had been no method of treatment which could be at all depended upon. Some years before the war the mosquito had been convicted, largely through the patient study of officers of the I.M.S. and R.A.M.C. in India, of being the carrier of malaria and its active propagator. When the mosquito

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—the guilty one being the *Anopheles* variety—was destroyed, there was a cessation of the disease. Accordingly, in mosquito-infested localities, measures were taken for the extermination, or, at all events, for the reduction, of the mosquitoes. These measures were of decided benefit to the troops, but naturally they could not be carried out in the front line. Mechanical protection by means of nets adapted to varying circumstances was extensively used, though in hot climates soldiers have an objection to the use of such nets. Further, various pomades, containing essential oils repellent to mosquitoes, were utilised, but they seldom afforded protection for more than two hours, and besides, it was difficult to persuade the men to anoint themselves with them. The demand for quinine salts was very heavy indeed. During 1916 the R.A.M.C. issued to the army a total quantity exceeding 21 tons, or nearly 66,000,000 five grain doses. In the earlier part of the malaria season of 1917 the average amount supplied monthly was about five and a half tons.

The mosquito-malaria problem was eventually solved sufficiently to permit the occupation by the British of such an infected area as the Struma valley. In connexion with the problem there arose a new phase. Many soldiers returned to the United Kingdom who were carriers of malaria in the sense that their bodies contained the parasite of that disease, and it only needed that the mosquito should exist in the country, bite these human reservoirs of the parasite, become the host of the parasite, and then pass it on again, for malaria to become prevalent in Great Britain once more. In the United Kingdom, ague—which is but another name for malaria—might be said to have become non-existent, and such mosquitoes as existed there were harmless, as they had had no human reservoirs of the parasite to draw upon. But with men bringing the parasite from the Balkans, Palestine, Egypt, and elsewhere, there was a real danger of a general recurrence of malaria. Here the War Office, with the assistance of the medical research committee, took steps to meet it. Sir Ronald Ross, illustrious in the field of tropical medicine, acted as adviser, and special hospitals were opened. The steps taken were successful, and the danger passed.

As carriers of disease, the fly and the mosquito were by no means alone in the insect world. The flea and the louse were equally guilty, the one in regard to bubonic plague, and the other

## TRENCH FEET

with respect to trench fever; but, as a result of the use of anti-plague serum, bubonic plague affected the army to a very small extent. In past wars the plague, sometimes called the "rat plague," had been one of the worst terrors of armies, but science had found out its cause and how to defeat it: therefore there were few cases of it during the war. Science, however, had done nothing of the same kind with trench fever—for the very good reason that trench fever was something new; it was unknown before the war. At first trench fever was thought to be a form of influenza, but presently it was recognized as a distinct disease. In some respects it resembled typhoid, but it was not typhoid. It increased in the army, and though the men suffering from it did not die, they were incapacitated by it for so long a time, and were so numerous, that the authorities became very anxious.

Doctors and men of science got to work upon it, and in 1917 a trench fever committee was appointed, of which Sir David Bruce, commandant of the army medical college, and well known for his work in connexion with sleeping sickness and Malta fever, was made chairman. A committee was also formed in France to cooperate with the U.S. army medical service. The special hospital at Hampstead was the chief scene of the inquiry. Finally it was proved that the disease was transmitted by the excreta of the louse, and not by the bite of the louse as had been supposed. But this was not known until 1918.

During the winter of 1914-15 there appeared in water-soaked Flanders what was called trench-foot trouble. Men who had to remain for some length of time knee-deep in water in the trenches got their feet into such a condition that they became incapacitated. The feet turned blue or red, and the skin seemed a mass of chilblains and sometimes gangrene set in. Various investigators took up the problem as to how this troublesome and often dangerous affliction was to be treated, and finally a system of foot care was evolved. The men going into the trenches had their feet examined to see that the skin was in good order, and if it was, the feet were well greased, thick socks were drawn on, and then dry gum-boots or waders, coming well up the leg, completed the outfit. The R.A.M.C. officers saw to it that these precautions were strictly carried out. "Trench-foot," in the result, markedly diminished.

One of the new and evil things with which the army medical service had to deal was the gas poisoning of the soldiers from

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gas-clouds or gas-shells. The gas in use, at least in the early stages of the war, was a preparation of chlorine, and it was highly dangerous, fatal effects, preceded by horrible agony, often supervening. The medical men prevented the effects of gas poisoning by the use of respirators which contained materials which combined with the gas and made it inert. Later, these respirators developed into masks so perfect that soldiers had every confidence in their complete protection. With regard to the treatment of men who had been gassed, methods were employed which greatly reduced the pain and the danger. Thus oxygen inhalation and artificial respiration were used with advantage ; sometimes, instead of oxygen, compressed air in air-locks was given to relieve the breathlessness incident to gassing.

The number of military hospitals rose rapidly, and the staffs were provided by civilian doctors and the great nursing and ambulance societies. By May, 1915, 25 hospitals were mobilised, five in London, two in Glasgow, two at Birmingham, and one each at Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds, Sheffield, Leicester, Portsmouth, Oxford, Cambridge, Bristol, Plymouth, Lincoln, Brighton, Cardiff, Aberdeen and Edinburgh. The expansion of hospital accommodation went on steadily all through the war. Before the war there were 7,000 beds in military hospitals in the United Kingdom.

In August, 1914, provision was made to increase this number, and as the sick and wounded from the expeditionary forces arrived, the expansion of the hospital accommodation continued, until in June, 1916, the number of beds increased to 200,000, and in June, 1917, to 300,000. At the time of the armistice the total number of hospital beds available in the British Isles for military patients was 364,133. In addition to these, the number of hospital beds with the various expeditionary forces at the time of the armistice was: France, 155,897; Egypt, 48,363; Salonica, 42,040; Malta, 7,734; Italy, 9,045; Mesopotamia, 9,880, and North Russia (Murmansk-Archangel), 654, or a total of 273,613. Before the war the number of military patients in hospital in the United Kingdom was 2,000. In June, 1916, the number had risen to 110,000 ; in June, 1917, to 230,000, and at the signing of the armistice, was 333,074. The number of patients with the various expeditionary forces at the armistice was: France, 150,096 ; Egypt, 49,177; Salonica, 26,141; Malta, 5,178; Italy, 6,142; Mesopotamia, 7,815, and North Russia, 283.

## FIRST BATCH OF WOUNDED

To provide accommodation, buildings of all sorts were taken over. Schools, hotels, workhouses, asylums and public buildings of all sorts were adapted and equipped. Many owners of large country houses dismantled them and converted them into hospitals or convalescent homes.

A fleet of nearly 100 ships was employed in the transportation of the sick and wounded during the days of heavy pressure. These vessels were distributed all over the world, and included the giant ships Aquitania, Mauretania and Britannic. The total staffs on board these hospital ships during the time of this pressure reached 400 medical officers, 900 nurses, and about 3,500 rank and file of the R.A.M.C. The Aquitania carried as many as 5,000 patients from the east on one voyage, and 20 ambulance trains were employed in disembarking them. The largest cross-Channel hospital ship was the Asturias, and she carried as many as 2,700 patients on one trip.

The first invalids arrived at Southampton on August 24, 1914, and the first train-load of invalids left for Netley Hospital the same day. These patients were 107 in number, and the train was composed of war department coaches and ordinary corridor stock. Regular ambulance trains, however, were soon running. The first, which arrived at Southampton docks on August 24, 1914, was one from the Great Central Railway Co.'s Dukinfield works; it made its first trip four days later, and carried 62 cot and 125 sitting cases to Netley. The R.A.M.C. had 20 permanent ambulance trains and two vestibule ambulance trains, the latter being made up of London and North-Western Railway Co.'s vestibule vans. Dover and Southampton were the principal ports for the reception of the sick and wounded from the western front, but invalids from various areas were also embarked, disembarked and distributed from Devonport, Avonmouth, Liverpool, Glasgow, Leith, Hull, Boston, London, Holyhead, etc.

Very early in the war it was found to be necessary to allocate special hospitals, or sections of hospitals, for the treatment of large numbers of particular types of cases, experience of which was almost entirely limited to the Great War. Among these were orthopaedic hospitals, or hospitals devoted to reparative surgical treatment of the later stages of wounds and injuries, hospitals for the treatment of facial and jaw injuries, for the treatment of heart cases, including what was called soldier's heart,

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or the irritable heart of soldiers, for the treatment of malaria and dysentery cases, and for mental cases. These hospitals were established in order that the sufferers should receive treatment from R.A.M.C. officers who had given particular attention to the various types of cases. It was not until the war had been in progress for some little time that the great importance of the reconstructive or reparative treatment of wounds in the later stages was fully realized. Suitable and efficient treatment of the wounded from the first was most essential, and that the wounded received. The ideal of the surgeon and the aim of the administrator was six hours from wound to operating unit. In France the time occasionally was reduced to four hours. From the point of view of rendering a wounded man fit and able to earn a fair wage in the labour market, the care exercised on his behalf had to be of the highest order.

Therefore, special hospitals, with appropriate staff and equipment, were provided and each of them was supervised by inspecting officers who had made a life study of the subject. Examples of these hospitals were the special military surgical hospital at Shepherd's Bush, London, and at Alder Hey, Liverpool. In these and similar hospitals there was found everything known to modern surgical science—special plaster-rooms, splint-rooms, baths, electrical and gymnastic-rooms, and curative workshops designed to restore the function in limbs and parts of the body where movement and sensation had been temporarily impaired. In these workshops disabled soldiers were taught to make splints for every type of injury and deformity, thus rendering the workshops productive as well as curative.

Nothing could be more important for a man who had been wounded than to recover his power to work ; it was like making a new man of him by giving him the capacity to make a fresh start in an occupation that ensured a livelihood. Cases dealt with in orthopaedic hospitals included injuries of bones, joints, nerves and tendons, as well as deformities such as flat-foot and the like. All fractures which were un-united or mal-united, and all fractures of the femur, as well as peripheral nerve work, came within the scope of these institutions. These cases were segregated into orthopaedic centres, which consisted of a large parent hospital and several annexes for convalescent treatment. The annexes were entirely in the charge of the parent hospital's staff, each patient being looked after by the surgeon who had

## GRAFTING AND MASSAGE

attended him in the main establishment. The staff was composed of orthopaedic surgeons, chief assistants and medical officers acting as house-surgeons, and officers in charge of the special after-treatment departments. The soldier on his admission was seen by the orthopaedic surgeon, who outlined treatment, arranged what department or departments the patient was to go into, and saw him from time to time, in consultation with the officer in charge of such department or departments. The key to the successful treatment of the injured man lay in the teamwork which existed in these hospitals. The surgeon, the chief assistant and the medical officer, and the departmental officers formed the team, and with frequent consultations and exchange of ideas obtained in this way true continuity of treatment. Of quite extraordinary interest were the departments, for it was through them that the finished results were obtained. The operation, if there was any, in connexion with the wound was only an incident.

The suture of a nerve, or the union of a previously un-united fracture by means of a bone graft, was undertaken by the surgeon, but the whole after-treatment of such a case, on which the successful issue depended, demanded the cooperation and skilled handling of the departments. One of these was the plaster department, in which were made all necessary splints and casts, both for the cure of the disability and for the purpose of record. The plaster casts, used in making moulded leather appliances, foot-plates, and the like, were made in it. All the plaster work, manipulative, for fixation, and curative, was controlled by the surgeon and his assistants, but the cast for record purposes was usually done by an expert plaster moulder.

A second department was devoted to massage, and it was in the charge of an officer who gave his whole time to this speciality. In addition to massage the work of this department embraced remedial gymnastics during the earlier stages of recovery. Individual attention was given to each patient, the detail being carried out by the military massage corps. A third department—the highly important electrical department, always in charge of a special officer—undertook the neurological side, or nerve-work in connexion with patients. All cases of definite or suspected nerve injury were examined completely, and a record was taken as soon as possible after admission to the hospital. This included a chart of the sensory disturbances,

## THE MEDICAL SERVICES

the motor power, and the electrical findings, and it served not only as a record but provided data on which the diagnosis ultimately rested. The department also carried out the after-treatment of peripheral nerve injury by "interrupted" or periodic galvanic stimulation and re-education as recovery advanced. A further part of its business was the regeneration and re-education of wasted muscle and atrophy of limbs without nerve lesions.

In intimate association with the massage and electrical departments was the hydrological (or bath) department. The preliminary heating of the limb of a patient before going into either of the other two departments was generally carried out in the baths. Massage and manipulation under water formed an important treatment. There were various methods pursued for heating the part. One was the paraffin bath, in which the limb was immersed in paraffin at a temperature of 130 degrees—a new and valuable method. Others were radiant heat baths, the "whirlpool" bath, douches of various kinds, and the hot and cold contrast baths. In brief, all the resources of the finest hydropathic establishments in the world, and much more, were brought into play on behalf of the wounded soldier.

In these hospitals a department, known as the psychotherapy department, was set apart for the treatment of functional disabilities. It was presided over by a medical officer, acting in consultation with the neurological section. Occasionally a masseuse was found who showed particular skill. The treatment was individual in the case of each patient. Each was reasoned with, and told how far the disability from which he suffered was functional and not organic. Common types of disability were functional drop wrists, functional paralysis of a limb, tilting of the pelvis, and spasmodic inversion of the feet, and in such cases excellent cures were achieved. Many a man, who had thought that his disability was permanent and that he had no chance in life again, found that he had been mistaken, and took a new interest in everything. Further help was given in the gymnasium and in the curative workshops of these orthopaedic hospitals.

In two ways the curative workshops were of particular benefit. The first had to do with morale. The patient was given a real interest in some specific thing, and prevented from wasting his time and developing the habits of idleness to which he was liable because of the prolonged stay in hospital that was

## FOOT AND FACE INJURIES

generally necessary. The second was in the re-training and re-education of the damaged limbs so as to regain function. The articles produced in these workshops by the soldiers were of value, more especially from the point of view of the hospital. The making and fitting of splints and the repair and alteration of boots were done entirely in them. The carpenter's shop provided frames and all the supports used in the treatment of fractures of the lower extremities, the leather shop produced other things, and a combination of the instrument shop and the leather workers made the more elaborate forms of leather and steel support used—knee cages, back braces, and like articles.

Another interesting and important branch of orthopaedics was the fitting of artificial limbs. For this purpose special hospitals were arranged on a progressive system, the patient passing on from one to another, according to the shrinkage of the limb and the stage of repair. At the final hospital expert limb-makers had established workshops, in which the fitting in the last stage was carried out very expeditiously. Queen Mary's Convalescent Auxiliary Hospital at Roehampton was considered the standard type of this sort of hospital.

Soldiers suffering from injuries to the face and jaw were mainly concentrated at Queen Mary's Hospital, Frognal, Sidcup, where most elaborate arrangements were made for the restoration of function and appearance to those who had received injuries of this kind. Considering the difficulties involved, this phase of the work of healing and reconstruction was amazingly successful. In addition to the problems which were concerned with wounds to the body, those that were raised by injuries to the mind of the soldier very soon engrossed the attention of the army medical service. These injuries to the mind were generally summed up loosely in the term shell-shock, or simply shock.

The phrase shell-shock was misused, and for that reason it was discarded in 1917 by the R.A.M.C. Very early in the war it was evident, unfortunately, that nervous diseases (neuroses) and abnormal mental states (psychoses) would form no small portion of the casualties and disabilities due to active service conditions and reduce the strength of the army; but many keen investigators attacked the subject in its various and varying forms, such as the loss of memory, and all compendiously comprised under the heading of neurasthenia. In the beginning it was decided to treat all these cases in the general military hospitals or in sections

## THE MEDICAL SERVICES

connected with them. It was manifest as time passed, however, that the best results were not being obtained by this means, and in the early autumn of 1917 a conference of leading neurologists was called to see what could be done to better matters. As a result of their deliberations an administrative scheme was drawn up which included the opening of special neurological hospitals throughout the United Kingdom and the special training of medical officers to carry out the latest forms of psycho-therapeutic treatment.

Treatment of patients in the neurological hospitals had to be adapted, as in other branches of medicine, to the particular requirements of each case. A notable thing was that psycho-therapeutic conversation, or "persuasion," came increasingly into favour, this form of "suggestion" appearing to be more effective than the induction of hypnotic sleep, though the latter was of value in dealing with special varieties of nervous disturbances. It must be said that there was nothing new in the neuroses occasioned by the war, but the rapidity with which they were brought forward, and the vast number of men suffering from them, emphasized the important part played by functional nervous disorders in all branches of medicine and surgery. In other words, the fact was disclosed that in many types of disability there was a functional nervous element which could rapidly be removed by psycho-therapeutic treatment. It came to be recognized on all sides that the study of war neuroses had drawn attention to a too long neglected field of medicine, and that the developments arising from this study would in time benefit the civil population in no small measure. Soldiers suffering from psychoses, or the more serious types of mental trouble, were treated in special sections of the general war hospitals, and the results were most encouraging.

Another of the ailments from which the men at the front suffered was that called "soldier's heart," which was not in itself a new thing, for it had occurred in the Crimean war and was a good deal in evidence in the American Civil war. In 1864 the British government of the day appointed a commission to inquire into this subject, but in the end very little light was thrown upon it. In the Great War there were naturally large numbers of cases of this trouble, and recognition of the fact that they remained for prolonged periods in hospital led to the establishment of special hospitals for their treatment, each of which had

## MANUAL TRAINING

a convalescent section. In these hospitals, of which the pioneer was the Sobraon Military Hospital, at Colchester, the most up-to-date methods of testing the efficiency of the heart and of the treatment of disordered conditions were tried with very beneficial effects. Throughout the hospitals there was in active operation a plan for the education, in the usual sense, of the patients. It hastened the recovery of the sick and wounded by occupying their minds and reviving mental interest. It continued, in the case of men who were likely to return to the ranks, the education given in the army at home and abroad which had been found to have a valuable influence on military efficiency, and it provided a record of the educational courses that each man had followed during his service with the colours.

As regards men who were likely to be discharged, it prepared them for civil life, and laid the foundation of the vocational training which was given by the ministry of pensions and later by the ministry of labour to the discharged soldier unable to follow his old calling. The education given in the hospitals included English grammar, composition, and literature, history, geography, modern languages, arithmetic, economics, lectures on citizenship, book-keeping, shorthand, typewriting, précis-writing, commercial correspondence, and business knowledge. Experience had shown that instrumental music and singing had a marked curative value in some cases, and music also was taught.

There also was manual training. Where it was possible the patient was given some manual occupation while he was still confined to his bed, and after he had got up he went on with it in regular workshops. As it was of primary importance to arouse interest, efforts were made by the teachers to make the personal experience of the soldiers in the field the starting-point of the teaching. Thus history and geography were linked up with the war, while economics and citizenship were considered in connexion with the national problems of resettlement and reconstruction. Of course, patients differed greatly in their educational attainments. There were instances of men who had forgotten most of what they had learned at school, and could read and write but indifferently. For these special classes were formed to enable them to recover the ground they had lost, and they were urged to attend all general classes which they could follow, particularly those for training in economics and citizenship, as these were as important to them as to any others, and

## THE MEDICAL SERVICES

the fact that they were deficient in book-learning was no reason for assuming that they were not interested in questions of national significance.

The whole work of the army medical service, whether at home or abroad, was highly intelligent in every part of its wide-stretching activities, and was wonderfully successful. Many new inventions, remedies, and methods of treatment were tried, and if proved advantageous, adopted. One great difficulty which was overcome was that of obtaining articles for which before the war Great Britain was largely dependent on enemy countries. Among these were such things as laboratory glassware, bacteriological stains and sugars, and certain drugs such as novocain, eucain, digitalis, bismuth and potassium salts, emetin, and belladonna.

The R.A.M.C. built up a reserve of tablets of compressed drugs amounting to about 250,000,000 tablets, the issues averaging about 30,000,000 tablets a month. At no time was there a shortage of anæsthetics, but steps were taken to have large supplies of them. The total quantities of ether and chloroform issued during the five years of the war were 413,198 lb. and 249,341 lb. respectively. The monthly consumption of nitrous oxide was about 300,000 gallons during 1917, and was much larger in 1918. Over 21,000 oxygen and 11,000 nitrous oxide cylinders were in use in 1918. Large numbers of inhalers for the administration of gas and oxygen were supplied, the latest type, which was found very successful at casualty clearing-stations in France in cases suffering from severe shock, being an apparatus giving the gases alone or with ether. In 1917 the monthly consumption of oxygen was 80,000 cubic feet, and this figure was largely exceeded in 1918. Hundreds of sets of Haldane's inhalation apparatus were furnished for the administration of oxygen in cases of gas poisoning.

Perhaps no part of the equipment was more important in its way than X-ray apparatus, and no fewer than 528 X-ray outfits were in use in the war. These outfits consisted of varying types, including the mobile outfit, mounted on a three-ton lorry chassis, the portable outfit, the trolley outfit, and the stationary outfit for hospital-ships and home hospitals. During one year upwards of 1,000,000 X-ray plates were supplied. One of the things always needed in medicine is the clinical thermometer. Difficulty was experienced in the early days of the war in obtaining

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a sufficient number of reliable instrument, but this difficulty, like other difficulties, was got over, and about 1,000,000 of these thermometers, of proved reliability, were in use.

Among other difficulties of the early days of the war with which the R.A.M.C. had to deal was the shortage of artificial eyes; before the war the manufacture of these had been in enemy hands. In 1916 the service established at Clifford's Inn Hall, London, an army spectacle depot for providing the troops with spectacles as required. The scope of this depot was developed, and eventually it produced not only spectacles but also artificial eyes, optical tools, and ophthalmological apparatus, besides carrying out repairs. It furnished the soldiers with nearly 302,000 pairs of spectacles and over 14,000 artificial eyes.

The following statement of the number of medical units equipped showed, in summarized form but most impressively, the great range of work of the army medical service: 16 base and 40 advanced depots of medical stores overseas; 122 general and 79 stationary hospitals overseas; 101 casualty clearing-stations; 394 field ambulances, 66 hospital-ships, 65 ambulance-trains, and 96 convalescent depots. Of combatant units 81 headquarters units and 2,059 regimental units were supplied with field medical equipment. There were issued tank medical outfits to the number of 3,460, and of aeroplane outfits 1,774. A quarter of a million surgical instruments were supplied each year. The amount of gauze used was upwards of 75,000 miles in length, of lint and wool above 6,400 tons in weight. The number of bandages of all kinds was not far short of 100,000,000. Exclusive of initial medical equipment taken by units, 525,000 cases and bales of medical stores were shipped overseas.

One exceedingly difficult problem that confronted the army medical service was the examination of recruits. From the facts already given, it is clear that this duty could not be entirely undertaken by army medical officers; they were engaged upon even more urgent duties, and it was necessary from the earliest days of the war to call in the help of general practitioners. But for them the task was a difficult one. They were not fully acquainted with the physical standard necessary for active service, and they were used in private practice to dealing with patients who gave them every help in arriving at correct diagnoses; so that when they came to deal with men offering themselves for enlistment in the new armies they were faced

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with quite other conditions. Many of the men who came forward were actually unfit for service at the front, owing either to age or to physical defects. Inspired by a commendable patriotism they did their best to "get past the doctor," with the result that some of them did not complete their training, and that others who managed to reach France quickly broke down and had to be sent back to the base, and eventually returned to England—many of these were at once discharged from the army.

In a large number of instances they were suffering from disabilities which in the ordinary routine of medical examination for the army would have been detected at once, but the task put upon medical men, unused to the work, was an extraordinarily hard one. In September, 1914, no fewer than 500,000 men came up for examination, and many of the mistakes made were due to the very large number of recruits who had to be examined in a day. As a result the army council took steps to regulate the number which could be examined by each medical officer. Towards the end of 1914 this number was fixed at a maximum of 40 a day, and every endeavour was made to see that this rule was adhered to, and that each recruit was examined carefully.

Early in 1915 a system was instituted by which drafts before going abroad had to go before a medical board for final examination, and then for the first time the system of dividing the men into categories was adopted. There were then only four classes: (a) men fit for active service abroad; (b) men temporarily unfit; (c) men fit for service at home only, and (d) men totally unfit for any form of service in the army. This system continued in force until December, 1915, when it became obvious that a far more comprehensive scheme of classification was necessary, and five categories were introduced, field service abroad, field service at home, garrison service at home and abroad, and labour service or sedentary work, and total unfitness for any form of military service.

When the first of the military service acts came into force in 1916, an entirely new list of categories was introduced as follows:

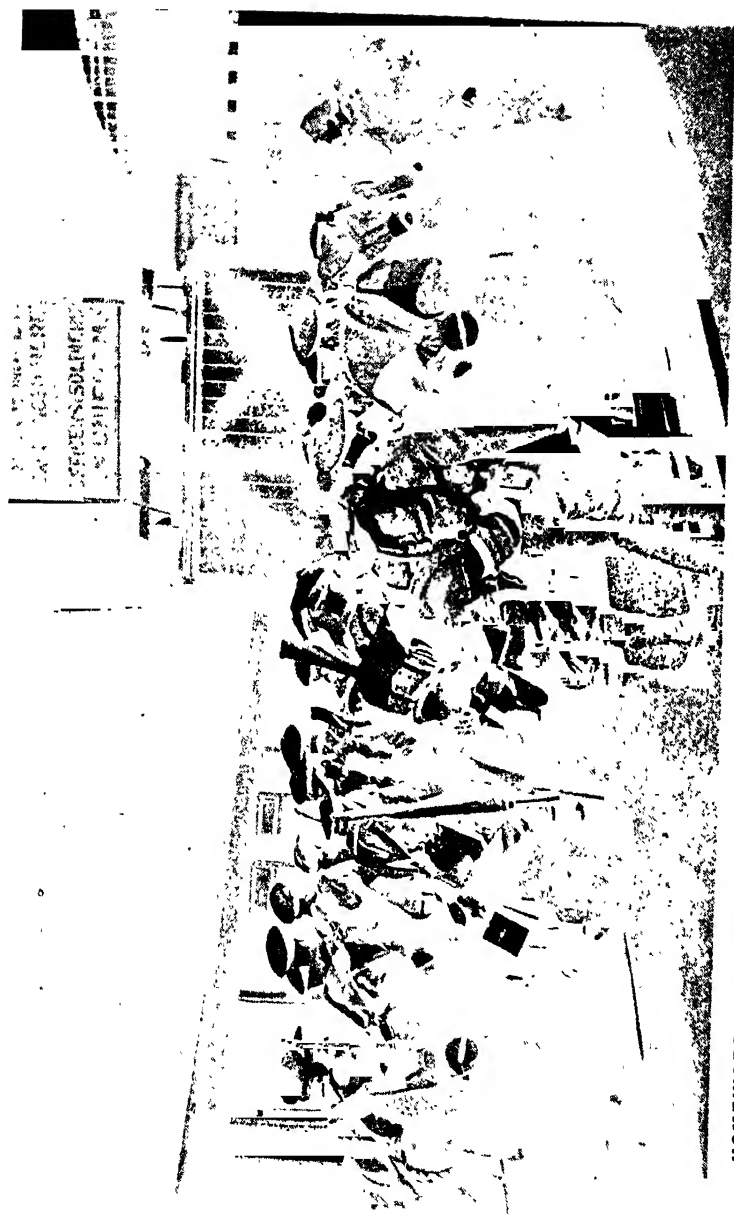
Category A.—Men fit for general service, with three sub-divisions into men who, unfit at the moment, might become fit later. Category B.—Men fit for service abroad on lines of communication or in garrisons, with three sub-divisions. Category C.—Men fit for service at home only, with three sub-



**AT SAN REMO IN 1920.** After the war the Allied leaders adopted the conference system for handling questions demanding settlement. This photograph shows members of the Supreme Council at the Villa Devachan, San Remo, where a conference met in April, 1920, its main concern being German disarmament. The French premier, M. Clemenceau, is seated on the extreme left. M. Orlando, Italian premier, is in the centre while Lloyd George and Lord Curzon are on the right.



WITH SMILES AND CHEERS, R.F.A. GUNNERS ARRIVE AT DOVER FROM SALONICA



**HOMEWARD BOUND : ARRIVAL OF BRITISH TROOPS AT A LONDON STATION FOR DEMOBILISATION**



**DEMobilISATION OF WAR VETERANS.** Soldiers are seen handing in their rifles, bayonets, valises and belts on signing off after dismissal. These were men who had joined in response to Lord Kitchener's appeal for recruits for the duration of the war. Demobilisation was gradual owing to the difficulties of employing vast numbers of returned men.

## THE HEADS OF THE SERVICE

divisions. Regulations were drawn up which stated explicitly the standard of health and the physique which fitted men for each of these divisions. But the working of the system was never wholly satisfactory. There were unquestionably wide variations in the decisions of the medical boards in different parts of the country, and this gave rise to much resentment.

There were complaints about the way in which recruits were treated while waiting for examination ; it was alleged that the boards acted in an arbitrary and harsh manner, and came to decisions without proper examination. On the other hand the medical boards were faced with the fact that in the last years of the war there was malingering, and that ingenious means of producing symptoms of ill-health or disease were devised by those who did not want to serve. Eventually the whole duty of examining recruits was transferred to the national service ministry, and there was afterwards less dissatisfaction. One important result was that the medical examination of the greater part of the male population threw most valuable light on the health of the people, and had lasting value in regard to problems of public health.

For the greater part of the duration of the war the chief administrator of the wonderful army medical service was Sir Alfred Keogh, G.C.B., with headquarters at the War Office. For about the same period Sir A. T. Sloggett, K.C.B., was director general in France. On the retirement of the former, early in 1918, Sir T. H. J. C. Goodwin, K.C.B., succeeded to the position at the War Office, and on the retirement of the latter in the same year, Sir C. H. Burtchaell, K.C.B., became director general in France. Men of distinguished ability and devoted to their work, they brought the service to a high pitch of efficiency, as was warmly acknowledged by many thousands of grateful soldiers. In 1918 Sir William Leishman was brought from France to London, and acted at the War Office as adviser on pathology, doing a great work there. More than 4,600 officers, nurses, and men of the R.A.M.C. were killed in the war, and the number of wounded was very large in proportion to the numerical strength and particular work of the corps. In the distribution of honours the R.A.M.C. had its share, including V.C.'s and other high marks of distinction.

## CHAPTER 15

# Women's Activities

**T**HROUGHOUT history there are records of women's participation in the warfare of nations, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that women, serving as nurses, went with some of the first British troops overseas to France in 1914. The scale, however, upon which women's services were ultimately utilised in the four years of conflict was entirely without precedent and the record stands as an astonishing indication of the change wrought by the Great War in the life of the nation. Work in innumerable trades and professions which, as the war continued, became closely and often inseparably associated with the colossal machinery of war, was left in the hands of the womenfolk, and as their successful encroachment on men's fields of labour proceeded, forced by the urgent necessity of the times, old barriers of prejudice and tradition were swept away.

As long as Britain only required for her wars an army of, at the most, a few hundred thousand men, there was no need to replace male labour by female to any extent, but when millions were needed the whole position was changed. To take them away from their regular employment would have deranged industry entirely, unless substitutes could be found, and, apart from a small reserve of boys and older men, the only possible substitutes were women. The ranks of practically every calling, depleted as the result of the demands of the fighting forces, were filled up by women, who undertook with extraordinary zeal and success many tasks which had for long been considered as fit only for men. The adaptability of women appeared almost limitless, and the demand for their services, which were second in value only to those of men fit for actual combatant work, grew as the war went on.

At the outset, however, the main scope for women in the war was nursing, and immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, control of their activities in this field of service was vested in the joint war committee of the British Red Cross

## THE V.A.D. ORGANIZATION

Society and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The origin, organization, and scope of these two bodies are described in the chapter dealing with the work of the medical services, as also have those of the Voluntary Aid Detachments, commonly known as the V.A.D., which hastened to place themselves at the disposal of the authorities. Apart, however, from their purely nursing work in the wards, the Voluntary Aid Detachments rendered service in a number of other directions, and it is these with which the present chapter is concerned.

Before two months of war had elapsed, it was seen that work awaited the V.A.D. abroad, and in October, 1914, the first V.A.D. unit left for Boulogne. Here they formed a rest station, and very rapidly other units were launched from Boulogne, thus establishing that town as the headquarters of the V.A.D. in France. Early in 1915, Devonshire House, the then London residence of the duke of Devonshire, was opened as the general headquarters of the V.A.D.

The work of the joint committee in France grew rapidly. The first hospital to be established by the committee and to be staffed by V.A.D.'s was a small one in Normandy for men working at the convalescent horse camp depots. The nearest military hospital was a considerable distance away, and this one, installed in a French villa, was therefore established for the treatment of pneumonia and of minor complaints, chiefly kicks. After the opening of this, two others were established.

Still another opening for the activities of the V.A.D.'s occurred in the institution, also under the joint committee, of hostels for the relatives of the wounded. The first of these hostels was established at Rouen, and at the time of the signing of the armistice four others had been opened at other bases, where relatives were accommodated from the moment of their arrival at the hospital to the time of their departure.

The value of the V.A.D. was soon realized, and the military authorities ultimately came to a decision in regard to the further utilisation of their services. It was becoming increasingly difficult to staff the military hospitals with fully-trained hospital nurses, and it was decided to make the experiment of admitting to the hospitals in Britain, a certain number of V.A.D.'s to serve under the trained nurses.

The first of these requisitions came from London, and this requisition was immediately followed by demands from military

## WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

hospitals all over the country, and members were posted as rapidly as possible. In August of the same year the military authorities discovered yet another capacity in which the V.A.D. could serve, and requisitions for cooks and clerks, to release for active service the male orderlies in the hospitals, were received. Thus sprang into existence the general service section of V.A.D. effort, through which were supplied, not only cooks and clerks, but afterwards housemaids, waitresses, ward-orderlies, laundresses, dispensers, X-ray and dental assistants, accountants and telephonists. These workers were paid at varying rates according to the class of work done and to their qualifications, and those responding were drawn from all grades of society. The general service section offered, indeed, an opportunity to the woman who was not fitted for nursing, but who yet was able and qualified to undertake some other form of work.

In the following April another new departure was made in the appointment of women motor-ambulance drivers in France, and twelve were sent across the Channel. So far from their proving failures, as had been prophesied, more were demanded, and exactly treble the number were sent out later, while the biggest unit of all, consisting of one hundred and ten drivers, was sent out in March, 1917.

These women took over the entire work hitherto done by men, with the exception of heavy mechanical work. They kept the cars on the road, did all the ordinary running repairs, and all the tyre and wheel changing when out, as well as the ordinary washing and greasing. The work involved driving by night as well as by day, and in all kinds of weather, and as the convoys nearly always came in at night, the women ambulance drivers had to be prepared to be called out at a moment's notice at any hour. Their gallantry during the Etaples raid, when two sections were driving during the whole of that night, won for them four military medals.

The summer of 1917 saw the introduction of a very interesting development in the work of the department, in the employment of women in the military hospitals in the East. This was to supply cooks for the invalid-diet kitchens which were set up under the direction of Sir Courtauld Thomson in all the military hospitals in Italy and the East. The first unit was sent to Malta, other units proceeding shortly afterwards to Italy, Salonica, and Egypt. These kitchens were extraordinarily

## AN AUXILIARY ARMY CORPS

successful, proving a boon to the sick man who could not relish an ordinary solid diet. About the same time the first V.A.D. nursing members to serve at Salonica left Britain, and also a unit of shorthand typists. The cooperation of the Dominions with the work of the V.A.D. was another development, and women came from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and Newfoundland.

The V.A.D. shared the pioneer work to some extent with the Women's Legion, an organization which was established in 1915 by Lady Londonderry. Like the V.A.D., it provided women drivers for motor ambulances, while other branches enrolled cooks and waitresses for service with the army.

By the end of 1916 the position of the army had become so serious that a weeding-out process was essential; men who were already serving and were adjudged fit were taken from non-combatant units and employment, re-classified, and posted to line regiments to strengthen the hard-pressed armies in the field, and this fact, combined with the proof already given, that women could replace men quite satisfactorily in many categories, finally induced the authorities to form a women's auxiliary army corps (W.A.A.C.). This was inaugurated in March, 1917, with Mrs. Chalmers Watson as controller-in-chief. Women were at once enrolled as cooks, clerks, accountants, checkers, telephonists, and storekeepers, and their services were also utilised in the transport sections of the R.A.F. and A.S.C. In some instances women were further employed on salvage work with these two units. In all 41,000 women served in the W.A.A.C., of whom 17,000 were employed abroad.

An official announcement was made on April 7, 1918, that excellent reports had been received by the Army Council on the behaviour of members of the corps during the heavy fighting in France. One party employed at an army school within the area of operations was offered transport to convey them to a safer locality farther back. The women refused to avail themselves of it, on the ground that it would probably be wanted for something more important, and they marched fifteen miles back to the place to which they had been ordered. On April 9, 1918, as a mark of her appreciation of the good services rendered by the W.A.A.C. both at home and abroad since its inauguration, and especially of the distinction it had earned in France by its work for the armies during the fighting on the western

## WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

front, the Queen was graciously pleased to assume the position and title of commander-in-chief of the corps, which thereafter bore the name of Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps.

The establishment of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps was followed by that of the Women's Royal Air Force. Like the W.A.A.C., its members worked as clerks, motor-drivers, and in other capacities where replacement of men was possible. Altogether, 566 officers and 31,764 other ranks served in the force. The women in both the W.R.A.F. and W.A.A.C. wore khaki uniforms not dissimilar from those of the men.

The Women's Royal Naval Service, whose popular name was the "Wrens," was one of the later women's war services. It was started in November, 1917, with the object of organizing women to do for the navy what the W.A.A.C. and the W.R.A.F. were doing for the other services—take over as much non-combatant work as possible, and so release a number of men for more strenuous duties. A number of women responded directly recruiting started.

They enrolled for the duration of war; but if the war should be over in less than a year from the time of their enrolment they must serve for one year. There were two branches of service, mobile and immobile. The former could be sent to work anywhere in the United Kingdom; the latter were those who, still living at home, were engaged locally. The plan, which was also followed out in other corps, enabled women to join, who otherwise could not have done so, and also helped to solve the housing difficulty, which in the early stages of the war was very acute. The members not living at home had hostels provided for them when possible, or else resided in approved lodgings. They wore a serviceable but smart blue uniform, and, when their work required it, overalls. The motor-drivers had special additions to their uniform suitable to their work. The officers were trained at the Crystal Palace, London, and from there were sent off to their allotted appointments.

The actual work done by the service covered a wide range. The women were divided up into chief section leaders and ratings, and the work was classified into different categories. There was a clerical branch, and a household one chiefly composed of cooks and laundresses. There was a section composed of garage workers and a general unskilled branch. The postal workers had a section to themselves. There was a miscellaneous

## THE WRENS

branch, a signal branch, and a very large technical branch. The cookery at Greenwich Hospital was done by a staff of "Wrens."

In the technical branch of both the W.R.N.S. and the W.R.A.F. there were women engaged in what, before the war was exclusively a man's world. Many trades were classified in the engineering groups; they included copper-smiths, tinsmiths, plumbers, fitters, and practically every branch of work undertaken in an engineering shop. A good deal of electrical work was also done. There were sail-makers, armourers, and gun cleaners; photographers were another group of workers; tracers and draughtswomen another. Women who were skilled received a higher salary than the unskilled, but new members were taught a skilled trade, and then received equal pay.

The uniform had always to be worn, and no mufti was allowed to officers and ratings of the mobile branch, but the immobile could wear mufti in their homes. A fortnight's leave was allowed to officers and ratings for each year's service. In exceptional circumstances extra leave was allowed, but no pay was given for the extra time. The women had a fixed amount deducted from their pay to cover their expenses at the hostels or lodgings where they were. The immobile women who lived at home had no reduction made from their pay. If a woman was absent without leave or in excess of paid leave, part of her pay was deducted, the reduction made being one day's pay for each day's or part of a day's absence. The Wrens came directly under the Admiralty. On enrolment applicants had to fill up a special form, and among other things agreed that, in matters of discipline, the decision of a naval or W.R.N.S. officer was final. The personnel of this service was about 5,000. While thousands of women were thus employed in these organizations which operated as auxiliaries to the three fighting forces, others toiled in vast numbers in the multitudinous occupations which were thrown open to them through the exigencies of the times.

The U-boat campaign which was directed with relentless force against merchant shipping speedily effected a serious diminution of the food supply of Britain. The "starving out" of the nation by the Germans was a menace that loomed close at hand. Cultivation of every available acre of land for the production of foodstuffs became vitally essential, so that the farms, like the factories, the mills and the mines, became immeasurably

## WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

important factors in the prosecution of the war. And so women in their thousands took on the heavy toil of agriculture.

In the summer of 1916 the minister of agriculture, Lord Selborne, had foreseen that a serious shortage of agricultural labour was inevitable, and that an organization must be put in readiness to meet it which should be capable of expansion as the need arose. In the following January, when Mr. Prothero had succeeded to the ministry, an organization known as the Women's Land Army was born. The general organization and administration were as follows: The women's branch of the board of agriculture, under the directorship of Miss Meriel Talbot, with Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton as deputy director, and Mrs. Bayne as chief inspector, came into being. An organizing secretary was appointed for each county, and a travelling inspector for each group of counties.

The Board then proceeded to take over the already existing war institutions—the women's war agricultural committees, which had hitherto been working under the board of trade. They asked that the men's war agricultural committees should continue to act in close cooperation with these, and the staff at a London headquarters was adequately provided with technical advisers. The board was then faced with the difficult question of the training of the women, with the following all-important considerations: As high a standard of efficiency to be attained as possible, as great an economy, and as much saving of valuable time as was consistent with these. The labour was sent out to meet a crisis, and with the full knowledge of its limitations in the matter of intrinsic value, but the farmers were not asked to run a serious financial risk. The board of agriculture only insisted upon a minimum wage of 18s. a week, without board and lodging, to start with; and later on, when the new labour had established itself, of 22s. per week for the woman who had successfully passed the test of her efficiency at the training centre, or at an efficiency test examination later on.

Recruits for this army had to volunteer to give their services at first for the duration of the war, but this was afterwards altered into a period of six months or a year, according to choice. They had to be willing, also, to go wherever they were required, but not overseas; workers were provided free with an outfit comprising smock, breeches, boots, leggings, jersey, macintosh, and hat, and they were offered free training and maintenance

## MUNITION WORKERS

at a centre or farm for a preliminary period of six weeks. The whole scheme was arranged and set in operation by the early spring of 1917.

In the course of a year the increased labour shortage and the growing success of the women, forced upon the authorities the necessity of adding 30,000 women to the 7,000 already placed. A recruiting staff was quickly organized and sent out. Between March and August a total of 43,907 recruits signed on, of whom approximately 25 per cent. were accepted. The immediate result was a large demand on training accommodation. The prompt way in which this demand was met is shown by the fact that, whereas in March, 1918, about 350 recruits were entered for each period of training, 2,500 were entered for each period in June of the same year, and by July this number had risen to 2,775. Following this large increase in the number of women at work came the appointment of welfare officers for every county, to look after the individual needs of the employees, while a magazine, *The Landswoman*, was started.

The following figures show the total number of land army women in England and Wales, March to August, 1918:

March 16	..	..	..	..	7,268
June 1 ..	..	..	..	..	11,364
August 10	..	..	..	..	15,974

In the spring of 1919, after the slack season in farming, during which period some of the less skilled workers were discharged, the demand for milkers, all-round farm hands, and women for the timber supply, rose again, and it was found necessary to recruit a further 5,000 women.

Of the 1,500,000 women who, it is estimated, were added to the nation's workers as a result of the Great War, the vast majority entered industrial life, in which the demand for them was insatiable, especially when it was realized, as it began to be early in 1915, that Britain would have to take upon herself the lion's share of the allied task. Munition worker is a designation that covered a vast army of workers at multifarious tasks, and altogether there were over 750,000 women employed under this heading, 400,000 of these being engaged on work that women had never done before. The parliamentary secretary of the ministry of Munitions openly stated that "without their

## WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

help the Germans would have won the war." Women in large numbers were engaged in making shells, bullets, and cartridges.

The ministry of Munitions started a large number of training centres in London and the provinces, where in a few weeks women were taught a special branch of munition work; it might be lens grinding, or it might be an engineering job, so varied was the work. They were employed for the most part in automatic or semi-automatic processes, but this was by no means always the case, and there were factories where women carried out the whole work of shell-making from start to finish, involving twenty-one separate operations in the production of 18 in. high explosive shells. In one munitions factory where three hundred women were employed in making shells, men labourers were originally provided to lift the heavier pieces of metal, but the girls decided that they could do this themselves, and so they handled the material in all stages through all the processes.

The report on women's work presented to the British Association, at Manchester, in 1915, quoted an engineering expert in a technical journal on the capacity of the woman munition worker. Higher tribute to her utility could hardly be forthcoming.

It may be safely said that women can successfully handle very much heavier pieces of metal than had previously been dreamed of. Moreover, they have shown themselves capable of successfully carrying out arduous processes, such as forging, etc., which hitherto have only been performed by men, and of managing machine tools of a very different nature and requiring a very much higher standard of intellect than do automatic and semi-automatic tools. In fact, it can be stated with absolute truth that, with the possible exception of the heaviest tools—and their inability to work even these has yet to be established—women have shown themselves perfectly capable of performing operations which have hitherto been exclusively carried out by men.

In the making of fuses they excel, and some women, highly skilled in other trades, rendered great service in the delicate work involved in the manufacture of the wings of aeroplanes. One very satisfactory point in connexion with the munition workers was that the health of the women was well maintained, in spite of long hours of hard work and many night shifts. This was certainly due to the care and thought that was devoted to every-

## TRANSPORT WORK

thing connected with their welfare. The best systems of ventilation were installed in the factories where they worked. The girls who worked with any dangerous materials wore special protective clothing as a safeguard against accidents; those, for example, working with acids wore clogs instead of ordinary shoes. Food and recreation, two very important points, were also thoroughly well managed. Good, well-cooked food was provided at little above cost price, and quite an army of workers were engaged in this department.

In public transport systems—on the omnibuses, trams, tubes and trains, women replaced men employees in large numbers. They were taken on in thousands, in fact, and on the Underground, District, Tube, and other railways, acted as lift operators, ticket collectors, and gate-women on the trains. Some were porters, others travelling ticket inspectors, and clerks in the booking-office. The London General Omnibus Company employed about 2,100 women on omnibuses as conductors and time-keepers at points. During the air raids those employed on omnibuses behaved very well in the face of danger, and the same may be said of those who worked on the Tubes, where the dense crowds that assembled made their work very trying. A large number of women were engaged on the trams as conductors. They had to undergo a special course of training before taking up any branch of this work.

Early in 1919, to show the extent to which women had displaced men in industrial and commercial life, the authorities issued some instructive figures. An official return said that there were employed in July, 1914, 3,276,000 females, equal to a percentage of 24 of the total number of workpeople in the United Kingdom. By the end of April, 1918, these numbers had increased by 1,532,000, or 37 per cent. Of these, 1,516,000 were stated by employers to have directly replaced men. Clearly when this great change came in the life of Britain in 1915, it meant the beginning of an industrial revolution. And through the mass demonstration of their abilities in the wide field of their wartime activities women proved convincingly their fitness for an equal share with men in public life.

## CHAPTER 16

# The Employment of Animals

**F**EW people realize what a large share animals take in modern warfare, suffering hardship and even death for a cause in which they have no interest. In the Great War horses, mules, oxen, camels, dogs, pigeons, canaries, and even goldfish played a part.

At the outbreak of hostilities on August 4, 1914, the British army had some 25,000 horses, but this number was rapidly increased, and by the year 1918 the total was nearly 1,000,000, notwithstanding the heavy wastage which had occurred meanwhile through disease and death. As many as 165,000 of these animals were obtained in the United Kingdom within less than a fortnight after the commencement of the war; but the bulk of them had to be procured from abroad and brought overseas to the various seats of action, vast quantities being purchased in North America, South America, Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, Spain, and Portugal. Although mechanical traction has greatly increased military mobility, there remain many uses for the horse and mule. Thus, when the use of motor-driven vehicles was impracticable owing to the roughness of the ground, shells were brought up to the guns in special wicker panniers hung on each side of horses; guns were moved by horses at Vimy Ridge, and mules were used to carry rations to the trenches. "The power of an army as a striking weapon," said Sir D. Haig, "depends on its mobility. Mobility is largely dependent on the suitability and fitness of animals for army work."

The first batch of Canadian horses arrived in England in the latter part of the year 1914. Many of these animals were somewhat raw, and those destined to be used by the cavalry had much to learn before they could be regarded as efficient fighting units. They had to be accustomed to rifle fire, schooled in the art of jumping, and taught to disregard the rapid flashing above their heads of their riders' swords. After several months of training, the horses were taken to a port of embarkation and rested there for three or four days before undergoing even the

## MOVING THE GUNS

shortest sea journey. On landing abroad the horses were given a similar rest at the port of arrival. From the base depots the horses were issued to the fighting troops as and when required to replace losses in the field.

More than once, in emergencies, the British were saved by the wonderful efficiency of their horses. W. Beach Thomas, in one of his war despatches in the Daily Mail, described how plans for a German attack in a new place were suddenly discovered. He went on to explain how urgent and vital it was that the British artillery should be shifted to more advantageous positions if they were to repel the attack. The ground was a quagmire, with guns up to their axles in mud. Time was pressing. They must be moved somehow. He continued :

Our horse artillery bumped and lurched and tore their way forward over holes and dykes and deep mud and slush. Picked teams of splendid horses, excited as a hunter on a hunting morning, dragged their hearts out in this noble adventure, and an hour before the Germans' charge was ready the guns were unlimbered and in position. . . . Who said that horses were no use in war? We have lost many noble animals, but they have done their part indeed.

Losses were very heavy, amounting to one in four; but it must be remembered that the horse, though so strong of bone and muscle, is an animal of delicate constitution. He is as liable to coughs and colds and lung troubles as any human being. That far more horses did not die in Flanders and in the mud of the Somme was testimony to their original fitness.

Every British unit, whether infantry, artillery, or transport, had one or more executive veterinary officers attached to it. In the case of the infantry of the line the veterinary officer attached to each battalion was to be found in the neighbourhood of the nearest point to which horses were allowed to approach the lines. Stationed at the " horse-lines " or at Echelon B, he kept an eye not only upon all transport and baggage trains moving backwards to railhead or rendezvous for supplies, but also on the pack mules going forward with daily rations to points nearer the trenches. He had men of his own, corresponding roughly with the stretcher-bearers attached to each regimental medical officer and his staff, and he performed much the same service for the horses as the medical officer performed for the men.

Veterinary officers nearest the front of the battle and their men were equipped with field-dressings, splints, and the like for

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giving efficient first-aid to horses. They might run, moreover, rough little field hospitals of their own for the treatment of minor wounds and sicknesses not entailing a long curative course. They carried drugs and remedies for all the minor ailments, and, as a last resource, they carried one humane little weapon for putting a painless end to any poor animal so stricken with wounds as to be beyond hope of cure. This instrument was a Greener's cattle-killer. Loaded with a powerful explosive charge, it was capable of penetrating a horse's skull instantly. The weapon was held against the horse's forehead, one tap was given on the cap and the animal lay still, his sufferings over.

Many touching scenes occurred on the battlefields, not only in France but elsewhere, where British soldiers lost horses in this way. Men who in times of shortage or danger had shared rations with their horses, or even risked their lives to save them from danger—as had many British soldiers—could not come to this tragic parting without real sorrow. One of the most moving pictures painted of the war represented a British soldier on the battlefield holding up the head of his wounded horse and saying "Good-bye, old pal!" It was no mere flight of imagination on the part of the artist, for that scene occurred over and over again in actual fact.

The few hospitals for horses were either general or special, just as were the hospitals for men. There were special hospitals, for instance, for the treatment of mange and skin troubles. The general hospitals took all sorts of cases, surgical or medical, but each type of case was segregated. The hospitals were divided into wards on the same lines as a hospital for soldiers. The reception ward of the hospital was no more than a series of posts and ropes in a big enclosed field. The cases on arrival were taken to these reception lines, pending their distribution into separate wards suited to their case. For the little ticket appended to each horse, showing his complaint—or sometimes a chalk mark across his back—a disk was substituted. Upon it was written the date of admission to hospital, and then it was tied to the patient's tail. From the reception lines the horses were taken, according to their complaint, to a surgical ward or a medical ward or an isolation ward. These wards, each of which was a great quadrangle surrounded with stables, were again subdivided. A surgical ward was subdivided into sections for different kinds of wounds, bullet wounds, foot wounds, etc. The

## HOSPITALS FOR HORSES

medical ward was sub-divided into groups or lines for catarrh, strangles, pneumonia, exhaustion, general debility, etc. In the isolation ward were segregated mange and other skin cases. As far as possible heavy draught horses, light horses, riding horses, ponies, and mules were placed together in their respective groups. Every horse undergoing painful operation at the hands of veterinary surgeons was given an anæsthetic.

One visitor to a hospital recorded having seen a big brown mare lying on her side on a mattress undergoing an operation for some injury to the head. A solid leather muzzle containing a wad of cotton soaked in chloroform enclosed her mouth and nostrils, and although two white-coated surgeons were busy with instruments inside the skull itself, the good creature lay quiet, snoring peacefully. The four grooms who sat by her extended limbs had no work to do. In the isolation ward, which was entered by a narrow gap through which a man but not a horse could pass, stood a row of patients suffering from skin trouble. They were all greeny-blue in colour, owing to liberal baths and sprays with copper sulphate. Here were special tanks for horses to bathe in, and water-sprays, hot and cold.

Farther along, those suffering from catarrh were having their noses and mouths swabbed out with soothing lotions. In a neighbouring ward men were hurrying along with little bags of steaming linseed for application as poultices to the "strangles" cases. In the surgical wards horses were standing patiently on three feet, holding up a painful fourth limb. Beyond were horses with great open wounds in various stages of cure. Such is the healthiness of a horse that a wound will begin to granulate and heal very rapidly after it is caused. The surgeons left them, where possible, without any covering. This could not have been done save in clean and healthy surroundings; but in the matter of cleanliness the care exercised in British horse hospitals at the war was well nigh as great as in the hospitals for men. Not a speck of dirt was to be seen; the horses themselves were scrubbed spotless before admission to the ward. A disinfecting plant cleansed all halters and horsecloths that might be likely to lead to infection.

Supplementing the British army's measures in the field for the welfare of horses were those of different voluntary organizations in Great Britain such as the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the Blue Cross Fund. The "R.S.P.C.A."

## THE EMPLOYMENT OF ANIMALS

greatly assisted the British Army Veterinary corps by creating and equipping horse hospitals in the field. Financed by voluntary contributions, they were able to supply hospital equipment and means on far more generous lines than would have been possible to the veterinary corps themselves, working with strict regard to the exacting requirements of government regulations and government auditors.

The Blue Cross Fund supplemented the work of the R.S.P.C.A. by supplying special drugs, veterinary requisites, and horse comforts to the regiments. They made a point of supplying a number of things that were not always included in the army scheme of provision for horses—little extras which made all the difference between treatment and kind treatment. More than 1,000 units had to thank the Blue Cross for their extra supplies of veterinary requisites—for the horse-rugs, chaff-cutters, portable forges, humane killers, and such things. The Blue Cross had no regard for the nationality of a horse. They erected, equipped, and worked a series of hospitals for the French army, whose arrangements for the care of horses were not so complete as those of the British army. Their hospitals at Moret, St. Mames, Provins, La Grande Romaine, Favière, comprised in all some thirty huge wards, and were models of their kind.

The society was the means of establishing similar treatment for horses of the Italian army, and gave grants of money to supplement the funds raised for this work in Italy. One of the Blue Cross measures in other fields of war is deserving of special mention. Its provision of fly-nets for horses wounded in the near East brought an incalculable relief to stricken animals. Thousands of flies swarmed in the open wounds of horses injured in battle, causing an agony of irritation which often resulted in the horse's death from sheer exhaustion. \*

Mules were employed solely as beasts of burden and for haulage purposes, and the assistance they rendered the Allies cannot be over-estimated. About 250,000 of these animals were brought to Europe from North and South America during the period of hostilities. In spite of the fact that mules are somewhat difficult to deal with, their temperament being a mixture of stubbornness, cunning and willingness, they have the advantage of being far more indifferent than horses to the din of battle, and far better able to withstand extremes of heat and cold. They were particularly valuable in the mountainous districts.

## DONKEYS AND CAMELS

Donkeys were used by the French and Italians. It was possible for them to enter the trenches, and so carry small ammunition and provisions direct to the soldiers. In Palestine they rendered conspicuous service in bringing material for the building of roads in Allenby's campaign. The Italians also used oxen on the plains, and found their steadiness under shell-fire a great asset.

The use of camels in warfare can be traced back to the time of David, and in more modern days they were employed by Napoleon, and later by Napier during the war in Scinde. In the Indian Mutiny the Gordon Highlanders rode on camels, each trooper being mounted with a native driver; while, moreover, the adaptability and speed of the creatures when travelling over sandy soil was recognized by the French during their punitive raids in Algeria, the troopers riding on horseback to within a comparatively short distance from the enemy, and, when making their final dash, mounting fast camels that had been held in reserve. British and Egyptian camel corps played a prominent part in the Sudan campaigns, and in the Great War they were employed against the Turks. The Bikaner camel corps, supported by the ruling princes of India, also took part in the campaign in Egypt, where it rendered invaluable service.

When pressed, a camel can cover from seventy to eighty miles a day, supporting upon its back both its rider and enough food and water to last for a week. Unlike the horse, it is never controlled by a bit, but by a cord passed through a hole piercing the nostrils. But the animal is by no means good-tempered, and no matter how well it may be treated it never appears to form any real attachment to its owner.

The use of dogs in warfare dates from very early times. In the Middle Ages they actually went into battle clothed in armour, a suit of dog-armour preserved in the Tower of London testifying to this fact. Historical records show that King Henry the Eighth made use of a large breed of bloodhounds in the wars against France, and that in the days of Elizabeth, the Earl of Essex had eight hundred of these war-dogs in his army. Christopher Columbus, moreover, employed twenty bloodhounds to assist his soldiers in his campaigns against the natives of Santo Domingo, and Mr. H. F. Suckling states that "there was a breed of large dogs in use in Northumberland, called slough-dogs, which were kept by the borderers for the purpose of pursuing offenders, called moss-troopers. War-dogs were also

## THE EMPLOYMENT OF ANIMALS

attached to the Greek army in the past, and we read that one so distinguished itself by its bravery and fighting prowess that its owner had its effigy engraved upon his tablet.

In Belgium dogs are utilised by harnessing them to small carts and barrows. During the Great War they were used for the transport of light guns, and also for Red Cross work. Owing to their keenness of hearing they were of great assistance in helping sentries in the execution of their duties; they were also used for guarding and for carrying messages.

Collies, Airedales, and bloodhounds are the dogs most adapted for war work, but their training is a long and arduous process, and they have much to learn before they become proficient in the performance of their humane duties. They were taught to search for wounded men on the battlefield, bringing succour in the form of water, bandages, and other first-aid necessities, which they carry strapped upon their backs; while, even on the darkest night, by barking they are able to direct the stretcher-bearers to the fallen combatants.

An official school of instruction for military dogs was started during the war by Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. Richardson. The site selected was Shoburyness, because here the constant firing of the guns accustomed the dogs to war conditions. The dogs were first used for ambulance and messenger work, and then for sentry and patrol work. In his book *British War Dogs*, Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson relates how the demand arose for dogs to replace man-power for guard duty:

As the demand for fighting men became increasingly insistent, large numbers who had been doing guard duty all over Britain were withdrawn, and the security of munition factories, magazines, and vulnerable points of all kinds was an anxious one for the government. I was sent for and questioned as to whether the dogs could be of service at this juncture, to act as guards and replace man-power. I said most emphatically they could. From my experience, however, in pre-war years, as applied to civilian needs, I know that, in order to be successful, careful management of these guard dogs would be necessary, and therefore I drew up a list of regulations which was issued to each centre where these dogs were employed. Once this branch was fairly started, applications began to pour in from all parts of the country. At this time also, a request for sentry dogs for use with the troops at Salonica was referred to me. The desire was particularly for Airedales, and they were to be used in the listening-posts in the front line to give

## DOGS AS MESSENGERS

warning of enemy approach. Each recruit was carefully tested for three different duties—messenger, sentry, or guard work. Sometimes they failed in one but succeeded in another, but all had a good chance to show some sort of initiative. In the event of a dog showing no desire for work of any sort it was returned to the source whence it came. The more one has to do with the canine race, the clearer it is seen that as regards psychology there is little difference between it and the human race, and I much regret to say that it was my experience to find occasionally the canine "conscientious objector" among the recruits.

The war dog school was moved from Shobery Ness to Matley Ridge, above Lyndhurst, because the first training ground proved too small for the requirements.

Messenger dogs were used to save human life, and for despatch carrying. One brigade signal officer issued instructions that, as far as possible, all important despatches were to be sent by dog; the telephone was unreliable, and runners were an easy target for the enemy, and moreover were less nimble than dogs in picking their way through shell-holes and over barbed wire. The following instructions laid down by the British army for the management of messenger dogs in the field show the care bestowed upon this important branch of military service:

By the use of trained dogs as message carriers, runners can be saved and better communication obtained. The messenger dog is trained to return to his keeper from any point to which he may have been led. A dog will not return to any keeper except his own. A dog can travel by day or night fairly rapidly over ground where a man cannot go at all, or only very slowly; and because he travels faster, and is a smaller target, a dog has a much better chance of getting through a barrage than a man. The reliability of the dog as a message carrier depends on his being trained to go with certainty to his destination without paying any attention to bombardment, rifle fire, etc. The best trained dogs will, however, be quickly rendered unreliable by injudicious handling when sent up for work in the front line, and it is essential that the instructions for their use should be strictly adhered to.

The procedure as regards the employment of messenger dogs is for the keeper to go up with his three dogs to, say, a battalion headquarters, where the keeper remains. This point is called the "back station." The three dogs are then led away by any soldier, from the keeper to, say, company headquarters. This point is called the "forward station." Then

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when a message has to be sent back, it is put in the carrier on the dog's collar, and the dog released. It is advisable to train a dog on a particular route, taking him out a short way and letting him go at once, and then repeating at greater distances till his final station is reached. After that, he should be retained for, say, an hour before being released, and subsequently the time of retention should be increased until he will return to where his keeper is by day or night after 12 hours' stay in his forward station. . . . After a tour of seven days in the front line (during which period each keeper and his three dogs have been doing 12 hours on duty and 12 hours off duty) the whole group should be sent back and replaced by another group from the section kennel. . . . Dogs are not so susceptible as human beings to gas poison, and a dog will run and arrive at his destination through gas which an unprotected man could not traverse. The gas has, however, a certain amount of effect, and a dog who has been subjected to strong gas may be incapacitated for a considerable time, or die from the effects. It is not practicable to provide a dog with a gas mask. Every effort should be made to protect the dogs until their services are necessary, and on the first sign of gas they should be placed in a shelter protected by a gas-proof curtain, and kept there till required. It in forward areas this is not possible, they should be released and allowed to make their way back.

Then follow orders for troops in the front line.

A messenger dog may be recognized by his collar, on which is a tin cylinder in which the message is carried. Messenger dogs will be distinguished by some device such as a scarlet tally, which can be easily seen. These distinguishing marks will be promulgated in orders. Messenger dogs are not to be hindered when on a run.

In addition to messenger work, dogs were used for sentry work, and for guarding. The guard dog defended a certain area, while the sentry dog worked as called upon in any place and so usually required more intelligence. The effectiveness of dogs for guarding was shown when six dogs were substituted for twenty-six men in an effort to protect the stores of the general automobile reserve corps which had been rifled. The dogs captured three thieves in the first week. Some men at Verdun were saved by a messenger dog which limped into the beleaguered town from a distance of five miles bearing two pigeons in panniers. The pigeons were sent back with messages, one of which reached friendly hands and so enabled the artillery to pick out the enemy battery which threatened to destroy the defenders of Verdun.

## THE USE OF PIGEONS

The employment of pigeons in war-time may now be regarded as a necessity, for no modern army would be without its pigeon post. The Saracens utilised these birds for carrying messages, and as a counter-measure the Christian commanders then trained falcons to bear down upon and kill the pigeons. During the Franco-Prussian war pigeons proved to be of inestimable value, and when Paris was besieged the birds are said to have carried therefrom 150,000 or more official despatches and 1,000,000 private messages.

Some idea of the remarkable instinct of these homing pigeons can be judged by the story related of a bird sent out from the besieged city. It fell into the hands of the enemy, who kept it in confinement for ten years, but when it was ultimately given its freedom it immediately flew off and returned to its old home. A good homing pigeon can fly at the rate of sixty miles an hour, though such a speed is above the average and could not be sustained for any length of time.

The training of pigeons for messenger service was undertaken by Lieutenant-Colonel A. H. Osman, who handled more than 100,000 pigeons during the war. He states in the introduction to his book on Pigeons in the Great War.

Not a single bird for any of the services was ever enlisted unless certain it was sound and capable for the work it was likely to be called upon to perform. It was impossible to say when any bird might be the last resource of a platoon, or airman brought down on the ocean. From the inception of the service I impressed upon the authorities that to be a success the pigeons at their lofts must be in the hands of experts, and every man enlisted had to pass a strict examination as to his capabilities as a fancier and trainer.

The first call for their service came from mine-sweepers for the purpose of sending information to shore of newly laid mine-fields. In March, 1916, the first British pigeons were sent to the western front. Old omnibuses were first used as travelling lofts, but later specially constructed motor lofts were employed. Towards the end of the war, 150 British mobile lofts were in active service on the French and Italian fronts. The pigeons, carried by bicyclists in wicker crates to the front line trenches, performed journeys impossible to runners. Sometimes the pigeons were taken up by aeroplane, and "tossed" with a message, and they were frequently despatched from tanks. Short

## THE EMPLOYMENT OF ANIMALS

messages were carried in a small aluminium cylinder attached to the bird's leg, and larger messages, such as several feet of film negative, in cloth knapsacks fastened round the body with elastic bands. Pigeons were known to sustain flight for fifteen continuous hours. The attendant in his dug-out was warned of the arrival of a feathered messenger by the ringing of a bell through the completion of an electric circuit.

While generally used to communicate with known positions, the pigeons were also employed in Belgian and French territory occupied by the Germans. They were dropped either from aeroplanes or from small balloons which automatically released a basket at intervals. In French and Flemish a request was made to the finder to supply intelligence information, releasing the bird to return to a British loft.

As many as a thousand birds were sometimes used in a single engagement. H. S. Gladstone, in *Birds and the War*, gives many instances of the valuable rôle played by pigeons. The usefulness of messenger birds is illustrated in the account of the action in eastern Champagne :

One of the most important factors of the defence in the Eastern Champagne on July 15, 1918 was the smooth working of the information service under the German bombardment. Each pill-box fort in the covering zone was supplied with a crate of carrier pigeons, and the birds brought back news of every movement of the enemy and every phase of the fight to the command posts. One officer commander, with experience of intelligence work, interrogated German prisoners who were brought into his pill-box as they arrived, and despatched the information derived from the bewildered Germans by "colombogram" almost as quickly as it could have been sent by telegram. In another case the garrison of a pill box sent back by pigeon a request that artillery should immediately open on the ground around their stronghold, taking no thought for their own safety, as the Germans were about to surround them.

The lives of airmen whose seaplanes were brought down miles from land were on occasion saved by a message conveyed by pigeon. In the United Services Museum, in Whitehall, London, is a stuffed pigeon called Crisp V.C. This bird was sent from the trawler *Nelson* by Skipper Crisp during a U-boat attack, and flew to a vessel in the vicinity so that help reached the crew of the trawler in time.

Canaries were used by miners at the front to detect subterranean gas. Thus miners or explorers were saved from gas-

## CANARIES AND GEESE

poisoning. H. S. Gladstone quotes a soldier who wrote of his company's canary: "Many were the nights on which he was rudely disturbed from his slumbers, dumped unceremoniously into a sand-bag, and carried through rain and snow up to the trenches. Here he would do his job underground, and as often as not reach the surface again a limp little form lying at the bottom of his cage; he never failed us, though." A demonstration of the utility of canaries was given to the members of the Congress of South-Eastern Scientific Societies on June 1, 1918, when a bird in a cage was put into a chamber full of poison-gas and became unconscious before a human being, exposed to the same conditions, showed any sign of being affected. Canaries were also used in ambulance trains to cheer the soldiers by their song.

Several instances are recorded of seagulls making known the whereabouts of submarines and floating mines. In the Observer of January 6, 1918, an account is given of a pilot who while in the Channel noticed some seagulls sitting upon a floating object. Upon closer investigation he found it was a mine with five prongs, on each prong of which a seagull was perched. He just managed to alter the ship's course slightly, and so avert disaster.

One would hardly associate geese with warfare, but in olden days they were the means of saving the Roman Capitol. When the Gauls invaded Rome a file of men crept up the hill of the capitol so stealthily that the leader succeeded in reaching the top without his presence being discovered. When he was clambering over the rampart, however, some sacred geese espied him and began to cackle, whereupon Marcus Manlius rushed to the wall, sent the man tumbling down the precipitous slope, and called out the garrison. Thus the capitol was saved.

In the late war a pair of geese accompanied the 52nd Army brigade, Royal Field Artillery, to the front. These mascots went through the battles of Loos, Ypres (1915 and 1917), Ploegsteert, Somme (twice), Arras (1916, 1917, 1918), Vimy Wood, Cambrai, and Mons. After the armistice they were sent to the London Zoo, where they spent the rest of their days roaming about the spacious paddock.

The resourcefulness applied to the exploitation of mute creatures during the war added elephants, wild bees, goldfish, slugs, sea-lions, parrots, cormorants, and rats to the list already given. The last four groups proved ineffective, but serious proposals were made that they should be utilised. Captain James

## THE EMPLOYMENT OF ANIMALS

Woodward, impressed by the acute sense of hearing of sea-lions, conducted anti-submarine experiments in a swimming bath. The sea-lions were quickly trained to swim towards buzzers which were switched on at various points under the surface of the water in the tanks. Muzzles made of piano wire were attached to them, so that they should not swallow fish. They were then moved to a five-mile stretch of water on a lake in North Wales. Light buoys were attached to the sea-lions to indicate their course as they swam towards an instrument which was making a noise similar to that of submarine engines. They were recalled by sound drums. Then they were taken to the Channel for tests with real submarines, and proved more successful in many cases than instruments. Not a single sea-lion was lost. The German navy, however, began to operate submarines in groups, against which listening devices were much less effective, so the experiments were abandoned.

Parrots were used early in the war at the Eiffel Tower to announce the approach of hostile aircraft. It was found that though anticipating the human ear by twenty minutes, the birds could not be trained to discriminate between a French and German aeroplane. Thus their services were discontinued, though in 1918 Punch humorously suggested that they should be crossed with British homing pigeons and used for propaganda work in Germany! A serious suggestion was made to the War Inventions Board that a flock of cormorants should be sent to peck the mortar on the chimneys of the Krupp works at Essen, and so destroy them. Also rats were used to detect poison gas, but it was found that they contracted pneumonia, while the slug merely closed its breathing aperture at the approach of mustard gas, and was none the worse after the gas had passed.

An elephant from the Hamburg Zoo was used by the Germans in construction work at Breslau; in German East Africa a British attack on Tanga was retarded by swarms of wild bees hidden beneath heaps of wires and canes; and the incident is recorded of a flock of ducks keeping troops at bay, quacking whenever a patrol approached, so that for some time the British tried in vain to get near the German outpost.

Goldfish also played a part in the Great War, suffering in the cause of humanity, for by placing them in water within which anti-gas masks had been soaked it was possible to determine the nature of the gas that had been employed in an attack.

## CHAPTER 17

# Weapons of War

**N**CESSITY, it has been said, is the mother of invention, and the truth of this adage was amply proved by the great strides which were made in nearly every class of science and invention during the Great War. Metallurgists found ways of producing metals capable of standing greater strains than had hitherto been possible, chemists discovered new means of making more deadly explosives, and engineers designed and made weapons far in advance of anything ever known before. Modern warfare depends entirely upon the application of science. The soldier of to-day is in himself no more powerful than the savage of the Stone Age. His strength is due to the fact that behind him are the coalfields, iron mines, steam engines, factories, chemical works, engineering establishments, and a host of highly-trained workers, researchers, mathematicians, and so on.

One notable contribution of British science was picric acid, a mixture of nitric and carbolic acid. Its use for military purposes was first demonstrated at Woolwich as far back as 1871, and some years afterwards M. Eugene Turpin, of Paris, worked up the acid into the compound known as melinite, lyddite, or shimose. After the Great War broke out M. Turpin discovered a high explosive of greater power than melinite, and it was partly due to his invention that the army of Verdun made so magnificent a resistance, for, with the new explosive, a comparatively small French shell had greater smashing power than a heavier German shell.

A new use was found by the Germans for the gas known as chlorine. This was a British invention, and an electrical method of reducing salt to chlorine had already been worked out by two British chemists. Some of the German chemical works adopted the British method, and by means of it produced the terrible fumes against which the Canadians had to fight at Ypres. The British possessed the knowledge of this infernal weapon at the beginning of the war, but refrained from using it for humane reasons.

## WEAPONS OF WAR

The surprise which the Germans effected round Hill 60 on April 19, 1915, and round Langemarck three days later, was accomplished by placing liquid chlorine in steel cylinders, in shells, and in bombs, and using a few other chemicals such as bromine. They thus produced a low, rolling, yellow-green cloud, in which men could have lived if they had been provided with simple antidotes. Straw fires would have lifted the poison cloud, stretches of damp hay would have absorbed the poison, while respirators steeped in alkaline liquids would have neutralised the chlorine inhaled. The Germans' use of so torturing a medium as chlorine was a vilely barbaric thing, but there would scarcely have been a logical case against them if they had employed a gas which killed quickly.

Energetically the German chemist laboured to find what gas or mixture of gases would spread with deadliest effect from the small containing space of a medium shell. The gas had to be heavy, so that it would not quickly disperse into minute, harmless quantities. It had also to be as colourless as possible, so that hostile troops might walk into it. Prussic acid was tried for a considerable time, but in the Somme battle the deadlier phosgene gas was used. It was followed by other poison gases, to which British and French chemists replied by the deadliest of all preparations of a directly poisonous kind.

The constituents of the Allies' gases were kept secret, but the later German mixtures of an ingenious kind were soon known both by their results and by actual examination. The Germans tried to blind troops, before attacking them, by shelling them with gases causing rapid inflammation of the eyes. They also produced a sneezing gas to compel men to take off their masks, in readiness to swallow the dose of poison that followed. In one battle they also used a gas which penetrated the mask and produced vomiting. But their masterpiece of chemical ingenuity was the hyperite gas, or mustard gas, which acted on perspiring skins, causing a serious illness until means were found of bathing patients back to health.

In March, 1918, when Hutier, Marwitz, and Below were standing ready to break through the British line, their gunners were provided with a new kind of gas-shell which proved one of the main instruments of the Germans' success. It contained a gas which could be stopped by the British mask; but by the simplest of devices it surprised the British divisions against which

## FILTERING POISON GAS

it was used. There was a great difference between a high-explosive shell and a gas-shell; one exploded with a terrific noise, the other opened and let out its contents with nothing more than a soft "plop." Soldiers trusted their lives to their ears, and when a shell made little or no noise they did not wait to see whether it was a dud, but rapidly put on their masks, and sucked at the mouth-pieces. In the opening offensive of 1918, however, the German gas-shell was mainly formed of an ordinary fuse, connecting with a quantity of ordinary high explosive. In the high explosive was a bottle containing liquid poison gas. When a hurricane bombardment opened, over both British infantry and British artillery, the shells burst with the usual high-explosive report, and threw up the ordinary smoke of explosion. Many soldiers, therefore, did not trouble to breathe through their respirators, as this was an inconvenient process and interfered with their working ability. They were therefore caught by the bottled gas and some were killed.

The new combination shell of high explosive and gas completed the terrors of modern warfare. It compelled all soldiers to wear gas-masks in battle, which was a misery to mortal flesh. Both sides endeavoured to annul the mechanism of the various types of respirator by maintaining so long and continual a down-pour of gas that the filtering apparatus was at last choked. Here, however, British inventiveness proved superior to the German method of colossal use of well-known devices. Charcoal was one of the principal things in a respirator box, and the gas-absorbing power of the best charcoal was rather limited. It was, however, discovered that a new kind of charcoal, made out of the shell of the coconut, had an extraordinary absorbing capacity. Coconut shell had the advantage of being plentiful and cheap, and as a poison-gas filter it promised to defeat the Germans' wasteful method in gas bombardment, as well as subjecting them to new inconvenience. They had no free supply of coconuts, and it was possible to extend the intensified naval blockade system to this new vital raw material of modern battle machinery. German charcoal was made out of alderwood and other common porous woods which could not absorb the tenth part of the poison gas that charred coconut shell could.

The employment of thick smoke from destroyers as a screen for battleship movements was another practice which the Germans learned from the British. They were able to replace

## WEAPONS OF WAR

the nitre which they could not obtain from Chile by extracting nitre from the air by means of an electric arc, but this was the old invention of Henry Cavendish. The British, on the other hand, neglected at first the native sources of nitrates because the Chilean fields could be relied upon. But when troubles over freightage became acute and the need for economy in the use of cargo steamers grew urgent, British chemists were equal to the occasion. An enormous supply of ammonia was produced as a by-product in gas and coke ovens, and by an oxidation process it was possible to convert this by-product into concentrated nitric acid. It was also discovered that British gas companies were wasting a very large amount of ammonia, which could be saved without difficulty. This by-product and the waste were sufficient to cover all requirements for high explosives.

Great Britain had suffered a serious loss of military power by allowing Germany in pre-war years to develop the discovery of coal-tar dyes made by an English chemist. The Germans had the practical monopoly of coal-tar antiseptics, needed by surgeons, coal-tar dyes, required for khaki uniforms, and coal-tar high explosives of the safest, most lasting, and powerful kind. From their coke ovens the Germans obtained the toluene which they nitrated, also with a product of their gas ovens, and made into trinitrotoluene. Before the war this chemical had been offered by a German firm to the British government for use in torpedoes and submarine mines. It had a more shattering effect than gun-cotton and did not deteriorate in water; but the British government did not adopt the new explosive. The German government did, for it was found that T.N.T., as trinitrotoluene is familiarly called, had some points of superiority over lyddite and other picric-acid explosives as a bursting charge in shells. Picric acid, obtained by boiling carbolic and nitric acid, must not be allowed to come into contact with metals, as it forms highly sensitive compounds. A varnish is employed to prevent it from blowing up its users.

In the form of Jack Johnsons and other terrible shells, T.N.T. was pitched into the British lines while the British artillery was still largely using shrapnel because of the difficulties with picric-acid fuses. But the British chemists soon worked out a process for T.N.T. and another new high explosive. Practically all the toluene from the British gas and coke factories was commandeered by the Ministry of Munitions. Then the benzole,

## TREATMENT OF METALS

from which the toluol had been extracted, was also taken over by the government. Before the war Great Britain manufactured annually about 10,000,000 gallons of benzole from the waste of gasworks and coke ovens. A large proportion of this by-product used to be sent in peace time to Germany, to be manufactured into coal-tar dyes, drugs, and scents, and what then remained of the benzole was employed as a spirit in motor-car engines. But, towards the end of 1915, British war chemists began to turn the 10,000,000 gallons of coal-tar spirit into another new high explosive, popularly called T.N.A. This was short for tetranitraniline, made by nitrating aniline. About this time a Swedish engineer, Mr. W. Normelli, was reported to have invented a new form of nitrated ammonia from coke oven by-products which was said to be as stable as black powder, in addition to doing more damage than lyddite or T.N.T.

Another remarkable example of the British faculty of meeting a great need by inventiveness occurred in connexion with a key industry of which Germany had a monopoly. The most subtle and far-reaching of the Germans' preparation for war was their control of base and rare metals. When it is realized that one Atlantic liner needed 58 tons of zinc annually to protect her boilers from corrosion, it will be seen what vast quantities were required by the chief naval power. Moreover, 58 tons of zinc was the quantity needed to make the brass for 17,000,000 cartridges, while the zinc in a battleship would probably be enough to make 20,000,000 cartridges.

There was an abundant supply of metal in Australia, but there were no works, either in Australia or in Britain, for getting the spelter out of the ores. An inventive Englishman, Mr. Elliott Cumberland, helped to save the situation. It was known that the corrosion of boilers was due to electro-chemical action. Mr. Cumberland introduced two iron points into a boiler, and sent a ten-volt current of electricity from point to point. This small and cheap current proved sufficient to take all the corrosive elements from the interior of the boiler and deposit them on the iron point, together with all grease, oil, and other impurities from boiling water. Instead of a large, fast steamer needing 58 tons of zinc a year to keep her boilers clean, she required only a few iron points, costing perhaps less than ten shillings, annually. Thus the German base metal ring was further defeated by another British invention.

## WEAPONS OF WAR

A British factory had a waste product consisting of calcium chloride, which was used as a source of chlorine for getting the zinc into a liquid form. The roasted ore was brought into contact with the chloride waste, with the result that the mineral in it was dissolved. An electric current was then sent through the chloride of zinc, producing 99.96 pure zinc. As at Broken Hill, Australia, there were the vastest zinc deposits in the world, the new British method of smelting and refining, which completely superseded the laborious German method of spelter-making, broke the German monopoly, and endowed the British Empire with a great key industry.

The list of conquests and reconquests in the domain of scientific warfare in the British Empire could be extended through many more pages. But it is only necessary to refer to one more key industry—the manufacture of magnesium. The Germans controlled the output of this metal, and used it largely in flares on the battle-front. The process of reducing magnesium was a British invention and had been an important British industry; but Germany had blocked British trade by tariff duties, and then used her deposits of easily-worked ore to ruin the British plant. Now the British genius for invention discovered a cheap process of dealing with refractory ores, and a large new plant was laid down capable of supplying the needs of the world. Oxide of magnesium—magnesia—is one of the most infusible of substances, for it withstands almost every practical heat except that of the electric arc, and is therefore an important element in the making of crucibles and firebricks, and is also largely required in steel-making plants.

It will thus be seen that the chemist and the metallurgist played an important part in the production and development of war material, and it was directly due to their efforts that the gunmakers were able to make such deadly and terrible weapons for the destruction of human life. Perhaps the most important weapons produced by chemists and engineers were the many types of shells, bombs and mines, and with these will have to be bracketed the various types of guns and catapults which sent them hurtling into the enemy lines.

During the early months of the war the Germans were considerably ahead of their Continental enemies in the matter of armament. They were not able to surpass Great Britain in accelerated production of naval material, but in the means of

## MORTARS AND GRENADES

rapid improvement of land warfare they excelled the French for a time and permanently eclipsed the Russians. For trench warfare the German did little more than adapt various instruments which he had already devised for special purposes in open field fighting. Some time before the war a Nuremberg fireman transformed into an incendiary device an air-pumping machine for spraying extinguishing chemicals on a fire. His invention was accepted by German military authorities, and when trench warfare began, the flame-projector was manufactured in larger quantities, with a longer-ranged jet; and for nearly a year its horrible efficacy in burning allied troops out of advanced entrenchments of high tactical value could not be countered by any weapon or instrument possessed by the British or French.

In the use of trench-mortars and hand-grenades the Germans were likewise in advance of the western Allies. They appear to have learnt from the Russians in East Prussia the value of high-explosive hand-bombs. The Russians used these missiles as weapons of open field attack against machine gun positions in farm buildings, villages, and temporary log-built barricades. Some of the German troops under General Le François, the predecessor of Hindenburg, were badly scared by the Russian method of hand-bomb attacks. Thinking that what had proved bad for them would be bad for Britain and France, the Germans quickly introduced a hand-grenade into trench warfare in the west, where the British soldier had to fight for months with jam-pots filled with explosive, and known as "Tickler's artillery," until after many experiments he was provided with the Mills bomb, which was one of the perfect things of its kind.

The British War Office should not have been slow in appreciating the value of the hand bomb, which was for a long time one of the master weapons in the battle in the west. The Germans at first went too far in increasing the weight of the hand-bombs, some of which they made so heavy that it was often impossible for the thrower to fling the missile to a sufficient distance to escape himself from the danger zone. But a British engineer, Mr. Hale, had, in 1911, found in advance a remedy for this condition of things. His invention consisted of a heavy grenade, with a long stem fitting into an ordinary rifle, and furnished with a safety device which prevented the projectile from exploding prematurely. Most of the early grenades were of a simple type arranged to explode when they struck. This

## WEAPONS OF WAR

arrangement, however, did not make them deadly enough, and various forms of time-fuses were employed, with an increasing precision of mechanism which made a perfected missile, such as the Mills bomb, a terrifying instrument of slaughter.

The grenade was further developed in weight and range by means of improvements in trench-mortars. It swelled into the large mine, fitted with feather-like devices to steady it like an arrow, which became known as an aerial torpedo. This was used at first for smashing up front-line machine gun positions and other strong works, until it was largely replaced in the British army by the bombs of various types used in the Stokes gun. This was a rapid-fire trench-mortar, remarkable both for its power and for the manner of its invention. It was designed by a civilian with no first-hand experience of the requirements of soldiers. Sir Wilfred Stokes never thought of becoming a military inventor until a relative, returning from the fighting-line during the period when the German battle machinery dominated the western field, talked about the impossibility of breaking through the opposing lines. He described all the difficulties of cutting the belts of barbed-wire that had held up Field-Marshal French's army at Neuve Chapelle and Aubers Ridge, and the depth and strength and intricacy of the German trenches, with their crossing system of machine gun fire.

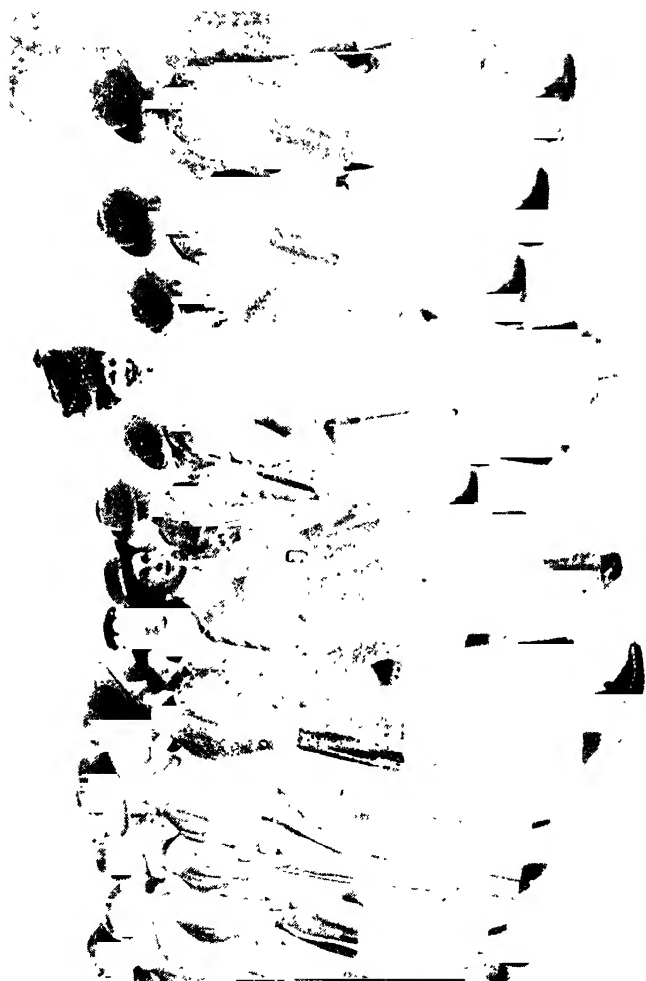
On this information Sir Wilfred devised a handy trench-gun, capable of firing large bombs as fast as they could be placed in the barrel. By good training the rate of fire was made much superior to that of the breech-loading French quick-firing gun, and as the short-range projectiles of the Stokes mortar had a far greater destructive effect than any shell from a field gun, the power of the new weapon in favouring circumstances was tremendous. The Stokes gun became one of the great instruments of victory in the British armies, and was adopted for many purposes. It could be used as a wire breaker, as a smasher of machine gun positions, as a trench breaker, a block-house destroyer, and as a projector of poison gas, burning oil, and incendiary chemicals.

Long before the Stokes gun was accepted by the military authorities the British army had the opportunity of acquiring a new firearm for which great claims were put forward. Some time before the war a Danish inventor designed a machine gun, with the weight of only 15 pounds, which was six pounds



"Daily Mirror"

**NURSE CAVELL, BRITAIN'S HEROINE.** Edith Louisa Cavell was shot by the Germans, when serving as the matron of the Ecole Belge d'Infirmières Diplômées in Brussels, on October 12, 1915. In May, 1919, her body was brought to England and buried in the precincts of Norwich Cathedral. A monument to her in St. Martin's Place, Trafalgar Square, London was unveiled in 1920.



**QUEEN MARY INSPECTS A FINE CORPS.** The Queen is here seen with Mrs. Charles Beatty, the commandant, reviewing a section of the Women's Reserve Ambulance, the Green Cross Society, at Wellington Barracks, London. Princess Mary is behind the commandant. This body of women connected the ambulance trains with the hospitals, worked in canteens, acted as guides to returned soldiers, and served in the streets during air raids.

## THE MADSEN GUN

heavier than a rifle. The new gun was really a machine-rifle, with interchangeable barrels for cooling purposes, yet it was estimated to produce a sustained fire of 1,800 rounds. Jamming, the common vice of the machine gun, was impossible. The rate of fire was 400 rounds a minute, and as the gun was almost as easy to handle as a rifle, marksmen could be taught to use it in about 12 hours, and get off 100 rounds in the time a Hotchkiss gun was preparing to get into action. Men of high practical experience maintained that 2,000 men, with the improved Madsen gun, could hold up 36,000 men on a limited front.

As early as May, 1915, Lord French was understood to have asked for Madsen guns, as a counter to the Germans' enormous increase in guns of the Maxim type, but the army council decided to do without the new weapon, and not until June, 1918, was the question of adopting the Madsen gun seriously taken up by the military authorities at home. In the meantime the military authorities of Germany had begun to make some Madsen guns, although they also had shown some unreadiness to appreciate the new weapon at the value placed upon it by its advocates. German commanders in the field were most anxious to obtain a lighter and handier machine gun than their Maxim type. In 1916 General Sixt von Armin, during the 1st battle of the Somme, earnestly begged for a lighter machine gun; but, when he took over the defences of the Passchendaele Ridge, Armin obtained only an ordinary modification of the German Maxim.

Meanwhile, a substitute for the Danish weapon was found in the weapon designed by Colonel Lewis, of the United States Army, and vainly submitted by him to the Great Powers of Europe in the days before the war. Fortunately, the Birmingham Small Arms company took up the Lewis gun, which consisted of a modified rifle barrel, firing cartridges from a revolving drum. The entire mechanism weighed 28½ pounds, against the 68 pounds of the Vickers gun, the 28 pounds of the Hotchkiss gun, and the 15 pounds of the Madsen gun. The sustained rate of fire of the Lewis gun was not remarkable, owing to the time lost in putting on new drums; but the handiness and lightness of the instrument made it very serviceable, especially during an advance and the organization of the captured ground against the usual counter-attack.

The light Lewis gun became the favourite weapon of the British airman, against the Parabellum gun of German pilots

## WEAPONS OF WAR

British and French commanders preferred to keep, as a rule, to low-velocity shooting. By so doing they not only lengthened the life of their long-range guns and saved cordite for bombarding the Germans' infantry and artillery positions, but they avoided ranging upon German billeting places, where French and Belgian people were living. The Germans employed high-velocity guns in continually increasing numbers, because they reckoned that the waste of their material was more than balanced by the moral effect of the swift, unexpected shells upon the civilian population behind the hostile lines. After bombarding with high-velocity guns many quiet, busy towns that formerly seemed to be out of their range, the Germans in March, 1918, won a grandiose yet easy triumph by means of an expensive Krupp gun designed for very long-distance firing.

Again there was nothing novel in the Germans' piece. The French Government constructed secretly a somewhat similar long-distance gun in 1902, in connexion with some researches. Extreme care was taken to keep both the experiments and the valuable deductions therefrom unknown to other Powers; but apparently German agents discovered something of what was going on. The Krupp firm then built an experimental long-distance gun, purely for the purpose of scientific research. When, however, the aggressive plans of the German high command were revealed to the armament makers, the directors of Krupp constructed, some time before the war, three long-distance guns, for which they asked an enormous price.

In the late autumn of 1914, when the lines of the parallel battle in the west were fixed, a suggestion was made that Paris should be bombarded from some point above the Aisne. General von Falkenhayn, however, did not think the result would be worth the expense. There was another consideration. The highly-skilled labour, powerful machinery, and valuable material that Krupps proposed to expend in the manufacture of long-distance guns could all be better employed in the construction of more numerous ordinary heavy pieces of great and direct military importance. When, later in the war, Krupps produced the long-range gun, it was made with the object of directing it against England as well as against France. Its grand target was the mind of the uninformed English public. This was why the first long-distance high-velocity shells were fired when the British 5th Army was breaking. It was intended that the English people

## ILLUMINATING DEVICES

should be dismayed by the prospect of losing the command of the Channel narrows, and the nightmare possibility of having the fire of hundreds of new Krupp guns raking the Kentish ports, the Kentish towns, and falling into London.

All through the war the Germans had been energetic in the production and employment of illuminating devices, such as Verey lights and other flares, rockets, electric beams, and star-shells. They could turn profound gloom into dazzling brilliance at a time when British military authorities, being unable to get sufficient British searchlights, were ordering them from loyal German-American optical instrument makers. The German industrial supremacy in optical glass, electric appliances, and chemical products of fine quality was of high importance in all the visual machinery of the battlefield. Long did it take the British army to win to something like a partial equality in powers of vision. In the meantime the Germans developed their trench periscope into a giant observation tube, manufactured great telescopes, and improved their range-finders. Their gunnery became excellent, not only on land but at sea.

The events of the first phase of the battle of Jutland, when Hipper was retreating from the superior forces of Admiral Beatty, were a rather staggering display of the increased power of vision which the Germans obtained by means of their superiority in optical devices. The range finding of the German battle-cruiser squadron more than stood comparison with the gunnery of the larger British cruiser squadron, because between the Dogger Bank action and the Jutland action the Germans much improved their instruments.

At the opening of the battle of the Somme the new national armies of Great Britain were not quite so good in gunnery as had been expected. Neither in counter-battery work nor in the destruction of entrenched positions was the shooting generally exact. On the other hand the German gunners, although losing most of their observation balloons, maintained their ranges with deadly effect, due not only to experience but to perfected instruments of observation concealed in the western hillsides. This very serious defect in British material of war was gradually remedied, yet in the spring of 1918 the Germans were again leading in a novel method of observation. They merely developed the parachute flare which they had first employed for ordinary night work. They made it larger and stronger, used

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more illuminating material, and dropped the flares at night from reconnoitring aeroplanes. This was the way in which they solved the problem of nocturnal reconnaissance flights over large stretches of camouflaged country. They invented the proflam and they also found the solution to it. To the energy of mind with which they applied themselves to these matters of detail their successes in March, April, and May, 1918, was largely due.

In regard to artillery the Germans and Austrians began with a marked superiority over the French and the Russians. This superiority was an intellectual affair rather than a display of productiveness. The German and Austrian staffs perceived the possibilities of aeroplane control of long-range siege-guns. Using at first only slow machine, dropping smoke-bomb signals, they were yet able to devise ways for registering their large guns upon important targets. Their armament firms constructed for them siege-howitzers of very large calibre, the most important of which were the Skoda 12 in. howitzer, the Krupp 16.8 in. howitzer, and the long-distance Krupp weapon. With these powerful new instruments of destruction the Germans changed their view of the value of ordinary fortified entrenched camps. The French staff, on the other hand, though aware of the existence of the new hostile howitzers, were of opinion that their fine, light, handy 3 in. quick-firer, with its wonderful secret principle of construction, would defeat the Germans in the open field, while they were wasting time and force in siege operations.

The rival theories were put fully to the test at the battle of the Marne, in circumstances favouring the western Allies. Belgium and France lost some of their entrenched positions far more rapidly than they had expected, and some French armies suffered severe local reverses which disarranged the plan of General Joffre. These accidents, however, did not alter the execution of the main scheme for an offensive return by the Allies. But in the critical week the French quick-firer, in spite of its superb qualities, could not decisively prevail against the more cumbersome, heavy German artillery, even when it was running short of shell.

The French manœuvring wing, under General Maunoury, was severely checked by the long-range, medium heavy German ordnance, with the result that, although the French quick-firer broke the German centre, the Germans were able not only to retreat in good order, but to take up a position of magnificent strength from which they immediately resumed the offensive.

## A FRENCH GUN

They were finally checked by the unparalleled rate of fire of the much-abused British Lee-Enfield rifle which, in spite of its shorter barrel and inferior penetrative power, proved in the hands of marksmen the finest rifle of the European battlefield with unequalled rapidity of aimed fire. If the French had possessed such a rifle, instead of their old-fashioned magazine Lebel—their “.75” quick-firer might have been sufficient to achieve the victory that hung in the balance in the autumn of 1914 and for years afterwards.

Although the Germans captured some hundreds of French guns in August, 1914, it took them nearly two years to make a gun with similar qualities. The reason for this was that when a French gun was taken to pieces the secret of its construction vanished. There was an hydraulic device to take the recoil, and a pneumatic recuperator that used the recoil to bring the barrel back to its exact position. The two were combined in a liquid and an empty space. But the empty space was full of air, occupying a part of the mechanism in which there were no joints. The joints occurred in the part where the liquid rested, because it was fairly easy to make waterproof joints but extremely difficult to make joints permanently tight against a strong air pressure. The liquid and air acted by means of a single piston rod, with a simplicity that concealed an immense ingenuity.

The progress in the efficiency of guns and explosives on land applied also to the sea. The great naval guns gradually improved as the war went on, their fire became more accurate as the range finding methods were improved, and the projectiles which they used increased in explosive power. Some of the large 16 in. guns used by the navy fired projectiles weighing no less than 2,250 pounds, while even larger shells were used by the 18 in. guns with which some of the monitors were armed. Little needs to be said about the smaller guns of the British Navy, but a few facts concerning a few of them are of interest. The 9.2 in. fired a projectile of 380 pounds. The 6 in. guns discharged 10 aimed rounds of 100 pounds per minute, and there were also 5.5 in., 4.7 in. and 4 in. semi-automatic guns. Another was the 4 in. high-angle fire gun, for anti-aircraft work.

During the war several new types of gun were introduced, including a 12 in. which was mounted in some of the larger submarines. Others were the 11 in. and 7.5 in. howitzers, a 10 in. muzzle-loading bomb-thrower for use against submarines, and a

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" Y " gun for rapid firing of bombs, loading alternately at one breech and the other.

Another weapon employed with considerable effect by the navies of all the belligerent Powers was the torpedo. First invented in 1870 by a man named Whitehead, this is divided into three sections: the head, containing the charge and the firing gear; the main body, containing compressed air to drive the engines; and the engines in a compartment in the tail. The charge of T.N.T. or wet guncotton was exploded when the nose struck the target. This weapon was used in great quantities by the German navy in their submarine campaign. Although generally fired from submarines, it was also used by all naval craft, and, latterly, by seaplanes.

The depth charge, which was produced by the British Admiralty after experiments carried out in the engineering department of Manchester University, was used with some success against hostile submarines. It consisted of a drum, filled with a high-explosive charge, usually amatol, and the firing mechanism was actuated by the pressure of the water. On some boats the charges were simply dropped overboard from a tray at the stern, in others a gun similar to the trench mortar was employed to throw the charge about 150 yards clear. In either case the object was to form a ring of exploding charges round the spot at which the submarine was thought to be, the mechanism being set to function at the estimated depth of the enemy. These weapons were effective if one exploded within 75 yards of its target.

The use of mines in the Great War was not by any means a new idea, but great improvements were carried out on the original designs, making them far more efficient and destructive. Mines were first employed by the Americans in 1776, but without success. They were used in the Crimean war and the American civil war, in which last struggle nine U.S. warships were destroyed and four damaged by them. In the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5) they brought about the loss of several ships, but it was not until the Great War that they were used to any great extent. The German mines were metal cases containing from 50 to 450 pounds of high explosive. They were moored to the bottom by a cable, so adjusted that the mine automatically " took up " the intended depth of from 20 to 30 feet below the surface. The mines were laid in a line or in an area, and detonation was caused by a ship striking a horn on the mine.

## SEA AND LAND MINES

In the British navy the mines at the outset were defective, often failed to "take up" the proper depth or to explode, and contained too small a charge. Later in the war, however, they were transformed and so improved that they became most deadly, inflicting on Germany a loss during 1917-18 of about 100 vessels in the Bight of Heligoland alone. Barrages of mines were used extensively in the latter stages of the war to shut in the U-boats, and when used for this purpose they were laid at a considerable depth.

Land mines were also employed to some extent, particularly for defence against tanks. They consisted of heavy charges of high explosives buried in the ground, and so arranged that the passage of a heavy weight over them would cause an explosion. In the attack on the Hindenburg line on September 29, 1918, ten American tanks were destroyed by passing over an old and forgotten tank minefield.

In connexion with sea mines an interesting device was invented by Lieutenant Burney, and to this British ships owed their comparative immunity from mines and submarines during the closing months of the war. In appearance, this invention, called the paravane, was like a torpedo. It was a metal contrivance fitted with a high-explosive charge of T.N.T. which was towed from the ship and dived when a wire was pulled. It was equipped with an ingenious rudder for maintaining a fixed depth. If the wire by which the paravane was towed touched a submarine's hull or a mine cable, it slipped along it until the paravane itself touched the obstruction and exploded.

This invention was also used for cutting mine cables. When used for this purpose the instrument was not fitted with explosive, but instead was equipped with a heavy cutter bracket containing a serrated knife edge, by which the mine mooring line was severed. Paravanes of this kind were used in pairs towed one on either side of the ship by wires. The hydrovanes were so formed that, when the tow line became taut the machine submerged to a determined depth, and was steered at a proper distance from the side of the ship. A pair of paravanes, running one on each beam of a ship, gave it complete immunity from anchored mines. The Germans never learned the secret of the paravane, but they must have suspected some new and formidable device, as they practically ceased mine-laying, and from

## WEAPONS OF WAR

September, 1918, and onwards only two light cruisers were struck by mines, one of them in the Baltic after the armistice.

A large number of the weapons and devices described in this chapter were merely improvements carried out on things existing before the war, but the struggle was directly responsible not only for the development and improvement of these weapons, but also for new and hitherto unknown inventions. The British race showed far more genius than any other nation in striking out into unexplored regions of power, and devising machinery more novel than the shrapnel shell which made for victory at Waterloo. In the autumn of 1914, when the power of the machine gun was clearly displayed, several British officers found inspiration in a short story by Mr. H. G. Wells, concerning a travelling armoured fortress. Colonel R. E. Crompton, of the Royal Engineers, began to work directly on Mr. Wells's idea, and even employed the Diplock pedrail, which had been an important feature in the land battleship of the brilliant novelist. The pedrail mechanism, however, could not overcome the obstacle of the deeply-dug German trench system.

In the autumn of 1914, Colonel Swinton, an officer of the Royal Engineers, put before the secretary of the Committee of Imperial Defence a scheme to develop the endless wheel or caterpillar movement such as was employed on two American agricultural tractors, the Holt and the Killen-Strait, and thereby produce an armoured machine which could lead assaults and destroy machine gun posts. As a result of this interview Colonel Swinton took the matter up with the G.H.Q. in France, and with Lord Kitchener, but in neither case did it lead to any result.

Mr. Winston Churchill, who was then at the Admiralty, took up the idea, and while Colonel Swinton and Colonel Stern were stubbornly persisting in improving the design, the then First Lord of the Admiralty brought Mr. Tennyson d'Eyncourt, the inventive naval constructor, into the affair. The travelling fort was armoured according to the best naval practice, fitted with a Daimler engine, and entrusted for manufacture to Foster, Tritton & Company, who worked out many of the practical details. It is thus impossible to say who was the inventor. The tank was a collective production of the unexhausted British genius in practical invention.

Unhappily, the new chariots of war, at their first appearance, were sent into action in small number, with crews who do not

## THE TANKS

appear to have been given time to complete their training. The effect they created, when hurriedly employed to reinforce the British attack upon Courcelles, Martinpuich, and Le Sars, was merely the shadow of the victory that might have been won by them. Sir Julian Byng was the commander who best perceived the possibilities of the mobile fort. Although he failed to turn the Sensée river line from Bournon Ridge, he revealed for the first time, in November, 1917, the full and surprising power of the new machine.

Meanwhile, the French army had adopted the new car of assault, and their engineers had constructed a more rapid kind than was first used by General Nivelle in April, 1917, in the attempt to break through to Laon. British designers also made a lighter, faster tank, of which large numbers were secretly collected behind the British front in March, 1918. The new light tank differed in shape from the old heavy tank, and with its turret action and its surprising rapidity, served somewhat as a real land cruiser in the battles west of Amiens. The German tank, called the land cruiser, was too closely modelled in constructional principle upon the heavy type of British machine to act as a veritable cruising force. It was rather a land battleship, and with its low turret and its armour descending almost to the ground, it looked like a great, hump-backed tortoise. It had the tortoise-like quality of slowness, and in spite of its formidable armament of cannon, machine guns, flame-projectors, with anti-gas devices enabling it to cross a poison fume zone, the German land cruiser that appeared at Villers-Bretonneux on April 24, 1918, was defeated by the new British tank.

The improved French tank completely displayed its remarkable battle power during the great counter-attack of June 11, 1918, on the German lines south-east of Montdidier. More than 100 of the machines charged in advance of the French infantry, and at comparatively slight cost in casualties proved more effective than an artillery barrage in breaking the Germans' resistance, surprising them in the midst of preparations for another hammer-blow in the direction of Paris, and bringing their new offensive to a standstill. The recapture of the Méry plateau was a supreme triumph of the fast French tank.

By the summer of 1918 the tank was in somewhat the same stage of development as was the aeroplane in the autumn of 1914. It was a thing changing in type and in manner of use, full of

## WEAPONS OF WAR

defects and virtues. Petrol motor-power was a serious disadvantage, by reason of the danger of fire, and an improved oil-engine of equal efficiency was urgently required. The heat in the fighting chambers, closed during action save for swift glances through peep-holes, was very trying. With the engine working at top power, the quick-firers flaming out as fast as they could be loaded, and all the machine guns barraging the ground to protect the advancing infantry behind the tanks, life was more exciting than pleasant in the narrow, complicated interior of a modern chariot of war.

While both the British and French tanks developed qualities superior to those of the German tank, the armoured motor car suddenly became a mighty instrument in the hands of the French. To M. Loucheur, the new French Minister of Munitions, the resurgence in force of the motor-car seems to have largely been due. In desert battles on the North-Western Egyptian frontier, and along the Middle Euphrates and the tributaries of the Tigris, General Lukin and General Marshall won a series of remarkable victories by means of lightly armoured motor-cars, equipped with machine guns and piloted by aeroplanes. It became clear that the armoured car was a magnificent cavalry instrument on suitable ground, and the French cavalry was strengthened by numerous cars of a light and heavy type. The light type carried machine-guns, and the heavy was equipped with quick-firing cannon. Attending the cars were motor-bicycles with a single machine-gun, such as had generally been used in open warfare.

Although France for long led the way in the development of the scouting aeroplane in trench warfare, the Germans were ahead of all other nations in the technique of the production of large rigid airships. They were repaid for all the work done on the Zeppelin and the Schütte-Lanz by the power of reconnaissance they won in the North Sea and the Baltic. Not only did German airships act as rapid scouts to battle-cruiser forces and battle divisions, but they became, and long remained, excellent pilots for enemy submarines during the difficult traverse of the dangerous stretch of water between Germany, Denmark, Scandinavia, and Scotland. One of the merits of the large naval airship was that it afforded a steady platform for wireless apparatus that was powerful enough to receive as well as send out long-distance messages.

## AEROPLANES AND AIRSHIPS

The motive power of the German airship was derived from engines, such as the Maybach or Mercédès, developed in German motor-car practice. Britain possessed, in such motors as the Rolls-Royce and the Coatalen-Sunbeam, prime movers as capable of improvement for aerial propulsion as were the German engines.

During the first year of the war, however, the British nation had to rely upon the French for the engining of the speediest aeroplanes used by the British army. The Gnome, the Le Rhône, and the Clerget were remarkable types of French aeromotors of varying power. The Green, the Beardmore, the Coatalen-Sunbeam, and the Rolls-Royce were fine examples of British designs. The Germans paid the Le Rhône the compliment of imitation, using a copy of it in the best chaser aeroplanes in the winter of 1917 and the spring of 1918. They also profited much by one of the earliest examples of the new Rolls-Royce aeromotor. The German emperor, indeed, is said to have admitted that, if his engineers had not examined the Rolls-Royce lubricating device, the construction of giant German bombing machines, with the power of long-distance flight at high altitudes, would have been impossible.

In aeroplane production the Germans began with the advantage of a policy of preparation. They had fostered the erection of factories even by some British manufacturers, calculating justly that they would be serviceable centres for expansion during war. Their great motor-car works, such as the Mercédès and Benz, became aeromotor producers on a great scale, and brilliant foreign designers, such as the Dutchman Fokker, were more encouraged by the Germans than by any of the Allies. At first, however, the German machines were overtaken by British pilots armed with rifles and using chain-shot and other missiles. But the superior organization of the Germans told on the aerial situation, and, in spite of the better designs of the best British and French manufacturers, they gradually won for considerable periods a predominance in aerial material. For example, a French pilot, M. Garros, invented a method of firing a machine-gun forward through the propeller, by means of synchronisation of gun and engine. Both his machine and his firing method were adopted by the Germans who turned out copies in extraordinary numbers, and by means of them reigned in the sky.

The Handley Page machine became the inspiration for the Germans' large bombing aeroplanes, such as the Gotha. From

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the Italian Caproni load-carrier, with its multiple engines, the Germans also obtained ideas, and when bomb-dropping operations increased greatly in direct military importance the size of both allied and German multiple-engined cargo-carriers became enormous. At the same time, sheer speed in aerial flight was more especially developed in the light, chaser, or fighting machines, which gradually changed from monoplanes to biplanes, and then to triplanes, like the Sopwith and its Fokker copy used by Captain Baron von Richthofen. A pace of two miles a minute was soon attained, with remarkable climbing, and manœuvring power. Then, under the pressure of German attempts to recover superiority in aerial battle machinery, the marvellous progress in allied design and output was surpassed.

After considerable disappointing delay United States engineers realised their plan for a tremendous, standardised manufacture of a powerful aeromotor, and began to specialise in bombing machines, rumours of which soon disturbed the people of western and southern Germany. In the meantime, British and French designers proceeded further to improve their fastest machines, while building giant cargo-carriers and long-distance submarine-hunting seaplanes. Within the space of less than four years there took place a revolution in aircraft similar to that which it had taken centuries to produce in seacraft.

The great airship, of which the Zeppelin was the best example, was abruptly reduced to a position in regard to the flying machine similar to that which the sailing ship occupied in regard to the steamship, after Mr. John Pomeroy had finely distinguished himself by the production of a special missile against German airships, which gave the smaller, swifter flying machine a grand advantage in attack. When provided with multiple engines and an enormous stretch of sustaining surface, the heavier-than-air machine excelled the floating gasbag. Essentially its chief factor of danger, the inflammability of its material, was lessened. In some makes woodwork was almost entirely displaced by steel and other metal work, until only the dope-varnished linen fabric and the petrol fuel were liable to be set on fire by incendiary missiles. The petrol appeared to be the only inevitable flaming peril, as there were means of making the covering material of the planes non-inflammable.

Yet as the machines increased in speed of travel and climb, range of action, carrying capacity, and machine gunfire power,

## AIRCRAFT PROGRESS

the land defence against the new aerial fleets also augmented in scope and strength. The development of the anti-aircraft gun and its projectiles and manner of employment were almost as wonderful as the evolution of the giant bomber. For example, the aerial barrage which protected the vast, straggling streets of London was one of the grand improvisations of the war, which, in conjunction with a force of counter-attacking aeroplanes, achieved an astonishing success.

Under the urge of military necessity the rate of progress was speeded up to such an extent that what, in normal times, would take a lifetime to accomplish was done during the four years of the war. The best minds in the world rallied to the standard of war; peaceful scientists, bent on helping mankind by their discoveries, left their work and devised means for the destruction of their fellow-men, and engineers manufacturing useful articles turned their factories into armouries. No mention has been made in this chapter of the terrible effect of the various war machines upon the combatants. Poison gas fumes caused many to die in agony, while to others the blessing of death was denied, leaving them to suffer to the end of their lives. The explosives, too, although more humane than some of the death-dealing gases, brought about untold suffering to the men engaged in the battle. Terrible wounds were inflicted by their agency, and millions of lives were sacrificed by them to the cause of war.

Most of the discoveries so ingeniously applied to the destruction of mankind could be turned to his benefit. The discovery of a new metal could be used to make a motor-car, just as it could form part of a heavy gun; the aeroplane which carried its load of death-dealing bombs could be far better employed on some peaceful errand, and the chemicals used for the manufacture of the most dreadful gases could be more humanely employed in the production of some useful dye or healing medicine.

The terrible armoury of war, made at the price of millions of lives, commanded, as has been said, the most inventive brains in the world. What an amount of good might have resulted if these minds had been cooperated in peaceful channels for the benefit of the human race!

## CHAPTER 18

# Home Defence

**I**N war every hostile act by the enemy must be guarded against and though in 1914 the difficulties in the way of an enemy landing on any point of the British Isles seemed to be insuperable, adequate precautions had to be taken against the remote possibility of invasion.

In 1911 Mr. R. B. Haldane, secretary of state for war, declared that the committee of imperial defence had come to the conclusion that invasion by any large force—he mentioned the figure of over 70,000—was impossible. Since the landing of William the Conqueror there had been no attempt at an invasion of Britain which assumed larger proportions than a raid. Scandinavian sea-rovers had landed on the East Coast. Some sporadic French incursions by small bodies afterwards aimed at burning the Cinque Ports and shipping; but, after the Norman Conquest, the next serious attempt was that of the Spanish Armada, which was utterly defeated by the Blue Water School of sailors—Drake, Howard, and Grenville—who anticipated the maxim of Nelson that attempts at invasion must be foiled on the sea.

In 1797 a French force of about 15,000 men, under Generals Hoche and Grouchy, headed for Bantry Bay to make a landing in Ireland, for the conversion of that country into a republic. But it failed under pressure of the elements; and when, in the same year, another and a smaller French force landed at Fishguard, in Pembrokeshire, it was forced to capitulate; and this was the last time that the soil of Britain had been trodden by the foot of an invader. Apart from these smaller invasions there had been since the Norman Conquest something like fifty successful small raids on our shores—by French, Dutch, Spaniards, and others—though momentary success attended them only from the fact of their having been in the nature of surprises, and therefore unopposed. Napoleon's invasion was rendered impossible when his fleet was defeated at Trafalgar.

On the other hand Lord Roberts was of the opinion that Great Britain could not consider herself altogether safe from such a

## MOTOR VOLUNTEER CORPS

danger, and this was one of the reasons why he consistently advocated the introduction of a system of national military service. The British navy and army had in the past proved again and again that a landing on an enemy shore was not impossible, and they did so once more during the Great War, at Gallipoli. The War Office had never lost sight of the fact that it might be necessary to mass an army on the coast to repel an invasion, and as far back as 1909 it made an experiment designed to test the possibility of carrying troops to the coast in motor-cars. In March of that year a composite battalion of the Guards was taken from London to Hastings by a fleet of about three hundred private motor-cars in less than three hours. In this instance some of the cars could carry half-a-dozen men, but lorries could carry thirty or more, and the difference of speed was not material.

As an auxiliary to home defence, on the outbreak of war the organization of this new means of transport soon began to take form throughout the country. In the London area several motor volunteer corps quickly took shape, such as the County of Middlesex motor volunteer corps, the county of London motor volunteer corps, and the city of London motor volunteer corps. At a London dinner, in the spring of 1918, to celebrate the second anniversary of the motor transport volunteers, Sir J. Lister-Kaye, the president, said the corps had a strength of 520 men and 433 vehicles. They had conveyed 668,000 men of the forces who had come to London on leave or were returning to the front. In 1916 they carried men by hundreds; by 1918 they transported them by thousands, the weekly average being from 10,000 to 15,000. The corps then formed part of the recognized volunteer force for the defence of the country.

This motor-transport movement quickly spread to the counties, in response to the private appeal from the Army Council, which expressed the wish that the owner of every commercial motor-car should enrol his vehicles in a recognized motor volunteer corps for use in the event of threatened invasion and for occasional work in connexion with the transportation of troops and material. There were few or no counties which had not provided themselves with M.V.C., consisting of motor transport sections and companies, or groups of sections. Each of these county M.V.C. was given its commanding officer, who was subject to the county commandant of volunteers the

## HOME DEFENCE

whole being under the general supervision of the Territorial Force Association of the county which continued to act, as before the war, as a sort of organizing agency for recruiting. On the creation of this national network of M.V.C. Viscount French had mainly set his heart.

At a motor-volunteer meeting in the city of London, on November 6, 1917, Viscount French said, with a special eye to the Volunteer Force and its motor auxiliaries:

When emergency arises, the motor volunteers will be fully organized to take up at once the transport duties of the volunteer forces. For such a force as the volunteers, and for such objects as they have to attain in case of invasion, mobility is the one great essential, and it is to the motor volunteers that we look to provide them with that mobility. It may, indeed, be justly said that the motor volunteers are absolutely essential to the effective defence of these islands in case of threatened or actual invasion.

The latest regulations governing the use of motor-vehicles will seriously affect the motor volunteer corps unless owners of motor-vehicles agree to the recommendations which we are putting forward. The new rules lay down that licences will only be granted where cars and drivers are placed at the disposal of the military authorities for use in the event of national emergency. . . .

The motor volunteer corps is absolutely essential to the maintenance of a volunteer force in this country, if that force is to be kept useful and efficient.

Passing from the motor volunteers to the force itself, which they were intended to supplement and subserve, the commander-in-chief said:

During the present year [1917] the use and efficiency of the volunteer force have been greatly enhanced and increased. I do not quite see how we can undertake the defence of the country now without the volunteers. I very much regret that there are still people who sneer and jeer at them, and say they are playing at soldiers. I hope everyone will try his utmost to discourage that foolish kind of talk—these ridiculous and unpatriotic ideas. It is nothing less than wicked to give expression to them, and I cannot find words too strong to condemn them. It was reserved for the present war for the Volunteer to show what he was made of. They stood between this country and disaster. It is our patriotic duty to support the Volunteers to the utmost of our power, and encourage

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them in the work which they may have to perform. Do not make any mistake about it, they may have to perform the work.

Speaking at Chertsey a little later in the same year, Sir Edward Hutton—the organizer of mounted infantry—who had commanded the militia of the Dominion of Canada, as well as organized and directed the military forces of Australia—laid the greatest stress on the value of the citizen-soldiers, saying that “very effort should be made to swell the numbers of our volunteers up to 500,000 or 750,000, and thus constitute a splendid home defence force. A huge force of volunteers would be the salvation of this country, and would have more effect on our enemies than anything else.”

The forces available for home defence may be grouped under three general heads:

- (a) The volunteers.
- (b) Men under training for the front, including Dominion troops.
- (c) Men on leave from the front, of whom, for example, there were some 600,000 during the last four months of 1917, or an average of over 150,000 for each month.

Someone having complained that soldiers on leave from the front were compelled to carry their full trench kit with them, it was officially explained that this was necessary for a military reason of the first importance. The soldier on leave would, in the case of invasion or threatened invasion, be called upon to take the field at once. The volunteers who may be said to have formed the largest and most permanent element of home defence, were drawn from several sources:

- (a) Old territorials, who had not in one or another capacity gone to the front.
- (b) National reservists, as they were called, consisting of veterans in any combatant force of the crown.
- (c) Home service employment companies.
- (d) Men composing the national guard and royal defence corps.

The last-named body, which was created in April, 1916, consisted mainly of old soldiers invalided from the fighting fronts. They were utilized principally for guard duties at camps for prisoners of war and for the protection of vulnerable points such

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as railways and bridges. At the head of the volunteers was placed the duke of Connaught, as colonel-in-chief, and at one of his first inspections—in Somerset—he said the volunteers were resuming their old importance—the importance they used to have before the territorial force was formed. It was especially for the defence of their country, in case of attack, that the volunteers were required, and he assured them that the War Office and the government attached great importance to their number and efficiency. Under the Volunteer Act of December, 1916, volunteering became a more serious thing than it had ever been before. The great majority of the men were now, to all intents and purposes, trained soldiers. They were well grounded in drill, musketry, trench digging, and bombing, while many specialised in machine and Lewis gunnery.

It may be well to quote the clause of the Act defining the status of the volunteer:

(1) The King may accept the offer of any member of a volunteer corps to enter into an agreement for the duration of the war.

(2) A breach of such agreement is an offence (equivalent to absence without leave) under the Army Act.

(3) A volunteer, while employed or engaged under the terms of such agreement, is subject to military law.

On the passing (April, 1918) of the Act raising the age of military service to fifty, some little apprehension was felt lest the absorption into the army of the volunteers thus made available for oversea service should tend to deplete and almost skeletonize the volunteer force. But a corrective to this cause of diminution was promptly devised by the House of Lords, who inserted a clause in the Bill providing that every man granted a certificate of exemption should join the volunteer force for the period of the war.

As inferential proof of the resources of British man power of various kinds available for home defence—apart from the volunteers—it may be mentioned that after the reverse to the 5th army in the Somme region on the launching by the Germans of their great offensive on March 21, 1918, reinforcements to the number of something like 240,000 men were rushed across the English Channel, at the rate—said Marquis Curzon in the House of Lords—of 30,000 per day—a rate of transport, as Mr. Lloyd George added in the House of Commons, which had never

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before been reached—and this without impairing home defensive power. On British resources in this respect considerable light was thrown by the various reports of the select committee on national expenditure, which began to be issued towards the end of 1917. In the first of these it was stated:

A great expenditure is being incurred through the maintenance of very large forces in the United Kingdom. . . . Whether the number of army units maintained at home, having regard to the existence of the volunteer force, is excessive or not, is a military question on which your committee can express no opinion; but we are impressed by the magnitude of the number.

The second report, issued December 13, 1917, contained this reference to military expenditure:

That expenditure, excluding the cost of men in hospitals or convalescent establishments, is not less than two-thirds of the present cost of the Navy, including construction and all auxiliary services. Besides these forces there are in the United Kingdom at any one time some tens of thousands of fully-trained men, home on leave from the armies in France, who are required to bring their equipment with them so that they could be called up to strengthen existing units in the event of any attempted invasion. There are, further, considerable numbers, as a rule, of Dominion troops in this country under training.

The main object of the home defence force was to prevent foreign aggression, but it also served the subsidiary purpose of coping with domestic insurrection. It had to do this in the case of the Irish Rebellion, and proved fully equal to the emergency. The Sinn Fein outbreak of 1916 took place at 12.15 p.m. on Easter Monday, April 24, and by 5.20 p.m. on the same day a considerable force from the Curragh had reached Dublin to reinforce the garrison there, whilst other troops were on their way from Athlone, Belfast, and Templemore. "The celerity with which those reinforcements became available," wrote Lord French in his despatch on the subject, "says much for the arrangements which had been made to meet such a contingency. I was informed [at the Horse Guards] of the outbreak by wire on the afternoon of the same day (April 24), and the 59th division at St. Albans was at once put under orders to proceed to Ireland. . . ." Two of the brigades actually reached Dublin within the next two days.

## HOME DEFENCE

Concluding his despatch—covering that of General Sir J. G. Maxwell, the new commander-in-chief in Ireland, detailing the suppression of the outbreak—the field-marshal begged :

To bring to your notice the assistance afforded to me by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, who met every request made to them for men, guns, and transport with the greatest promptitude, and whose action enabled me to reinforce and maintain the garrisons in the south and west of Ireland without unduly drawing upon the troops which it was desirable to retain in England.

In another despatch, reviewing his first year of office at the Horse Guards, Lord French, in alluding to the rising at Dublin, wrote: " I will only add that both in England and in Ireland the military arrangements for its suppression proved everywhere adequate, and reflect great credit on all concerned. At the same time, from the German point of view, this Sinn Féin rising at Easter, 1916, undoubtedly had the effect of causing the government to increase the garrisons in Ireland, and thus lock up, or immobilise, troops urgently needed at the front.

Several letters having appeared in the press suggesting that Sir Robert Baden-Powell should organize the Boy Scouts to take part in some form of coast-watching under government approval, the chief scout hastened to reply: " I may say that the practical idea thus suggested has been in operation, by coastguards, sea scouts, and fishermen working together under the direction of the admiral commanding coastguard and reserves, ever since the outbreak of war, from John o' Groat's to Land's End."

Hitherto, in treating of home defence, reference has been made only to invasion by an armed force. But dangers threatened from the sea as well as from the air, without any actual landing of the enemy. That a surprise descent—on a small scale, at least—was possible seemed to be proved by the frequency with which the Germans in the first four years of the war succeeded in bombarding the English coast from submarines as well as surface ships, though without ever doing serious military damage, as the attacks were invariably directed on undefended places such as Scarborough, Whitby, the Hartlepoons, and Yarmouth.

In his book, *Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Mahan anticipated these raids. He says:

The control of the sea, however real, does not imply that an enemy's single ships or small squadrons cannot steal out of

## SPECIAL CONSTABLES

port, cannot cross a more or less frequented ocean, making harassing descents upon unprotected points of a long coastline, enter blockaded harbours. On the contrary, history has shown that such evasions are always possible to some extent to the weaker party, however great the inequality of naval strength.

Yarmouth was bombarded three times up to the beginning of 1918—in November, 1914, on April 25, 1916, the day after the Sinn Fein outbreak in Dublin, and again in January, 1918, when several destroyers threw a score of shells into the town and then all scathless made their escape.

German submarines made similar attacks at Whitehaven, on the Cumberland coast, in August, 1915, Seaham, in Durham, Southwold, Scarborough, Funchal, in Madeira, Bayonne, in the Bay of Biscay, Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, and even at Dover, when, soon after midnight on February 16, 1918, a German submarine opened fire on the leading British port of entry, and rained shells on it for several minutes. "The shore batteries replied," reported Lord French next day, "and the enemy ceased fire after discharging about thirty rounds."

Voluntary service of great value was also performed by the special constables. It was on the day following the outbreak of war that the commissioner of police, Sir Edward Henry, decided to create a special constabulary force, and deputed Sir Edward Ward as his chief of staff to organize it. The need for special constables to which the war gave rise differed considerably from that of all previous occasions in history upon which they had been used. All previous enrolments of special constables had been temporary in character and restricted in area to places wherein some special circumstances, such as strikes or riots, threatened the public peace. Such occasions had been few in number.

The war created a demand for police that was quite without precedent. In the first place, the existing police forces of the country (which had never been too great for the onerous work they performed) had been suddenly deprived of the services of all their reservists, both navy and army. These forces had been recruited very largely from men discharged from the fighting services. Whether this was wise or not is doubtful, but even if unwise it was certainly natural, for in the soldiers and sailors who had left the service chief constables and local authorities found policemen almost ready made—men who by

## HOME DEFENCE

physical fitness, training, and habits of discipline and responsibility were eminently suitable for the duties of police constable. The recall of these men to the army and navy caused great gaps. In the second place, the police forces of the country, thus denuded of many men, were faced with a great accession of duties over and above those they had normally performed. Many of these duties were of a quasi-military nature, such as the guarding of vulnerable points, bridges, waterworks, gasometers, grain warehouses, canals, and the like.

At the outbreak of war it was a vital need that this duty should be done. The country contained an enormous number of alien enemies, German and Austrian, and other aliens, some of whom were undoubtedly active enemy agents. To have left vulnerable points unprotected until such time as proper arrangements had been made for classifying these aliens and ensuring that they were not in a position to do the country harm would have been a fatal neglect. Yet the existing police were far too few to have undertaken these protective duties, and of soldiery there were not enough for active service in the field, let alone for duty at home. As the war developed, bringing new dangers and needs, and new regulations to meet them, the list of duties falling to the police grew apace. It is not too much to say, in fact, that of the many new orders and regulations for public welfare at home, which were passed from time to time as the war developed, the great bulk could never have been carried out with anything like efficiency but for the conscientious work of the nation's police, working with the loyal support of strong forces of special constables.

The existing legislation dealing with special constabulary was obsolete and inadequate for the control of so large a force, and on August 28, 1914, a new Act was passed to legalise the making of rules and regulations adequate to new conditions. Under this Act an order-in-council was issued on September 9, 1914, which gave special constables the same duties, powers, and privileges as regular police constables, and rendered them liable to the same penalties in case of failure to perform those duties. Another clause of the order that is worthy of notice said that, in the event of a special constable being incapacitated or losing his life in the execution of his duty, the authorities "may" grant him or to his widow and children a pension and allowance at the same rates as under the Police Act of 1890. An amended order

## CAPS FOR THE CONSTABLES

passed in May, 1915, provided that a constable contracting illness or injury through the execution of his duties may be entitled to certain allowances. All of which, put shortly, meant that any special constable killed, injured, or made ill by doing his duty, " might " get some recompense if the fates and the authorities felt inclined.

The first special constables had no other sign of their office than a blue-and-white armlet, a warrant, a whistle, and a staff. But these things served well for the immediate duties then to be undertaken, the chief of which was the guarding of railway bridges and tunnels, waterworks, gasworks, and canals, and other vital things and places by the destruction of which enemy agents might have tended to incapacitate important public services, thereby rendering the country in a less efficient state for the waging of war.

It was not until some months later that a badge and a blue uniform cap were added to the special constable's equipment, and at the opening of Parliament by the King for the autumn session of 1914 special constables lined Pall Mall and St. James's Park, London, wearing all sorts of hats—from silk hats and bowlers to caps. The issue of uniform caps went a long way towards giving the special constabulary of the metropolis an official appearance, and this at the time seemed as much as was necessary. But the anti-German riots that broke out in the early summer of 1915 showed that there were many people, more especially in the east end and the rougher districts of London, who would pay but little respect or obedience to authority so long as its representative was not clothed in full uniform.

There was some opposition to the granting of full uniforms to special constables on the ground of expense, but this was eventually overcome by a compromise that uniforms should be issued to constables, only after they had completed a certain number of drills and duty " turns." The uniform was of plain blue with black buttons bearing a crown. Inspectors and other officers wore a similar uniform with silver stars and crowns on the shoulder-straps (after the manner of the Royal Irish Constabulary), corresponding, roughly, to the military rank of lieutenant, captain, major, and colonel. Staff officers wore velvet collar " tabs " of black velvet, broken by a silver line.

As time went on the duties of the special constabulary in London changed considerably. The internment of alien enemies

## HOME DEFENCE

and the more thorough arrangements that had been made by this time for keeping trace of all aliens lessened very much the risk of outrage at vulnerable points. The police authorities, therefore (with the approval of the military authorities), felt justified in modifying the strictness of the watch kept on these places, and large numbers of special constabulary were freed for newer and more pressing police duties. The increase in the number of hostile air raids, and the more complete arrangements made for the warning and protection of the public, threw new duties on the police, with which they could hardly have coped but for the enthusiastic co-operation of the specials.

Not only in the air raids but in general police duties also the special constabulary now became much more part and parcel of the regular police force. In fact, but for the difference in the hours of duty done, which were, of course, less than those of the paid police, the special constables exercised the whole function of ordinary policemen. They patrolled street beats and examined the doors, windows, and locks of shops in the night hours; they arrested evil-doers, gave evidence in the police courts and coroners' courts, dispersed crowds, directed strangers and leashed homeless dogs, comforted lost children, controlled and reported street accidents, attended to sick and injured people in the streets, and, in fact, performed all the regular and useful duties of the professional constable. They acquired the policeman's habit of notebook and pencil, also something of his calm detachment and impartiality, and even something of his measured walk.

London's special constabulary were seen at their best during attacks by enemy aircraft. Before very long they had reduced their measures for coping with these emergencies to routine and method, and the whole procedure went forward as by machine. Sitting in an office of the headquarters in Scotland House on the Embankment was always a staff officer of the force. Day and night alike this central nerve point was always alive. Warning of impending aerial attack was sent to that officer at the earliest moment by the military authorities. He was in touch with every one of the 20 police divisions of London. By picking up a telephone receiver and giving the order "Take air-raid action," he could set in full activity the whole of the constabulary over the 600 square miles which form the metropolitan police area.

## AIR RAIDS ON LONDON

The mammoth proportions of this activity may be gauged from the fact that one division alone might cover a district of eighty square miles; as, for example, the S Division, with its fourteen sub-police stations and more than 2,000 special constables. At the call "Take air-raid action," every constable was summoned to duty. Each division had its own arrangements for summoning its men. These arrangements might vary slightly in different places, but the most common method was to telephone round from divisional headquarters to all stations of the division, each of which in turn telephoned to certain points of its own area, whence started "runners," either by motor car, cycle, or on foot, to warn constables to turn out.

Within a very short time after the receipt of the raid warning at Scotland House special constables in uniform were in the streets and roads of each division carrying their "Take cover" warnings. Others had posted themselves at busy traffic points and in the busier streets, ready to calm any excitement or to cope with any emergency that might arise. Others, again, were on duty at the entrances and on the staircases of the underground railways, ready to prevent any block or disorder that might occur through nervous people rushing to take cover. Another special constable was posted by each fire-alarm, ready to give instant warning in the event of bombs causing an outbreak. In this and other ways each constable had a place and a duty in a very carefully-organized scheme of precautions.

In addition to these men there were other special constables in almost every division of the metropolitan area for specialised duties. Great numbers of special constables had voluntarily qualified themselves in ambulance and first-aid work. A medical officer of each division gave lectures and held classes, and great numbers of the men had gone so thoroughly into this subject as to qualify for the St. John Ambulance certificate and badge. It was estimated that more than ten per cent. of the metropolitan special constables were holders of this valuable qualification. These men of each division, on receipt of air-raid warning, hurried off to their ambulance headquarters, equipped themselves with stretchers and surgical requisites, and stood ready to go to any point to which they might be summoned by telephone. There is no doubt that many lives were saved and many casualties minimised in the course of London air raids by the efficient work of its special constabulary ambulances.

## HOME DEFENCE

Another very useful duty which was learnt voluntarily by many special constables was that of salvage work. It was discovered that for an inexperienced man to enter and search among the ruins of a burnt or bomb-smashed building was merely to do very little useful service, and greatly to jeopardise the life of the searcher. Under tuition, therefore, of experts, such as members of the fire-brigades, members of the London Salvage Corps, engineers, builders, and architects, special constables belonging to a special salvage corps were given instructions to fit them for salvage work. Among the constables selected for these salvage corps were men who, in ordinary life, were plumbers, gasfitters, electricians, and others whose training was likely to prove useful in such work as that of taking control of a wrecked building and making it safe. Wagons and motor-lorries had been provided for the use of these crews by public-spirited citizens, and at a call from any area a "breakdown" gang of the special constabulary salvage corps could be despatched in their own wagon at the shortest notice. They carried their tools with them, so that they could start work immediately upon arrival at the scene of the damage. These corps were responsible at different times during air raids for most valuable work.

In addition to ambulance men and salvage men, each metropolitan police division had a motor-transport organization of its own. Motor-cyclists and motor-car owners lent their vehicles and their services, and performed duties which were invaluable in increasing the efficiency of the police organization—especially in times of air raids.

There was also a central transport of much bigger dimensions for the work of the metropolitan force as a whole, by which, in the event of a special emergency in one or more divisions, the constabulary of other divisions might be carried to the spot in maximum numbers in the minimum time. An arrangement had been made with one of the leading omnibus companies by which a fleet of omnibuses was ready for police service at any moment. A force of 350 men, in the service of this company as drivers and guards, had been enrolled also as special constables. A third of this number was always on duty.

Thus, at a moment's notice, at a call for police into any of the London divisions, a hundred or more motor-omnibuses, if need be, could set off without any delay to bring police from other divisions. On Saturday morning, July 7, 1917, when

## OBSERVATION POSTS

a fleet of some thirty German aeroplanes raided London, special police in their hundreds were thus collected from the divisions and despatched to East London, where the damage was greatest. The streets were blocked with traffic and sightseers, but a way was made for the special police omnibuses.

One interesting and important duty taken over from the military people in 1917 by London's special constabulary was the manning of observation posts—an idea borrowed, perhaps, from the field of war itself. These posts were established at points of high altitude about the city and suburbs, from which a good view was to be had of the surrounding country. They were found to be of great use for observing the approach and movements of enemy aircraft, and for giving warnings and guidance during aerial attack. They were in a favourable position, moreover, for noting outbreaks of fire due to air bombs in their immediate districts, and also for keeping an open eye for over-bright lights and for anything in the nature of signals to the enemy. These stations had special instruments for taking the exact bearing of any point of earth or sky, and each was equipped with a special telephone for communicating the results of observations to headquarters. The city police had a force of special constables organized on the same lines, and with duties similar to those of the metropolitan force.

In provincial cities special constables were enrolled and organized on much the same lines as those in the metropolis. No record of the services of the special constabulary would be complete without special mention of the highly meritorious work done during the moonlight air raids, which became almost a matter of routine in the autumn of 1917. Night after night near the period of full moon German aircraft visited the home counties and London, the Yorkshire coast and elsewhere, and though by this time anti-aircraft precautions had become much more efficient, police precautions could not be lessened, and air-raid alarms meant the calling out of all specials for duty. The dangers the police incurred in their street duties needed no pointing out to the authorities, and at the beginning of October it was recognized that they should have some better protection. Accordingly, shrapnel helmets were issued to the police of the metropolitan and city areas for use in air raids.

## GEOGRAPHY OF THE WAR

German army under Von Kluck from an overwhelming disaster in September, 1914. The minute study of the geography of north-east France which the Germans made prior to 1914 had caused them to realize the defensive qualities of the Aisne Department, and later led them to prepare cemented gun platforms and make other local arrangements and plans for the housing and defending of an army which might be foiled in its first swoop on Paris.

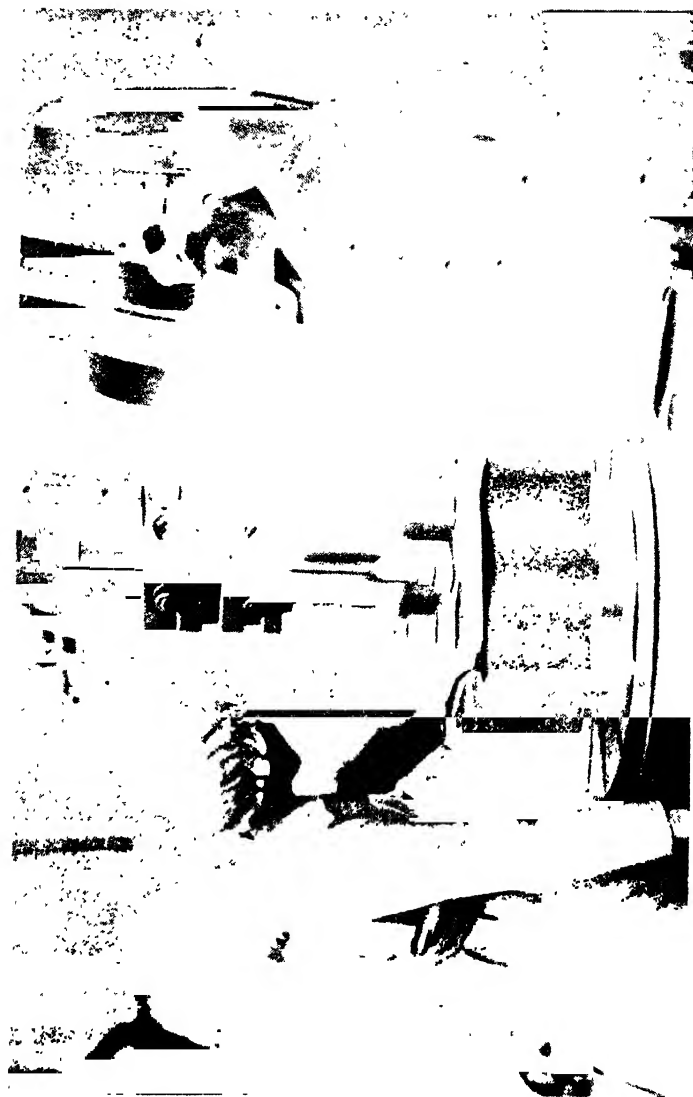
The geographical configuration of eastern France, after the new frontier had been fixed in 1871, enabled France to command the Vosges. Approach to this comparatively lofty range of mountains—in several places over 4,000 feet in altitude—is easy from the French side, from the west; whereas it is remarkably abrupt if ascended from the level valley of the Rhine. After the declaration of war the French easily mastered the summits and passes of the Vosges, and sent a comparatively weak army down for the premature release of Alsace, while the brave Leman was holding up the German host before Liège. This French army in the plains of Alsace had to retreat from Mülhausen, though the French still continued to hold portions of German Alsace in the Vosges mountains.

An even more disastrous result might have followed from this reverse, and from the simultaneous recall of the bulk of the French forces to defend the city of Paris. Had it not been for Belfort—and less for the fortifications of Belfort itself than for the natural fortress of Mont St. Salbert behind it, barring the way to the Doubs valley—the German armies of the Rhine might have poured down through the Doubs valley to the Rhône and threatened Lyons, and even Marseilles and Mediterranean communications. The hills at the back of Belfort scarcely exceed 2,000 feet. Many of the great episodes of the war have been concerned with monticules and hill-crests of from 600 to 2,000 feet; and not infrequently it is the shape and the surface petrology of the eminence that mark it out as a natural fortress resistant to modern artillery rather than mere altitude.

The Pan-Germans who directed German policy had demanded an advance to the Channel and open sea. Thence followed the great battle of Ypres and other desperate attempts to drive the British into the sea, sever England from easy contact with France, and reach Calais. The British at that time were aided in resisting the terrific and repeated attacks of the German army



**TRAINING THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY.** The photograph shows land girls at work upon a rick in Buckinghamshire. After two months' training at the centres run by the County Education Committees, the women had acquired sufficient practical knowledge to be detached for service on farms. The organization, set up in 1917, rendered splendid services, and by August, 1918, there were 15,974 women in its ranks.



**WILLING HANDS FOR WAR WORK.** This woman munition worker is seen slotting breech ring forms for 5 in. 60-pounder guns. Untriring in work calling for adept craftsmanship and delicacy of manipulation, women proved equal to the task of producing every kind of material required for the war.

## POLAND AND EAST PRUSSIA

by the geography of West Flanders—the canalised rivers, the dikes, the flooded land, and behind these the little hills and ridges, dunes, and downs of from one hundred to six hundred feet in height above the plain—natural fortresses difficult to batter down.

The next theatre of war to occupy British attention, after the crises of the Marne and of Ypres were over, was in east-central Europe, from the eastern Baltic shores to the Rumanian frontier with Hungary. Here Russia was attacking Germany and preparing to attack Austria-Hungary. It was mainly in the dismembered kingdom of Poland that these operations took place prior to the spring of 1917. The Russians at first advanced from the Suwalki province of northernmost Poland into East Prussia through the difficult and dangerously intricate region of the Masurian Lakes. They had got well into East Prussia when they were met by the redoubtable Hindenburg and disastrously defeated at or near Tannenberg. The Russian defeat was followed by a retreat into the mazes of lakes and swamps known as Masuria, wherein some 80,000 Russians were engulfed.

The northern part of Poland had no natural frontier of any kind; it is very flat and traversed in all directions by big rivers, sluggish streams, and marsh-forming rills of water. Roads are sometimes reduced in districts as large as Surrey to a single narrow causeway raised above the surface of what is swampy fenland in summer and autumn, and frozen marsh in winter. This is, likewise, a prominent feature in Suwalki, that northern peninsula of Poland which extends into Lithuania. The character of the ground explains why, even after their victory of Tannenberg, the Germans were for long unable to follow up their success and enter Russia through Northern Poland and Lithuania.

Southern Poland, especially Galicia, is a very different country. Near the confluence of the San and the Vistula the land rises in a series of terraces or "rims," not unlike those that defend the Paris Basin on the east. This is the "pleasant" part of Poland, with a far more genial climate, little or no swamp, much better roads, good farming, abundant orchards, and the broad base from which rise up the lofty Carpathians in a vast semicircle to the south of Galicia. The Carpathians, though the altitudes of their principal passes are not so very high (1,900 to 3,300 feet), are so arranged in a series of gigantic natural trenches, with such abrupt ravines and such protecting, screening

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forests, that it is little wonder the Russians, even when most formidable, failed to penetrate in any great force into the Hungarian plains, though the superior railway facilities of the enemy were a factor of considerable importance. When, through treachery and lassitude, the Russians fell back before the final German rush of 1917, it was only in one direction that the German armies succeeded in penetrating to any great extent the Russian territories beyond Poland. The course was taken through the non-Russian countries of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. Here, owing to a former Germanisation, the influence of Sweden on the north and Poland on the south, there was more civilization, there were better and more numerous roads, and the swamps and fens were less frequent.

In the early and later stages of the war the command of the Baltic was in German hands, and Germany and Austria, by their success in diplomacy and arms, having secured the alliance of Turkey and Bulgaria, the defection of Greece, and the conquest of Serbia and Northern Albania, had restricted the means of direct communication between France, Great Britain, and Russia virtually to the passage through Norway and Sweden or to the sea journey round Scandinavia to the White Sea. The only alternatives were transport through Persia—then convulsed by German intrigues, revolts, and Turkish invasions, and entirely without speedy and sure means of land transport—or the seven-thousand-mile-long Siberian Railway, which kept up communications with the United States through China and Japan.

Passengers and mails might, with occasional interruptions from submarines, pass fairly quickly across the Scandinavian peninsula to the Finnish coast or to the north of Finland, at the head of the Baltic Gulf of Bothnia. Thence Finnish railways carried them to Russia. Munitions of war, however, could not proceed by the Scandinavian route, but had to be taken all the way by sea to Archangel, a port on a great gulf of the Arctic Ocean known as the White Sea. Archangel is not far outside the Arctic Circle, and between November and May the White Sea is blocked with ice. Sheer necessity, prompted by British energy, led to a careful investigation of the Murman coast close up to the Varanger Fiord, belonging to Norway. Here, on the Russian side of the frontier, were found an inlet and harbour sufficiently influenced by the warm water of the Gulf Stream to remain—as does Norway's coast—free from

## THE TURKISH THEATRE

obstructing ice all the year round. A railway constructed with all possible speed and paid for with British money eventually connected Kola, on the Kola inlet, with the Russian railway system. Then further geographical difficulties arose. Finland, loyal to Russia through the first three years of the war, found herself, by the rise to power of the Soviet, at war with Red Russia. Communication therefore ceased or became very difficult between Sweden and Russia through Finland. In her trouble Finland turned to Germany for help against the Russian anarchists. The German forces entered Finland and expelled the Russians, but took over the virtual control of the country.

The great geographical fact about the war in south-east Europe was the existence of the Straits of the Dardanelles. If Turkey joined Germany and Austria and coerced Bulgaria into an alliance, southern Russia was at once cut off from communication with the Mediterranean; her immense supplies of corn and mineral oil were withheld from western Europe, and she in her turn could not get arms, ammunition, and other war supplies by the southern route—really her only sea outlet after the closing of the Baltic. The failure of the Mediterranean Fleet of Britain to intercept the Goeben and the Breslau, and prevent those German warships from reaching the Dardanelles and Constantinople, was at least a factor in Turkey's decision to throw in her lot with the Central Powers.

The Turkish theatre of war can scarcely be separated geographically from that of the Balkan states, the affairs of all these countries having been so inter-dependent. The kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro are both very mountainous, like the neighbouring country of Albania and south-west Bulgaria; but Montenegro was little more than one huge mountain mass—the Black Mountain—which commands the southernmost coast of Dalmatia and specially the "four-fingered" harbour of Cattaro. Serbia was divided into two unequal parts by the long Morava river, with its twin sources, the upper Morava, that flows through Nish, and the Ibar (or Serbian Morava), rising in North Albania. It was principally up the valleys of these rivers that the Austro-Germans were first able to penetrate in their conquest of Serbia.

The mountain barrier on her south-west frontier for a long time protected Bulgaria from any serious degree of invasion on the part of the Western Allies. Another factor in

## GEOGRAPHY OF THE WAR

favour of Bulgarian resistance, which was maintained up to the end of September, 1918, was the unhealthiness of the Aegean coast districts, in the neighbourhood of the big river mouths and deltas, especially those of the Struma (the virtual frontier of the Bulgarians), and the Vardar, where enormous numbers of mosquitoes spread the germs of malarial fever.

Turkey was open to attack from the Mediterranean in only two places: (1) At the head of the Gulf of Saros (alongside the Gallipoli peninsula), and (2) at Alexandretta, or Iskanderun, in Northern Syria. An army like that despatched by the British for the capture of the Dardanelles—say, a force of 80,000 men—might have succeeded better if it had been disembarked at Avrasha and had quickly seized the neck of the Gallipoli peninsula, which is also the southern end of the Tekir Ridge, a range of mountains 1,600 to 2,900 feet high. This, with Saros Island, could have been occupied to safeguard the holding of Saros Gulf. From such a position an attack on Adrianople, the Vienna-Constantinople railway, and the Black Sea coast might have been quite possible undertakings, to be followed by Russian co-operation (in 1915 and 1916) and the taking of Constantinople. Again, it is not improbable the presence of the British and French at Adrianople might have restrained Bulgaria from open enmity.

Asia Minor is only of geographical interest in connexion with the war in that its Mediterranean coasts afforded Germany means of carrying on her submarine campaign, against allied shipping in the eastern Mediterranean. The Syrian coast lands, from Antioch to the Sinai Peninsula, consist of parallel ridges of mountain, rising to snowy heights on Lebanon and Hermon, to altitudes of five and six thousand feet in the Jebel Hauran, and to over three thousand feet in the mountains of Judæa. This region constituted climatically, on the whole, the least trying and disagreeable portion of the war area. Water, vegetation, and local food supplies were fairly abundant. Portions of the land, except for accidental devastation, were comparative paradises in contrast with the deserts of Sinai and northern Arabia, the broiling plains or fetid swamps of Mesopotamia.

One strategic feature of Mesopotamia in favour of the British was the river system. The two great, nearly parallel rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, uniting in one estuary and further inter-connected by natural offshoots and artificial canals, were

## PALESTINE AND ARABIA

navigable from the Persian Gulf inland, eight or nine hundred miles, to the mountains of Kurdistan and the vicinity of northern Syria. Thus India was connected by water communication without a break with Basra, Bagdad, and Mosul, with Hit, and with a point on the Euphrates near to Aleppo. Moreover, the Karun affluent of the Shat-el-Arab (Euphrates-Tigris estuary) was navigable up-stream into southern Persia and the vicinity of the oil-wells of Dizful and Shuster. In the land of Sinai, where such history-making battles took place between British and Turks—first to repel the Turco-German invasion of Egypt and next to reconquer Palestine from the Turks—the land is sandy desert in the north, and bare, sun-scorched rock and mountain in the south. The loftiest summits of Sinai reach to altitudes of nearly 10,000 feet, and their scenery, if desolate, is very imposing to the eye. Moreover, as they attract some rain, and even snow, they supply enough moisture to pasture native flocks of goats and sheep and herds of wild ibex.

North from Sinai and the narrow Gulf of Akaba runs the extraordinary rift of the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley. This gorge, from above the Lake of Gennesaret to near the Gulf of Akaba, is below sea level. The region of western Arabia came within the war area, for the Arabs of the Holy Places of Islam seized the opportunity to throw off the yoke of the Turk—in Mecca and its neighbourhood, at any rate. Across the elevated, dreary, stony desert tablelands of Midian, and along the dry river valley of Khaibur, the Hejaz Railway had been constructed by the Turks before war broke out. This railway was repeatedly attacked and torn up at various stations on the way to Medina, where it stops, one favourite place for attack being Maan, about halfway in an easterly direction between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba.

South of the Hejaz, that region of western Arabia which is lifted above the sandy deserts of the interior and which consists mostly of volcanic rock and old lava, is the far more delectable country of Yemen—"Arabia Felix"—with ten-thousand-feet-high mountains, a certain rainfall, and an approach to tropical vegetation. Coffee, introduced centuries ago from Abyssinia, has long been cultivated here in terraced plantations on the mountain sides. In discussing the topography of the war, Persia cannot be altogether overlooked, because a portion of the struggle was fought out there. But in this connexion the main fact for

## GEOGRAPHY OF THE WAR

Great Britain in the summer of 1918 was that, with Russia destroyed, there was nothing between Germany and the Indian frontier; nothing between Germany or German-governed Turkey and the oil-wells of Baku, on the Caspian. The possession of this wealth of petroleum might conceivably tip the balance in favour of the Central Powers' success.

It needed no common courage on the part of Italy to declare war on the Austrian empire in 1915. It was at a time when the fortunes of the Western Allies were none too brilliant. Belgium was almost completely overrun, and north-east France was in the firm grip of the invader, who ever and again made a feint or threw out a suggestion of treating Switzerland as he had done Belgium, or of aiming at Lyons and severing the French contact with Italy. But the Italian people realized that the success of the Teuton attack on the liberties of Europe would be fatal to Italian destinies, except as a subordinate part of a Germanised Central Europe.

The Adriatic coast of Italy is in singular contrast to that of Dalmatia and Albania, being almost entirely without harbours, whereas the opposite coast is a maze of islands and deep, sheltered passages with unnumbered seaports. This western fringe of the Balkan Peninsula—Istria and Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Cattaro—had once belonged to the vanished republic of Venice, and been saved by Venice from incorporation in Turkey or Serbia during the slow destruction of the Eastern Empire. Hungary, it is true, had acquired an access to the Adriatic at Fiume, and the Holy Roman Empire of Austria-Germany had secured Trieste when Venice was taking up the control that the Constantinople Emperors were losing to Slavs and Turks.

The Albanian coast bulges out southwards so as to approach within 45 miles of the Italian peninsula of Otranto, and whereas the latter has only the one indifferent port of Brindisi, southern Albania possesses the magnificent harbour of Valona, partially sheltered and defended by the islet of Sasseno. The territory of Valona is bordered on the south by Epirus, the northernmost prolongation of Greece. If the Teutonic Powers had succeeded in securing Albania as one of their principalities and had fortified Valona (or Avlona), they could have closed the Adriatic.

Having made this point secure, the Italians turned their attention to the Trentino and Trieste. All along the frontier of north-east Italy, Austria, when Italy was almost a suppliant in such

## THE DEFENCES OF TRIESTE

matters, had so fixed the border line that Austria was everywhere able to dominate the entries into Italy and to defend access to her own territory—and much of that territory really Italian in race and tongue—by towering precipices and unscalable walls of rock. Nowhere was warfare to be so amazing, so spectacular, as this struggle between Italy and Austria in the high Alps, much of it at an altitude of ten thousand feet. "The wildest regions of the Vosges, the most difficult mazes of the Balkans' ranges, the most formidable barriers of the Carpathians"—to quote Professor Douglas Johnson—were tame compared with the precipices and icy peaks of the Trentino.

The Italian soldiers had sometimes to climb a mountain wall that was nearly vertical and five thousand feet up, and could only do so by driving rings and iron pegs into the rock and hauling themselves up by ropes and ladders. There were broad glacier trenches of old-time river valleys that led northward from Verona to Trent and Bozen (the limit of Italian ambition), but, naturally, they were blocked by artillery. Another way northward was up the Ampezzo valley and over the Monte Croce pass, or eastward by a still more Alpine route, the Tre Croci pass, through which at one time the Italians hoped to reach the valley of the Drave and by this route to get into the heart of Austria.

The more spectacular point of attack, however, was in the direction of Trieste. The fall of Trieste would have a resounding effect on the Austrian Empire; it would entail the capture of the whole Istrian peninsula and the naval stronghold of Pola, and thus permit of Italy bringing help to Serbia and menacing Hungary. So towards Trieste the main Italian objective was always addressed between 1915 and 1917. The Italian frontier was here drawn so as to give Austria the whole valley of the Isonzo river down to its marshy outlet into the Adriatic. Immediately east of the Isonzo the natural defences of Trieste were tremendous, almost insuperable, with a strong army and the most modern artillery defending them. First there was the town of Gorizia to be taken—Gorizia, overhung almost by the abrupt and lofty tablelands of the Bainsizza and Tervozano. But Gorizia, taken by the Italians on August 9, 1916, was comparatively a side issue. The real defences of Trieste were the parched and porous limestone plateau of the Carso and the Hermada Mountain, a natural fortress commanding the coast road into Trieste.

## GEOGRAPHY OF THE WAR

If the Alps and Dolomites stayed the frantic assaults of the Italians and saved Austrian territory from invasion, they similarly acted as deterrents to German invasions of the Lombard and Venetian plains. They offered so many obstacles to the passage of the protective artillery; they were impassable in the snows of winter, dangerous in the land-slides, torrents, and mists of spring and autumn. And when Germans and Austrians did break through and begin to debouch on the plains their advance laterally from east to west was held up by the hundreds of great and small streams and rivers flowing in parallel courses from the mountains to the northern Adriatic.

Similarly the Danube, with the Transylvanian mountains, seemed to guard Rumania's boundary, and to make it safe for her to enter the war on the side of the Allies with her south front protected against Bulgaria, and her north by the Russian armies occupying the Bukovina. Germany and Austria were at a deadlock. They could not communicate directly with Turkey and ensure her co-operation; they could not force the river guard of Serbia with the full Serbian army to face them. Then Bulgaria and Greece were won over by Germany. But for this traitorous stab in the back Serbia might have succeeded, with her rivers and mountains as defence, in keeping the Germanic Empires at bay till the end of the war. As it was, the remnant of the Serbian army had to retreat into Albania and to Salonica.

Rumania, when it came to be her turn to enter the lists—urged to redress the balance in the Balkan Peninsula, upset by the Bulgarian attack on Serbia—did not read aright the lessons of her geography. Her boundary with Russia was the Pruth river to its junction with the Danube estuary; her only land frontier with Bulgaria consisted of a not very lengthy line between Ekrene on the Black Sea and Turtukai on the Danube. Fifty miles north-east of this was the twenty-five miles of railway between Constantza on the Black Sea and the bridge-head of Cernavoda on the Danube.

Thence, westwards of Cernavoda for over 300 miles, the Danube (often breaking into marshes from five to twelve miles wide) separated Rumania from Bulgaria and was not bridged for a length of 500 miles between Belgrade and Cernavoda. On the north-west and west, towards Hungary, Rumania was bounded by a southward extension of the Carpathians, the Transylvanian Alps, a rugged, lofty chain of mountains, rising into heights of 8,000

## RUMANIA AND BULGARIA

feet in the south, and 6,000 feet in the north, and only crossed by roads for wheeled traffic over a few passes. So splendidly defensive a position was the Hungarian frontier of Rumania that it would have sufficed to leave at most a force of 200,000 men to defend it against the Austro-German army, especially as the Russians were in possession of Bukovina on the north, and able to threaten diversions in northern Hungary. Between the foothills of the Transylvanian Alps and the Danube flowed, almost at right angles to the great river, many large and deep affluents, each one of which might be made a costly barrier to any army that crossed the mountains to march on Bukarest.

Obviously, the strategy required of Rumania, when she came into the war in 1916, was to invade Bulgaria through the Dobruja and march straight on Varna, the great Bulgarian seaport, hand that over to Russia for the landing of Russian contingent forces, then make for Tirnovo and cut the Constantinople railway at Philippopolis. With the support of the western Allies attacking Bulgaria from the south, and a Russian army landed at Varna, the Rumanians might have had the glory of taking Constantinople and ending the war.

Instead the Rumanian army, insufficiently furnished with artillery, flung itself into Transylvania, was forced to retreat, was followed up, and insufficiently backed by Russia, was unable to save the bridge at Cerna Voda; for the Bulgarians and Germans had in their turn invaded her through the Dobruja. Only the long trench of the Sereth river and the northern Transylvanian Alps saved Rumania from coming completely into the enemy's possession. Once again the victory of the Allies was deferred through a lack of geographical knowledge or an insufficient appreciation of the importance of geography as applied to military strategy.

Germany's three great possessions in Africa—almost entirely within the tropics—were (1) Kamerun, or Cameroons, (2) South-West Africa, and (3) German East Africa—Zangia, as it might be called, seeing that it arose from the former dominions of Zanzibar, on the Zanj (or Zangian) coast. Kamerun consisted, like Togoland—only on a much larger scale, for it had an area of 191,130 square miles—of several regions, four in all, dissimilar in character as regards their ethnology and political affinities. It was a country wholly lacking in homogeneity such as there is in British Nigeria, in Congoland, or Somaliland.

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This vague term Cameroon, or Cameroons, came to cover four areas in the course of time: (1) A region which in the north lay between the basins of the Upper Benue, the Logon, the Shari, and Lake Chad, which was low-lying, unhealthy, peopled by semi-civilized Mohammedans, and ethnically part of Eastern Nigeria; (2) a central plateau country dotted with great mountains rising to 10,000 feet, fairly healthy, and possibly suited in some degree to European colonisation; (3) in the west one of the most rainy, heavily-forested parts of Africa, the home of Bantu Negroes, forest pygmies, and great apes, especially the gorilla; and (4) in the south-east an important section of Congoland, the basin of the Sanga river, and contact with the main stream of the Congo and with its important affluent, the Wele-Mubangi.

German South-West Africa, though also on the Atlantic side of the continent, was a widely different land in outward aspect. Its area was even larger—322,200 square miles. It extended between the south of Angola and the Kunene river to the frontier of Cape Colony at the Orange river. It is sometimes written of as lying "outside the tropics," but as it is much broader in the north than in the south, two-thirds of it lie to the north of the tropic of Capricorn. The northernmost portion, Ambo Land, is comparatively low-lying, and in general level much below the lofty tableland that comprises nearly all this former German colony, a tableland from which again rise—to heights of between 4,000 and nearly 9,000 feet—ridges and peaks of mountains.

The coast region is almost unmitigated sandy desert, in which, however, some very interesting plants are found growing, such as the weird-looking welwitschia, a "dicotyledon which has never grown up." Ambo Land has a tropical climate and heavy rains in its summer season. Consequently it is unhealthy for Europeans, and exacted a fearful toll in deaths from its early explorers. But the rest of the country has a climate sometimes described as superb, and certainly conducive to health and stamina among its white colonists. The rainfall is rather scanty, but water is seldom far from the surface, and by means of wells, dams, storage, and systems of irrigation, a good deal of tropical and sub-tropical agriculture can be carried on. As regards natives, the southern part, which is the most arid—though wealthy in diamonds—has, besides European settlers, only a few thousand Hottentots and Hottentot half-breeds, and this is also the case with the sterile coast-belt up the Kunene river.

## TANGANYIKA

German East Africa was 384,000 square miles in extent, in the equatorial zone of Africa between 1° and 3°, and 10° 40' of south latitude, reaching from the Victoria Nyanza lake in the north to Tanganyika in the west, and Nyasa and the Rovuma river in the south. It included, by a special loop, the whole of the mighty snow-crowned, twin-summited volcano of Kilimanjaro; it extended to the other snow-capped volcanoes of Myfumbiro in the north-west, to Mount Rungwe and the Livingstone mountains in the south. Running nearly parallel with the hot coast-belt are ranges of mountains of varying heights between six and seven thousand feet, offering many an uninhabited tract with tempting conditions of soil and climate, rainfall and vegetation, to the foreign settler.

Immediately east of the northern parts of the Tanganyika coast there are pleasant plateaux where rises the ultimate source of the Nile, and these might well become the homes of white men. The coast has a number of good harbours, some of them of historic interest, since they were associated with the early voyages of the Arabs and the Persians. At some of these ancient coast towns there are ruined mosques, exhibiting an interesting phase of early Saracenic architecture. A good deal of the interior is lacking in interest to the eye of the superficial observer, as it is merely a wilderness overgrown with stunted forest, coarse grass, and euphorbias.

By the ill-luck that so long dogged the footsteps of the British in this war, the first three years of the struggle were characterised by rainy seasons in German East Africa unusual in their incidence and almost unexampled in their volume of rain, so that most of the campaigners railed against the climate, and the armies were hampered in their movements by constantly recurring marshes, swollen and unfordable rivers, and an extravagant growth of vegetation. But ordinarily the climate of this region can be defined fairly accurately according to the season of the year, except, perhaps, on the coast opposite Zanzibar and round about Kilimanjaro, where the rainy periods depend a good deal on the monsoon winds or other local circumstances. The dry season commences in May and continues till the end of October; the heavy rains occur during January, February, and March; the lesser rains in November and December. Yet one side—the north—of a great mountain, or a range of mountains

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may be dry and almost wanting in vegetation when the south or west is dripping with moisture and clothed with forest.

In Togoland no strategy or application of geographical knowledge to military plans was needed, as the conquest was a walk-over, largely because of the natives withholding all support from the Germans, or beginning hostilities on their own account; but in Cameroons geographical knowledge—and ethnological as well—was needed to grapple with tremendous physical obstacles and to win over the very decisive influence of the natives. Fortunately it was present in the officers commanding both British and French, and when the story of the conquest of this vast and varied region of west Central Africa is fully told, great credit will devolve on its organizers and conductors; on the officers of the British navy as well as of the army; on the French Senegalese soldiers and the British Hausas, Yorubas, and Gold Coast troops. The rapidity with which this extremely difficult campaign was conducted to a successful issue was really amazing.

The topography of the war must include the remote archipelago of the Falkland Islands, near the southernmost extremity of South America, off which was fought one of the decisive naval battles of the war. Then Caucasia and its snow-crowned, glaciated mountains, its valuable forests and oil wells, was fiercely fought over by Turks and Armenians, Georgians and Tartars, Russians, Mongolians and Circassians; and, lastly, by a British force which crossed Persia and seized the western Caspian shores and the region of the oil-wells.

The state of Tibet declared its sympathy with Great Britain, and afforded some assistance. China watched with anxiety and precaution the fate of Central Asia, to which she could not be indifferent. Liberia—the Negro republic in West Africa—had her capital shelled by a German submarine for siding with her creatress, the United States; Abyssinia's dynastic revolution and deposed young emperor are said to be related to German intrigue, which had won over the grandson of Menelik to action against Britain and French interests. Scarcely one Pacific island or atoll but felt the war somehow, saw German raiders, or witnessed their destruction by avenging ships from Great Britain, Japan, or the United States.

## CHAPTER 20

# Strategy of the War

**I**N judging the strategy of the army commanders during the war it is necessary to bear in mind that they were faced with problems totally different in most respects from those with which the great generals of the past had been confronted. Never before had practically the whole civilized world been at war; never before had nation after nation mobilised every man of military age; never before had armies numbering millions of men faced one another on battle fronts hundreds of miles in length. From first to last the Germans mobilised 11,000,000 men out of a population of 70,000,000, or over one-seventh of their population, as against a total of 1,250,000 from a population of 39,000,000 mobilised by them in 1870, or one-thirtieth of that population. The French mobilised 7,900,000 men from a population of 37,800,000, or more than one-fifth of their population. Great Britain and the British Empire raised over 9,000,000 men for the army, navy, and merchant service. Russia, at the outset, mobilised 10,000,000 men, of whom, however, only a comparatively small proportion could be armed.

The problem of strategy in earlier wars had been to break down the resistance of comparatively small armies by skilful manoeuvres or a sudden blow. After the armies had been disposed of and decisively defeated, the government which had placed them in the field yielded and made peace. But in this war the stake for the Allies was in actual fact national existence, for it was believed that if Germany triumphed she would impose intolerable conditions on France, Great Britain, and Russia; and the German people had been persuaded by their government during a long term of years that the Allies aimed at the economic destruction of Germany. The real or supposed issue, therefore, affected every man, woman, and child in the nations engaged, and inspired them with such bitter determination that their resistance could only be crushed by ever-accumulating material loss, hardship, and prolonged and terrific slaughter. The problem of securing victory in such a war was a new one for

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generals. Nations in arms, fighting with stubborn fury, could not be defeated as professional armies, or as the relatively small conscripted armies of the Napoleonic age had been. Their manpower had to be exhausted before they would yield, and their material strength destroyed by the blockade.

Success or failure in this initial stage depended on two chief factors—the readiness for war of the armies engaged and the numbers available in the first place; and the skill with which the plans were prepared in the second. In the first and preliminary stage Germany gained a prodigious military advantage—at the cost of bringing Great Britain into the field—by her violation of Belgian neutrality. The second strategic stage was the war of attrition when the main armies were in contact—the destruction of the fighting power of one or the other group of combatants in a long series of battles. This stage may be said to have opened with the battle of the Marne, and to have closed when the Germans began their great series of offensives in 1917-18.

Through the three terrible years from September, 1914, to October, 1917, the plan of each side was the plan of General Grant in 1864 when confronted with the similar problem of crushing the American Confederacy. It was to break the military power of the opponent entirely, "to use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed forces of the enemy; to hammer continuously against the armed forces of the enemy and his resources until, by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but submission."

The process might have been much accelerated if there had been less conservatism in the military commands, if such mechanical adjuncts as tanks and aircraft had been earlier employed in sufficient number—for so far back as October, 1914, one of the ablest of British soldiers, Lieut.-Colonel E. W. Swinton, R.E., wished to construct tanks by the thousand so soon as the design for them, which was then being prepared, should be completed; but tanks did not make their appearance in the field until nearly two years later. The stopping power of the machine gun, which the German staff had realized far more clearly than any other, was a hindrance to manœuvring, and until it had been overcome by the provision of new weapons in the tanks, and by the multiplication of heavy artillery, high explosive shell, and aircraft, the difficulties of the strategist were immense. The American civil war had proved that armies could entrench

## THE GERMAN AIM

themselves in a few hours to such an extent that the attack, even by superior forces, rarely succeeded in breaking through, and the only course was to turn their flanks. But in this war the forces were so vast that at an early date in the West there were no flanks, and the staffs on either side were driven to make frontal attacks, and face the full power of the machine gun.

The third stage, which came when one of the combatants was nearing exhaustion, was the effort in gigantic force to close, at whatever cost, and achieve decisive results. It opened with the German attack on Italy in October, 1917, which was followed by the stupendous German offensives of 1918; and, when those attacks were held, it was succeeded by the counter-offensive of the Allies which, brilliantly directed, fed with the large reserve forces of Great Britain, with the million of fresh American troops who were hurried to Europe, and supported by hundreds of tanks and thousands of aircraft, resulted at last in such complete and overwhelming victory that the armed strength of Germany was pulverised in a long series of battles. In that last stage of the war it seemed that nothing could stop the Allies. There comes a time in all struggles when the human element gives way, and that time was reached in the summer and autumn of 1918.

The German aim at the outset was to annihilate the fighting strength of Russia and to clear the German road to the East. This Germany achieved, though at stupendous cost to herself. Germany had no quarrel with France. The Germans had conquered her in 1870, and did not fear her, for her army, compared with theirs, was weak and ill-equipped, while her much smaller population, with its stationary birth-rate, was a guarantee against aggression on her part. They had defeated her when the numbers were nearly equal; now Germany had an advantage of more than 30 per cent.

No French government for 20 years had seriously contemplated war to recover Alsace-Lorraine. France might be said to have resigned herself to facts, and was in no position to threaten any vital German interest. If the Germans had been wise in their strategy they would have done their utmost to eliminate France from the war and isolate Russia. Then they might have triumphed swiftly. There was nothing to prevent them from massing their main armies on their eastern frontier and from adopting a defensive strategy against France. Their western frontier was strongly protected by the great fortress

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systems of Thionville, Metz, and Strasbourg, which before the war had been connected carefully by organized field defences. If they had left Belgium in peace, and stationed on the western frontier 1,000,000 men to meet the 1,000,000 men whom France mobilised at the outset in her active army, they would have been able to throw overwhelming masses of men—with the aid of the Austrians—upon Russia.

If Belgium's neutrality had not been violated, if a defensive policy had been followed towards France, it is doubtful whether the British government would have intervened at once. Russia would probably have suffered a series of decisive defeats, while the German armies, with their machine guns, heavy artillery, entrenchments, and fortresses, would have been able to paralyse the French armies in the west. The German navy could have been retained in the Baltic and have been used to strike at Petrograd and the Russian flank and rear. Its attention would not have been engrossed by the British fleet. There would have been no blockade, except the German blockade of Russia, and Germany would have been able to import freely what she wanted. The greatest danger that menaced Europe and the free world in July, 1914, was that Germany would follow this plan. Russia would almost certainly have been struck down, before the free Powers had grasped what was happening, at comparatively small cost to the German people.

Germany, when she decided to attack France with the main strength of her armies, had three courses open to her. She might have endeavoured to break through the French frontier in Lorraine, which, though strongly fortified, was far from impregnable. Some French officers, in the light of after events, hold that such a plan might have succeeded, though history is against this view. But if a speedy victory was to be won and a deadly attack delivered upon France, the German staff had convinced itself that it must find space for the deployment of the vast forces which it could place in the field. The French frontier from Longwy to Belfort was only one hundred and eighty miles long, and did not give the elbow-room required for manœuvring a force of two to three million men. To obtain space for such manœuvres the German staff decided that the neutrality of the states bordering on France must be violated. There were three such states whose neutrality was guaranteed by the Great Powers, including Great Britain. They were

## SWISS NEUTRALITY

Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. A violation of Belgian neutrality was certain to alarm and estrange Great Britain, whose very existence depends on the Flanders coast being in the hands of friends, because of its proximity to London. But it was by no means certain that a British government would have entered the war to uphold the neutrality of Switzerland.

For forty years before the war the French staff had considered the various forms that the German attack, which it always foresaw, might take; and some of its ablest officers believed that the violation of Swiss neutrality would give Germany most strategic advantage, and would be most dangerous to France. The Swiss government, it is true, insisted on its determination to defend its neutrality, and the Swiss people was trained to arms. But the Swiss plan was known. It was to retire to certain prepared positions in the mountains with the great bulk of the Swiss forces, and there would have been nothing to meet such armies as Kluck's and Bülow's had they moved through northern Switzerland into France. This line of attack had been followed in the Napoleonic wars by Schwartzemberg. Had it been chosen in 1914, the Germans would have crossed the Rhine between Constance and Bâle, and have marched north of the mountainous region and the River Aar. Whereas with the plan that was followed in August, 1914, the German generals Kluck and Bülow turned the left French flank, with the violation of Swiss neutrality they could have turned the right.

The Swiss territory through which they would have swept was well provided with railways and roads, and offered no special difficulties, though the Jura would have had to be passed. There were no fortifications of any strength. The way was open. The German staff seems actually to have considered the plan of attacking through Switzerland before the war, and, according to some accounts, finally decided against it early in 1914. Germany had not sufficient forces, even with the enormous number of men that she was able to place in the field, to violate the neutrality of Belgium and Switzerland and turn both the French flanks. It is a suggestive fact that on the outbreak of war reports came, possibly from German sources with the deliberate intention of misleading the French, that German troops had moved through Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland.

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The first great mistakes were made by the German staff, but in the light of events the French staff was also at fault. In its preparation long before the war it had always assumed, on insufficient evidence, that the Germans would attack only with their first-line troops, and that therefore they would only be able to give a limited and easily calculable extension to their front.

The French allowed for the deployment of only twenty-two corps or 1,250,000 German troops, and therefore they decided to post their own first-line force of about 1,000,000 on a front of about 180 miles, whereas the Germans actually deployed 34 or 35 corps on a front of 250 miles. When the Germans entered Belgium the French staff did not immediately alter its dispositions. Four French armies were placed in line, and a fifth (the 4th army) was held in reserve. The French staff expected the Germans to march through Luxemburg and the extreme south-eastern end of Belgium east of the Meuse. It did not believe that they would make a great sweep through central Belgium west of the Meuse, as they did, because it did not imagine that they had troops or sufficient transport enough for such a movement.

On August 12 an official in the closest touch with the French staff informed a deputy, who showed nervousness, that "the (French) staff is not uneasy; it assures me that the western movement of the Germans is only dangerous to them." On August 14 General Lanrezac, who had now been ordered to move with his army to Charleroi, made a fresh appeal to General Joffre for precautions to be taken to protect his left, and was assured that "the Germans have nothing ready on that side." On August 15 the Belgian staff at Namur sent a warning that the Germans were crossing the Meuse in masses. It was disregarded. Yet it should have been clear that the Germans were preparing to fall on General Lanrezac and the British expeditionary force in overwhelming strength. It has been argued that the French staff could not have met this vast turning movement which was carried out by the German armies under Kluck and Bülow, because it had not the men. It had the men, only they were not properly organized, because of the theory which was held in France that reserve troops could not be employed in the initial battles. In 1911 a leading French general had protested against the danger of this theory.

## FRENCH ARTILLERY

As the German movement through Belgium became more and more pronounced, the French staff still clung to its original plans and failed to modify them to meet the danger. The German strategy was always to avoid frontal attack, if possible, and to work round the enemy's flank. It ought to have been clear by mid-August that the German armies were carrying out a vast turning movement through central and western Belgium, and that the French dispositions must be drastically modified to parry and defeat such a movement. Yet the French staff did not sensibly alter its distribution of force. It believed that the Germans had weakened their centre, between Mézières and Alsace, in order to provide troops for this turning movement, and it hoped to break through the German centre between these points and inflict a decisive defeat in a great offensive. Its calculations were based on its mistaken estimate of the German armies, which it supposed to be far weaker than they were.

In fact the French had some numerical superiority in Lorraine, but it was not sufficient to give them victory, in view of their great weakness in heavy artillery, aircraft, and machine guns, against the Germans, who had the support of very strong positions, many of which had been carefully prepared before the war. An offensive in such conditions was bound to fail, and was quite contrary to the teaching of such masters of war as Napoleon and Foch. In a series of battles known as Virton, the Ardennes, Sarrebourg, and Morhange, the French attacks broke down completely. The French infantry was thrown upon the German positions after an insufficient artillery preparation, and was generally repulsed with heavy loss. The French artillery, despite its admirable weapon, the "75," found itself under the fire of the German long-range heavy guns and howitzers, to which it could make no reply. The Germans, when the French attack failed, passed from the defensive to the offensive, and advanced, but without any great energy or speed. Had they pushed forward with resolution, they might have won a great success. As it was, they advanced sufficiently to add enormously to the danger which threatened General Lanrezac's French 5th army at Charleroi, and Sir John French at Mons.

General Mangin, then only a subordinate commanding a brigade in the French 5th army, by his energy and firmness drove back a very superior German force at the critical moment. The danger was so overwhelming that General Lanrezac had no

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alternative but to retreat with all speed; and though he was severely criticised at the time, there is no doubt that his retirement was necessary, judicious, and ably carried out. It was followed some hours later by Sir John French's retreat, which was equally necessary and judicious. The extrication of some 300,000 allied troops from the clutches of the 750,000 Germans who were closing upon them was a great feat of leadership. The strategy which compelled such a retreat at the outset, such an abandonment of the richest part of France and all Belgium to German occupation, was clearly open to criticism. One of the ablest French military writers has thus pointed out its defects:

It was absurd on the part of our headquarters not to have reckoned with the invasion of Belgium, which began on August 4, and had been foreseen for years, in the concentration effected during the subsequent days. It was absurd to have obstinately closed their eyes to the obvious menace and postponed to the last extremity the measures which were indispensable to meet it. In the conditions, in which France found herself in mid-August, 1914, in face of an attack which threatened her very national existence, it was unreasonable to maintain in the east (in Lorraine) forces exceeding those necessary for a pure and simple defensive. It was still more unreasonable to attempt offensive movements in Alsace and Lorraine without any serious chance of success, when our troops were so greatly inferior numerically west of the Meuse.

This mistake was accentuated by the strategic doctrine which had been accepted in the French army shortly before the war—that the offensive must be adopted at whatever cost, and that in it “imprudence was the best of safeguards.” French leaders knew that Russia would require time to bring her enormous masses into play; they knew that time would be required to enable Great Britain to throw her strength into the scale. There was nothing to be gained by rushing precipitately upon an admirably entrenched opponent. It will always be a matter of speculation whether the war would not have taken an entirely different turn if the French army had been taught to entrench, and if the French staff at the outset had linked up its forces with the Belgian army and held the line of the Meuse, which was defensible, with powerful field fortifications, such as proved so resistant of penetration during the war.

This strategy was not adopted, and in consequence the Allies had to retreat after the repulses of the offensive in Lorraine

## THE MARNE AND THE AISNE

and the Ardennes. The retreat brought fearful misfortune on France, but it was a lesser evil than the loss of the two armies—Lanrezac's and the British—which played so important a part in the subsequent victory of the Marne. Even when the retreat became necessary, if field works and positions had been prepared on the northern French frontier, the allied armies might have halted and delivered battle long before they reached the Marne. But the British, as they fell back, found ready nothing for them but a few straight trenches, altogether useless against shell fire.

It is certain that the French staff, in its plans, had never contemplated a general retreat such as that which took place in August, 1914. The retreat did, however, enable the French staff to manœuvre and to meet the Germans by other methods than frontal attacks. The general idea underlying the French counter-stroke dealt in the battle of the Marne was to turn the flank of the German armies, which were turning the French front, by sweeping behind them and cutting their communications. For that purpose General Maunoury's 6th army was brought up from Lorraine and was launched at a favourable moment in a brilliant attack on Kluck. If it had had the support of a strong force at Lille—which the Germans did not occupy till many weeks later—its onslaught might have produced really decisive results. Indeed General Kluck's whole army might have been destroyed.

The battle of the Marne did not issue in the complete defeat of the Germans for which the French staff had hoped, but it was nevertheless fatal to the German plans. The Germans failed for two great reasons of strategy. Their staff imagined that the French and British armies were beaten and demoralised when they were not, and, under-rating them, it failed to concentrate all possible force for the decisive battle. It allowed the German Emperor to waste troops in a futile attack on Nancy; it left other troops in Belgium engaged in duties of minor importance; and it also detached an army corps to East Prussia, where the advance of the Russians had caused panic. The corps sent to East Prussia played the rôle of Grouchy in the Waterloo campaign. It arrived in the east after the peril had passed, and the Russians had been decisively defeated at Tannenberg. Its presence might well have turned the scale on the Marne, where for days the issue was in suspense; and, according to Kluck, its absence was fatal to the success of his army.

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

After the Marne, the battle of the Aisne proved conclusively that to break through a strongly entrenched line held by good troops a marked superiority in numbers and matériel was necessary. The Germans had now failed in their original plan, which was to outflank the French armies and swiftly crush France, but they still had superiority in numbers and an enormous advantage in their guns, and strong positions. The French staff attempted to dislodge them by working round their right flank with troops brought from Lorraine and the British army which was transferred to Flanders. The effort failed, partly because it was made with insufficient force and partly because the German staff had been quick to realize the position, and had simultaneously attempted to turn the French left flank by throwing in new formations and pushing for the Channel coast. By this strategy it hoped to strike a decisive blow.

By a strange coincidence each staff struck at the other in the same quarter and at the same time, and the forces which they set in movement actually neutralised each other. The Germans had secretly organized four fresh reserve corps. These they hurried towards eastern Flanders and the neighbourhood of Ypres in October, 1914. In this quarter there were now twelve German corps moving against seven allied corps, and the Germans were in such strength that disaster for the Allies seemed inevitable. The German plan was to break through the weak allied front near Ypres, cut off the French and Belgian troops to the north of that place, and to reach Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. It was almost attained. In the words of Lord French, "October 31 and November 1 (1914) will remain for ever memorable in the history of our country, for during those two days no more than one thin and straggling line of tired-out British soldiers stood between the Empire and its practical ruin as a first-class Power." But at the fateful moment the British troops held, and French support was generously given. A second time, Germany lost all hope of a speedy end of the war in the west, when success seemed within her grasp.

One of the reasons why the Allies failed in their attempts to outflank the Germans and deal a crushing blow was that the Germans held the interior lines. Their front had already assumed the shape of a semicircle in France projecting into enemy territory, and they could move their forces across it quicker than the Allies could move theirs. This advantage

## THE FRENCH PLAN IN 1915

they retained up to the very end of the war. It was an asset of enormous value to them, and one of the explanations of the constant failure of allied strategy. When German troops were moved from Lorraine to Flanders the distance they had to cover was about two hundred miles, while the French troops which were moved from the same quarter to the same destination had to march or travel by train over three hundred miles. The Germans could always arrive first, and this enabled them to defeat many good plans.

Again, the central position of their country, lying between the Allies in the west, Russia in the east, and the Balkan and Turkish fronts in the south-east, with communications and numerous railways, gave them the power of moving troops to and fro between these fronts as required. If the Allies decided to reinforce one of the eastern fronts, the Germans could always send countervailing reinforcements quicker by their direct routes. By ably using this advantage they prevented the collapse of Turkey for three years, and upheld the tottering German dynasty in Bulgaria. With it they were able to crush Serbia before French and British troops could arrive in the necessary strength.

When the two opponents came to rest in the west, and when the trench lines ran from the sea near Ostend to the Swiss frontier, the question was raised what strategy was to be followed by the Allies. Sir John French was anxious for a strong offensive on the Flanders coast to clear that coast in combination with the British navy. It was a project that had a real prospect of success if it had been pursued with the entire British strength. It would have signally hampered the Germans in their submarine war, and probably have prevented their aeroplane attacks upon Great Britain. The French staff, however, was against this plan, for reasons which seemed excellent at the time, and the British government was half-hearted in its support, arguing that sufficient troops and ammunition were not available for its execution. The answer to this argument was given a few months later when troops and ammunition were diverted to the Dardanelles that might have been better used on the western front. British strategy committed the same mistake as the German staff; it wavered between two objectives, and struck at neither point with adequate force.

The French plan in 1915 was to break through the German front at Arras and in Champagne, but though repeated efforts

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

were made to carry it out it was defeated because of the French lack of sufficient numbers and heavy guns. Only the gradual arrival of the new British armies, then slowly forming in Great Britain, could give the preponderance of strength required, and the concentration of great British forces in France was grievously delayed by the Dardanelles diversion. This was undertaken because the British Cabinet did not believe in the possibility of breaking the German entrenched line in the west. The repeated failures on the part of the Allies arose not only from want of tactical and strategical skill, but also in large part from lack of ammunition and the proper kind of ammunition—high-explosive shell.

The Dardanelles campaign was a failure because it violated every principle of strategy. Surprise is vital in an attempt of this kind, and the Turks were put on their guard by futile bombardments of the Gallipoli forts. To these bombardments Lord Fisher, who as First Sea Lord of the Admiralty was the Government's chief adviser in naval strategy, was strongly opposed, but instead of listening to its strategist the Government took other advice. An adverse report on any attempt to force the Dardanelles had been drawn up long before the war by the imperial defence committee, based on careful military and naval study. This was disregarded. It is one of the axioms of naval war that ships cannot contend with forts. An expeditionary force landing on an enemy's coast needs a harbour. There was none on the Gallipoli peninsula.

The British force which was employed in this unhappy operation was large—totalling 468,000 men, of whom from first to last over 200,000 were killed, wounded, or invalided. Though the attack on the Dardanelles was primarily undertaken to take Turkish pressure off Russia, and did this to some extent, the same result might have been more effectually obtained with far less sacrifice in other ways. There was no reason why Allenby's campaign should not have been carried out in 1915 with Egypt as a secure base. An attack on Palestine and Syria would have diverted Turkish armies from Armenia and would not have demanded so large a British force. Or, again, a determined offensive on a large scale in the west with the additional troops detached to Gallipoli, might have proved most effective of all by compelling the Germans to withdraw divisions from the Russian front. The failure at Gallipoli led directly to the entry

## DARDANELLES AND SALONICA

of Bulgaria into the war, and, far from relieving the strain on the Allies, increased their danger. There is no more striking example in history of the misapplication of resources.

The Dardanelles diversion was followed by the Salonica diversion, for which there was far better reason. Salonica was at least a fair harbour and a tolerable base, though the climate was bad, and it was no uncommon thing for half the strength of the battalions there to be on the sick list. But here there were vital strategic aims—to secure the support of the Serbian army and to prevent Germany from pushing south in the Balkans and forcing Greece to join her. If Salonica had not been held by a strong allied force the Greek bases would have passed under German control and would have been of inestimable service to the German submarines, enabling them to close the Adriatic and eastern Mediterranean to allied shipping. Serbia would have been wiped out and her army lost.

Egypt would have been sundered from Britain by German and Austrian submarines in the Mediterranean. So far back as the winter of 1914-15 the French Government was anxious for the despatch of an allied force to Salonica, to cooperate with the Serbians, who had just inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians. Its proposal was so to time the movements of the Allies that a great advance on Austria might begin at the moment when Italy entered the war. Had its plan been accepted the Bulgarians would hardly have ventured to join the Germans, and Rumania would probably have thrown in her lot with the Allies in the spring of 1915, before the defeat of Russia was complete. It is also possible that the Greek Government would then have joined the Allies.

A landing at Salonica thus held out great prospects of important success in early 1915, and was a far more hopeful operation than the Dardanelles campaign. The chief difficulty was the question of transport in the wild country of the Balkan peninsula; but in 1915 the Serbian railway system was intact, and by it communications could have been opened up with Rumania and Russia. The French Government returned to its old project in August, 1915, when it decided to send a French force to Salonica and to place General Sarrail in command of it. General Joffre and Lord Kitchener were both hostile to the plan, as they were preparing great offensives in France and at Gallipoli for which they wanted all available troops; and in

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

the end, when the Serbian retreat began, Sarraill found himself with only three divisions (two French and one British), a force which was inadequate to give effective aid to the Serbians. The evacuation of Gallipoli after the unfortunate battles of August, 1915, was inevitable, and when it was carried out, Sarraill's army was strengthened with troops withdrawn from that blood-stained peninsula.

Having settled to send a force to Salonica, the Allies ought to have taken the necessary political measures to support it. Sarraill, the nominal commander-in-chief at Salonica, was not recognised as such by the British Government, so that there was no unity in the command. He saw clearly enough that his hands would be tied and that his force would be strategically useless unless he could be certain of the Greek Government; but his view, which after-events showed to be perfectly sound, was not accepted by the Allied governments. Unity of command and unity of diplomacy were both necessary for allied victory; neither was attained for many months until a long series of reverses or repulses had driven home the need for concentrated effort and central control.

Sarraill's strategy was thus handicapped from the first. An able soldier, he had the reputation of being an extreme politician, and when he came into collision with King Constantine it was supposed that he was dominated by republican prejudices. The Russian Government vetoed Constantine's removal; the British Government was lukewarm and inert. Sarraill had hoped to secure the support of a purified Greece and of a powerful Greek army, whereas he found that his rear and his communications were threatened by Greek troops acting under Constantine's orders, and, as he had every reason to suspect, in close collusion with the German staff. He was paralysed at the critical moment because the Allies could not understand that strategy and policy must march hand in hand.

In July, 1916, Sarraill's army had risen to respectable figures, even when allowance was made for the large number of men suffering from malaria and dysentery. He had rather over 300,000 effectives, of which 100,000 were French, 96,000 British, 85,000 Serbians, 20,000 Italians, and 12,000 Russians, available for a determined effort to break the line from Berlin to Constantinople and Bagdad. Moreover, Rumania was preparing to enter the war, and she had nearly 500,000 men on paper. The exact

## RUMANIA'S SHARE

manner in which this force was to be employed was a strategic question of vital importance.

The Allies proposed early in 1916 that Rumania should attack Bulgaria and join hands with the Allied army at Salonica. Thus the German route to the East would be broken and communications opened through the Balkans with Russia. Under this proposal a Rumanian force, supported by ten Russian divisions, was to cover the north of Rumania from Austrian attack. The Rumanians rejected the plan, which was undoubtedly sound. They insisted on invading and seizing Transylvania, and many weeks of fruitless discussion elapsed without any decision being reached. Finally, on July 1, 1916, the rapid progress of the Russian armies under Brusiloff led the Rumanians to determine on immediate hostilities.

On July 27 a treaty was signed by which a fatal half-measure was accepted. Rumania agreed to attack Bulgaria provided that 15 days before this attack opened—it is said to have been timed to take place on August 25—the Allied army at Salonica began an offensive with all its force against the Bulgarians. The bulk of the Rumanian army was still to invade Transylvania. Orders were given to General Sarrail to attack the Bulgarians on August 10, but he did not move. His own explanation of his inaction was that the British and Italians would not remove Constantine, and that he could not advance unless his rear and lines of communication were secure, and that they could not be secure so long as Constantine's troops commanded vital strategic points near Salonica. He also alleged that at the last moment the Rumanian Government refused to provide any troops for operations against Bulgaria and decided to send all its forces into Transylvania.

The collapse of Rumania was thus due in part to her own faulty strategy and in part to the diplomacy of the Allies at Salonica. Though General Sarrail was removed from command subsequently, after he had obstinately refused to attack with vigour, and after the disasters to Rumania, and though his successor carried through with the most brilliant success the campaign against Bulgaria, the conditions had then vitally changed. Greece had been purified; Constantine had been deposed; M. Venizelos had returned to power and following his declared policy had placed the Greek army and navy at the disposal of the Allies.

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

To return from the eastern diversions of the allied strategists to the west: when 1916 opened the Allies were at least rid of their Gallipoli commitments; but the new British armies were not yet ready for the field, and the wish was not to employ them until their training and equipment were complete. For that reason, though preparations for a great allied offensive were begun in the Somme region early in 1916, the date of the offensive was postponed till the summer. The Germans gained an inkling of what was coming, and determined to strike first, and once more to seize the initiative. About November, 1915, a council of war was held, at which, against the advice of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, both of whom were for continuing the attack upon Russia, the Kaiser, at Falkenhayn's instance, decided to attempt to break through at Verdun.

The situation at Verdun had aroused great uneasiness in France. A distinguished officer, Colonel Driant, afterwards killed, visited Paris in November, 1915, and made it known that the defences there were in a most unsatisfactory condition. General Gallieni, who was then minister of war, was so distressed by the news that he immediately urged General Joffre to make certain that two lines of defence were properly organized at Verdun. Two days later, on December 18, 1915, he was assured by General Joffre that instructions had been given for the thorough organization of the Verdun defences, and that, notwithstanding the shortage of barbed-wire, the two lines were adequate to arrest all attacks. But early in 1916, when General Castlenau inspected Verdun, he found the works there quite inefficient, and ordered measures for their improvement to be taken without delay. It was too late. The arrival of French engineers and pioneers to reconstruct the fortifications accelerated the German attack. Thus, when the battle of Verdun opened, there was really little to stop the Germans, though the world generally believed that Verdun was an impregnable fortress.

The losses of both armies in the battles there were frightful and the French, although the defending force, suffered more acutely. The offensive was defeated, but for a time the danger was appalling. It had, moreover, a great strategic effect. It compelled the British staff to use the new British armies before they were ready for the field and before the supply of ammunition was plentiful, so that throughout the Somme battle, in Sir Douglas Haig's words, "the expenditure of artillery

## BATTLE OF THE SOMME

ammunition had to be watched with the greatest care." If Verdun was to be saved there was no choice: the pressure upon it must be relieved by an offensive at some other point. The British staff would have preferred to attack the German positions from the north and from Arras, as they were attacked in August, 1918. The French staff did not favour this plan, which would have rendered French co-operation more difficult. It therefore proposed to attack with 28 British and 39 French divisions on a front of 40 miles from Hébuterne, nine miles north of Albert, to Lassigny.

This attack on a wide front would have given a better chance of breaking through the German fortified lines than the offensive on a much narrower front, which was finally carried out. The reduction of the width of front was necessitated by the diversion of a large number of French units to Verdun, so that only twelve, instead of thirty-nine, French divisions, were available when the battle of the Somme opened on July 1, 1916. The prospect of decisive success was thus correspondingly diminished.

The battle, nevertheless, had important results. It wore down the German forces. It enabled the British staff to improve its methods, though the price paid—412,000 British casualties—was grievously high. It shook the German faith in the entrenched line and destroyed what prestige the German failure at Verdun had left to General Falkenhayn. It led to his replacement by Hindenburg, who chose Ludendorff as his right-hand man, and to a complete change in German strategy. William II now resolved to stand on the defensive in the west and continue the offensive in the east. To enable the Germans to hold in the west, immense new works were constructed with forced labour.

When the German staff decided to stand on the defensive in the west, at the close of 1916, it does not seem to have understood that time was against it. It gave Great Britain the months she required to construct tanks in large numbers, to increase her armies till they numbered 7,500,000 men, to augment her output of munitions, and, above all, to make the weight of her sea-power felt. The naval blockade had a cumulative effect. It required time to produce results, but with each month that passed it became more and more deadly and bore on the German people with greater weight, until its pressure forced them to their desperate submarine campaign. The supposed impregnability

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

of the Hindenburg line proved a complete delusion when it was vigorously attacked by troops with tanks and abundant artillery. But for the outbreak of the revolution in Russia in early 1917, Germany must have sustained a decisive defeat in that year. As it was, the Russian collapse brought her temporary relief and enabled her to stave off her fate.

In deciding upon the submarine war the German staff repeated the immense error which it had made in violating Belgian neutrality. It disregarded moral claims, and its judgement was wrong. The German admiralty argued that the internal situation of Germany was so difficult and dangerous owing to the blockade, that, whatever the risks of the submarine war, it must be pressed as the sure means of forcing Great Britain to conclude peace. It was supported in this view by many of the business leaders and professors. Thus one of the heads of the great Diskonto-Gesellschaft reported that war with the United States would probably follow, but the German position being so bad, that risk must be faced. He imagined that America's entry into the war would have little effect and would only lead to temporary estrangement. The German admiralty guaranteed the German army against the movement of American troops from the United States on any large scale, and it gave definite pledges that by a certain date Great Britain's power of resistance would be overcome and the British Government would be forced to sue for peace.

The entry of the United States into the war was treated with real or affected derision by the German staff, which placed mistaken faith in the promises of the German admiralty, and also argued that some years would elapse before America could train an effective army for operations in Europe. Strategists with a less prejudiced judgement recognised that the action of the United States rendered victory only a question of time for the Allies—if they could overcome the submarine.

The reason why allied strategy had so far failed to win decisive victory was that the Allies did not possess a sufficient superiority over the central powers in well-trained troops. To achieve success it is necessary to be stronger than the enemy at the point where the blow is delivered, and to be stronger to a considerable degree. In 1915 and 1916 the British forces were inferior in training and experience to the Germans, if the French were equal or superior to the Germans. By 1917 the British had

## UNITY OF COMMAND

reached the same level of skill as the French, and were superior man for man to the Germans. An ally with ample reserves of men could hold large parts of the line with comparatively inexperienced troops, and set free trained and experienced French and British troops for the strategic plans of a great soldier. The United States was such an ally, and the fact that American troops could be utilised on the western front—whereas Russian troops were tied down to the east by the inaccessibility of Russia—increased the value of American aid.

For great strategic plans to be carried out with success, central directions and unity of command are essential. Under General Joffre there was a working understanding between the British and French armies, and the germ of a central command in the allied conferences which sat at Chantilly from 1915 onwards. But the authority of this conference was limited. Nor were the Allies prepared unreservedly to place their armies at the disposition of any French officer. To take the case of Great Britain as typical, she had to defend India, Egypt, and the Persian Gulf, and to provide military support in the form of garrisons for her navy at the naval bases. Her soldiers had for generations studied the special problems involved, and were familiar with them. If she had placed her army unreservedly at the disposal of the French high command, what security was there that proper attention would be paid to these needs of hers? She might fear a tendency to concentrate all the British forces in France, and to leave the Mediterranean and Near and Middle East bare, and the vital artery of the Suez Canal ill-protected.

The allocation of force in war between the various fields was one of the difficult and delicate questions of strategy, and led to endless controversies between the western and eastern schools. The western school was for the offensive in France and the stripping of the minor and secondary fields. The eastern school emphasised the importance of striking down Germany from her rear by a vigorous offensive against Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria, while economising force by standing generally on the defensive in France. It says much for the loyalty and comradeship of the French that there were so few difficulties between the two great armies in the west when the possibilities of disagreement were so serious. The operations of 1917 in the west were marked by the growing mastery of the methods of war shown by the British army. The German retreat on the

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

Somme front was, it is true, carried out without molestation, owing to weather conditions.

But the battles of Arras and Messines were brilliantly executed, and involved losses which were small in comparison with the result achieved. The French army, however, at this precise moment was weakened by the campaign of sedition which the Germans had planned, hoping doubtless that the French troops would collapse as the Russian army had done. Nothing of the kind happened, but there were instances of indiscipline. and at Soissons two regiments marched on the station under the Red Flag, declaring their determination to go to Paris and overawe the Chamber. The outbreak was quickly got under by General Pétain, and order was re-established; but it reacted upon the operations.

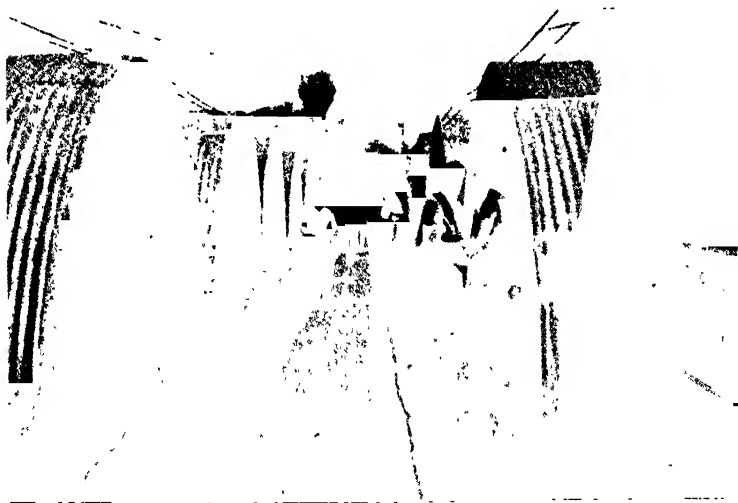
As the year 1917 advanced the German staff lost its faith in the submarine and was driven, as the only means of avoiding certain defeat, to a series of great offensives on land, for which it could now find men by withdrawing troops from the Russian front. Austria had been assured in January, 1917, that the ruthless submarine campaign would certainly end the war by the summer of that year. Her anxiety for peace was such that the first offensive had to be directed against Italy in the hope of crushing them and forcing her to make peace.

The German staff finally decided to penetrate the Italian front at Caporetto, thus menacing the retreat of the Italian forces on the Carso, and then to turn on them and destroy them. On the section which had been selected for the final attack, Austrian divisions from the Russian front with a Bolshevik spirit were stationed and encouraged to enter into communications with the Italian troops. On the eve of the attack the German staff withdrew the Austrians and replaced them with Brandenburg divisions, who advanced against the Italians with fury, and, when they acted as had been agreed, shot them down or had them marched off to prison camps and the mines. The Italians had never intended to sell their country, but the result of their conduct was that the Italian front was broken and the Italian armies were threatened with gigantic disaster.

The Germans came near complete success; but at this critical moment the courage and devotion of picked Italian troops held up the advance of the Germans and Austrians, and gained time for a stand on the Piave, where the Italians stopped the Germans

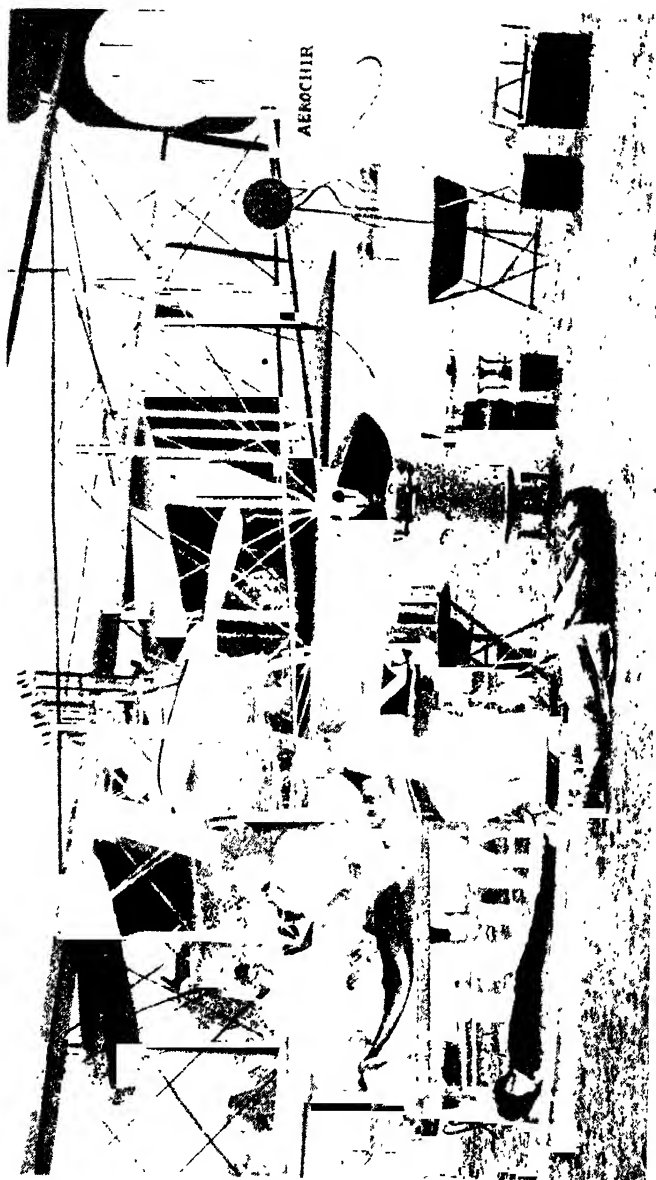


This photograph shows the ward of a New Zealand hospital on the Western front. Like the other Dominions, New Zealand had its own efficient medical unit.

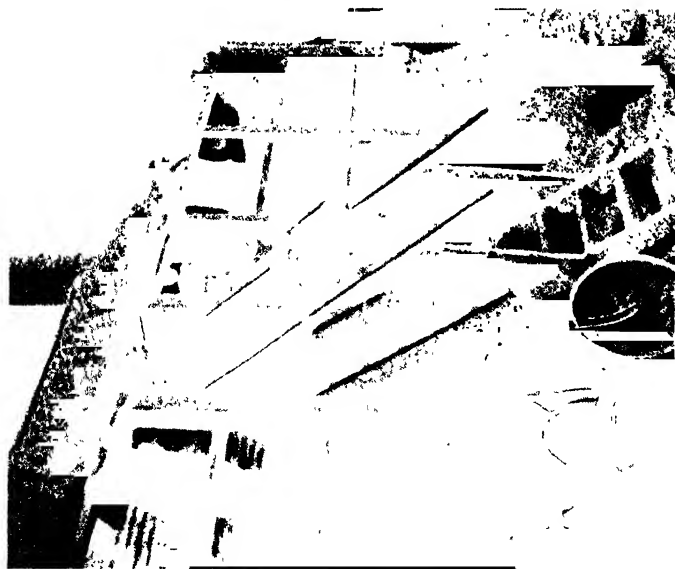


A scene outside the huts of a temporary British hospital in France. The flower beds and trellis outside the corrugated iron buildings give a rustic effect.

#### **EFFICIENT SERVICE UNDER THE RED CROSS**



**RED CROSS AMBULANCE OF THE AIR.** A remarkable war-time invention was the French aeroplane the "Aerochir," designed for medical service. The staff are X-raying one patient, while others await attention. This aeroplane had compartments for surgical instruments and materials and sterilising apparatus and dressings.



**BRITISH HOME DEFENCE.** Left, a Cycling Battalion taking part in coastal patrol work seen on duty at a look-out station. Right a sentry on shore duty, one link in the encircling chain that barred the coast of Britain to German invaders. Men of the Royal Naval Volunteers and Boy Scouts also helped to keep watch and ward.



**SALVING THE HINDENBURG.** This remarkable photograph shows the 28,000-ton German battle cruiser, scuttled along with some fifty other interned vessels at Scapa Flow on June 21, 1919. Encrusted with seaweed and barnacles, it is in process of being raised from the bottom of the sea. The task of salvaging took four years, and finally the vessel was towed to Rosyth to be broken up in 1950.

## FIGHTING ON THE PIAVE

finally. After this great feat the arrival of 11 fresh British and French divisions removed any danger of another German offensive on the Piave.

It was natural that when the Allies moved not far short of 250,000 men to Italy, the Germans should determine to carry out a great offensive in France, where, they argued, the allied forces must have been greatly weakened. From the moment when the Germans began their offensive in Italy, American troops ought to have been hurried to Europe to serve as a strategic reserve. No measure of the kind was taken. The offensive in Italy opened in October, 1917, in which month only 38,000 Americans were transported to Europe, and in the months immediately following the figures were 23,000 for November, 48,000 for December, 46,000 for January, and 48,000 for February, a total of 165,000 men for the four months, which may be compared with the 244,000 embarked in May, 1918.

The neglect of this important precaution was probably due to the absence of unity of command and imperfect appreciation of the danger by the United States. In Great Britain and France there was intense anxiety. Both had almost exhausted their last reserves of men, and, torn and bleeding, they could do little more. The Germans in their great offensive of 1918 struck firstly at the British army because they hoped to inflict on it an annihilating disaster, and thus to force Great Britain to make peace. As the submarine campaign had failed, and the training of the American millions advanced steadily, the German staff saw clearly enough that defeat was certain if the British could not be crushed on land. Ludendorff's strategy was simple; it was to drive "pockets" in the allied front and then to widen them till they joined and till the British and French armies were forced apart or driven by retreat to uncover the Channel ports and Paris. He fatally underestimated the fighting power of the British army, and left 200,000 men in the east; but he had a large force of specially trained divisions available, and he trusted to the effect of surprise. He complained afterwards that the main reason of the failure of his operations was the bad tactics of the German subordinate leaders, who attacked in too close formations and suffered enormous loss.

In the offensive of March 21 there was a moment when Ludendorff came very near success, and if he had resolutely pushed for Amiens he might have reached that great railway

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

junction. As it was, the German onslaught melted away before the stubborn resistance of the British, and finally came to a standstill precisely as it had done at Ypres years before. There was this serious obstacle to a decisive German success. A study of the later battles of the war leads to the conclusion that without a marked advantage in the air no great results can be obtained. At no point did the Germans dominate the air, and the British aircraft in consequence worked such havoc with their communications and supply routes as to paralyse the energy of their advance and gain time when it was most vital. The catastrophic retreat of the British 5th army was a blessing in disguise because it brought the Allies' acceptance of General Foch as supreme commander of the British, French, and American armies on the western front, and at last permitted a great strategist to deal with the problem of defeating Germany.

In the terrible strain of the German advance Foch maintained this unruffled calm. His strategy was, first, to gain time by fighting a defensive battle with the very minimum of force, thus exhausting the German armies and increasing his fresh reserves, and then, when the cream was skimmed off the German fighting divisions, to pass suddenly to the offensive at the right minute, after the maximum of American troops and of British reinforcements had arrived. This, as Napoleon said, "is the most delicate of all operations of war, and the proper moment is only perceived by a man of great talent."

The history of the closing months of the war proved with what mastery the generalissimo Marshal Foch performed it. He had, it is true, the finest instruments at his command. The British army was an incomparable weapon. The French army was equal to it in the superb quality of its troops and the magnificent standard of its generalship; inferior in nothing but its equipment. The American army was superlative in physique and in the eager spirit of its men, and its numbers were overwhelming; each month from 200,000 to 250,000 of its troops arrived. Foch did not engage his reserves prematurely. The second German offensive menaced Ypres and forced the British back in a vital sector: the third offensive threatened Paris as the first had threatened Amiens; but he waited patiently.

The supreme crisis of the war came in June, 1918, when the Germans reached Château-Thierry. Never since the days before the first battle of the Marne had they been so near the capital

## THE JULY OFFENSIVE, 1918

of France. Foch knew that their reserves were falling as fast as the allied reserves rose. The situation, though grave, was full of hope. The German fresh divisions in reserve were seventy-eight on March 21; on May 27 the figures had fallen to sixty-two.

It was still necessary to wait, but by July 15, when Ludendorff ordered his last offensive, the total of fresh German reserve divisions was only forty-three, and Foch felt that once the Germans were well engaged, the hour had arrived for him to open the final counter-offensive. With admirable prevision he judged where the new attack would come, and concentrated all his available reserve upon the counter-stroke. He allowed the crown prince to cross the Marne, and then on July 18 came his riposte, terrible and unexpected, on the flank of the German advance. At this time the German army was still immensely strong, but owing to the enormous consumption of material in the previous offensives, it was becoming difficult to replace weapons and men. The German railway material, and motor-lorries showed serious signs of wear and tear. It was the last effort of which Germany was capable, and it would not have been made if Ludendorff had not once more profoundly misjudged the situation of both the British and French armies and believed they would collapse before another vigorous blow.

Foch's first counter-stroke on July 18 was a terrible surprise, but even more terrible was the second attack, which the British opened on August 8. This had been planned by Sir Douglas Haig and Sir John Monash, the commander of the Australian corps. Foch's strategy now was to engage the Germans on every part of the vast front, to leave them no quiet sectors, to wear and exhaust them to the uttermost, until new armies composed of American troops and French troops, which were held in reserve, could deal the decisive blow. As it happened, that blow was never delivered. The preliminary battles so shattered the Germans that they collapsed earlier than Foch had dared to hope. Under the continuous attacks their numbers were reduced and by September 26, their position was already desperate.

A day later the British forces broke through the Hindenburg line in one of the most wonderful battles of the war; on September 29 Ludendorff telephoned to the German Chancellor warning him " of the extreme gravity of the military position, and inviting him to demand, as pressingly as possible, an armistice which might enable him to gain time and temporarily

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

re-establish the situation. One of the remarkable facts of the series of battles which followed Foch's counter-stroke was that in the war of movement the Allies showed a great superiority to the Germans. In some of the battles they had no advantage of numbers; but their equipment was so good, their spirit was so high, and the skill with which they were handled was so great that they seemed able to achieve impossibilities.

The German high command had nothing whatever of fighting value to oppose to Foch's new offensive in Lorraine, and in November, learning something of the French plans, it began to withdraw its troops and material from Metz. Had the war lasted a few days longer it would have been left with only two railways—the lines through Liège and through Visé—to withdraw its armies in Belgium and manœuvre them against Foch. Its task would have been impossible. The roads were choked with wagons, guns, and motor-lorries, evacuating material and plunder from Belgium. The railway plant was breaking down. The German troops were degenerating into mobs. It was in these conditions that Germany surrendered. Even when the armistice gave her rest from attack, order was not re-established for a week; the withdrawal of her troops was only carried out with immense difficulty.

Such was the issue of four months of attack. It proved the falsity of the German Government's assertion that its surrender was due to political reasons. The German military situation on the western front was desperate. And, as if that were not enough to compel submission, the German Empire was suddenly menaced with attack on a new front through the collapse of its allies, at a time when it had lost all the advantages of the central position and interior lines through the defective condition of its railways. Had the Germans fought on they would have been invaded through Austria, and they would have been caught between two enormous allied armies—the Franco-British-American forces on the western front, and the Franco-British-Italian-Serbian-Greek armies advancing from Italy and the Balkans. They were unable to meet Foch in the west; they would have been able to spare only the merest handful of troops to resist the advance of Diaz's Italians and Franchet d'Esperey's men from Salonica.

The allied victories in the west had prepared for the wonderful victories on the Italian and Balkan fronts by holding the German armies and demoralising Germany's allies. Austria,

## THE COLLAPSE OF BULGARIA

Bulgaria, and Turkey had come to look to Germany for help in every emergency; they had hitherto regarded the German army as invincible and the German staff as impeccable. Now the German army was in retreat, beaten whenever it stood and delivered battle, and every plan of the German staff was proved to be wrong. The famous German generals were outmanœuvred, and were helpless against Foch; the allied campaigns were all co-ordinated and worked on a scientific plan, so that no army was left idle and no front silent.

By a masterly strategy the allied forces on the secondary fronts were held ready until all the German reserves should be involved, until Germany had been compelled to implore the aid of Austrian troops, unwillingly given in September. In that month eight or nine Austrian divisions were moved to France, and there were quickly entangled in the disasters which were befalling the German army. Their withdrawal facilitated blows in the Near East, and prepared the way for the brilliantly daring and successful strategy with which Franchet d'Esperey struck Bulgaria down and broke the line from Berlin to Constantinople.

Both the great offensives in the east in September, 1918, were intended to be decisive, and both achieved that aim. Franchet d'Esperey, with the Salonica army, struck at the Bulgarian centre and pierced it at its very strongest point. So complete was the defeat, so great the consternation which it caused in Berlin, that the German staff most reluctantly had to send seven German divisions to the Bulgarian front in a last effort to save the Berlin-Constantinople line. The seven divisions arrived too late; they were weak in number and poor in fighting quality, and they merely went down in the general collapse. On September 30 Bulgaria abandoned the war, placing her territory and her railways at the disposal of the Allies, and on October 12 the allied armies reached and cut the vital railway. The crumbling of Bulgaria exposed Austria to attack from a new quarter—on the Danube front—and added to the difficulties and anxieties of her command. With one army detached to France, a second army neutralised on the Danube, and her various races in ferment, she lay paralysed and only waited the impending blow which was to end her existence.

In Palestine, Sir Edmund Allenby's strategy was of the same bold character as Franchet d'Esperey's; but he struck at the Turkish right, because the country in that direction was best

## STRATEGY OF THE WAR

suit to the cavalry operations which he projected. He pierced the Turkish line and passed his cavalry through the gap. The cavalry, without troubling to deal with the remaining Turkish forces on the battle-front, rode straight for the rail-heads and bases well behind the line. It did not pursue, it intercepted. In no campaign had cavalry been used with such insight and with such success. The British and Indian horsemen had reached the main Turkish supply centres and headquarters almost before the Turkish commanders knew what had happened. They moved with extraordinary rapidity, and in five weeks and two days covered no less than five hundred miles. As the result of these operations the whole of Syria was liberated, and the Turkish armies there destroyed in less than six weeks.

What was not less important, Allenby's advance to the Bagdad Railway, on October 26, cut the main line of communication with the Turkish army in Mesopotamia, and placed that force in a hopeless position. Its surrender to the British army followed as a matter of necessity—one more example of the skilful strategy employed in the final stages of the war. By November 1 the two great British armies in the Near East, with perhaps 300,000 veteran combatants were available for transfer to Europe.

As each of Germany's allies fell, the strain on her increased cumulatively, and also the difficulty of meeting that strain. It had always been maintained by the eastern school of strategists in the British army that the real road to peace lay through Constantinople, Sofia, and Vienna. And now Constantinople and Sofia were in allied hands. The collapse of Austria followed quickly. Lord Cavan's force, which formed the spear-head of the 800,000 Italian army on the Piave, followed Franchet d'Esperey's plan and struck where the Austrians seemed strongest, and the Italian army gained the most stupendous single victory of the war, capturing in one stroke 300,000 prisoners and thousands of guns.

Thus, at last, sound strategy, after years of mistakes and of futile efforts, after terrible sacrifices, brought with it one overpowering flood of victory—victory in every field and in every battle. Germany fell because she was surpassed in the arts and science of war. She was beaten because the Allies had the better men and the better leaders, and also the clearer insight, which gave those leaders the better weapons. Her fall was a military, strategic, and tactical rout.

## CHAPTER 21

# Records of the Regiments

## (I) The Guards

**O**BVIOUSLY, it is not possible in two or three chapters of this history to deal separately with the various regiments of the British Army. They must be grouped, and the fortunes of each group described. The Guards form one such group. The English regiments of the line form another, while others are the Scottish, the Irish, and the Welsh.

When the Great War broke out, nine battalions of Guards were in existence. The Grenadiers and Coldstreamers had three each, and the Scots had two. The remaining one belonged to a new regiment, the Irish Guards, raised to perpetuate the valour shown by the Irish regiments in the Boer war. All of them were regular soldiers, men of exceptional physique enlisted for a long period and trained by that intensive system of drilling "on the square," which proved its value in producing steadiness under critical conditions a thousand times during the war. As the struggle continued further battalions were added to the various regiments and in February, 1915, a new one, the Welsh Guards, was created, its nucleus, being men from the Grenadier Guards.

Six battalions of Guards, among them all three of the Coldstreamers, went at once to the front, four forming one of the brigades (the 4th) of the 2nd division, and the other two being in the 1st brigade and the 1st division. It is, therefore, necessary to follow the doings of two brigades and two divisions—the 4th, or Guards, brigade under General Scott-Kerr in the 2nd division, which landed at Havre on August 13, 1914, and the 1st under General Ivor Maxse in the 1st division. Both were in Sir Douglas Haig's army corps.

This 1st corps was not at all heavily engaged at Mons on Sunday, August 23, but in the retreat the Guards fought at least three little battles—Landrecies, Maroilles, and Villers-Cotterets. Landrecies, fought on the night of the 25th, was solely the work of the Guards brigade, upon which fell the

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (I)

onerous duty of protecting the rear of the corps. The tired men had received orders to bivouac for the night in this little French town, which stands on the edge of the forest of Mormal, and in the late afternoon they reached it. There were rumours that the Germans were not far away and precautions were taken against a surprise.

Night was fast coming on when a party of soldiers emerged from the forest. Were they friend or foe, the sentries wondered, as the four battalions were called out and the 3rd Coldstreamers, the first on the spot, prepared to dispute the way along the road leading into the town. The Germans—for they were such—called out that they were French, but the ruse did not succeed, and the battle in the village street began. The houses were in the possession of the Guards, and their machine guns commanded the street; so, in spite of the heavier guns which the enemy used and the arrival of fresh hordes, the Germans were unable to gain their objective. During the night they tried again and again, but the Coldstreamers were always in their way. Towards morning the Irish Guards relieved their comrades, and a little later the brigade was able to march unmolested away. In this engagement the losses fell nearly all upon the 3rd Coldstreamers. Lord Hawarden and the Hon. Archer Windsor-Clive, two of their officers, were killed, and about 170 altogether became casualties.

Villers-Cotterets was another battle for the Guards brigade. The retreat was not quite over, and early on the morning of September 1, the Germans came up with the rearguard of the brigade. This consisted of the Irish Guards and the 2nd Coldstreamers, and for some hours they kept up a ding-dong action in the woods near the village, rifles cracking amid the trees and each man playing a lone hand. There it was that General Scott-Kerr was wounded and the Irish Guards lost their colonel, the Hon. G. H. Morris, and several other officers. The command of the brigade passed from Scott-Kerr to Lord Cavan.

Events moved rapidly in the autumn of 1914, and the war was only just a month old when the battle of the Marne began. It was wholly a manœuvre battle, and the successes won by the British cost a very moderate price indeed in human life. Without serious fighting the brigades crossed the Grand Morin, but the crossing of the Petit Morin was somewhat more difficult. However, the passage was forced, and a good share of the

## CROSSING THE AISNE

honours fell to the Guards. This was still more true when the Ourcq was passed, and pressing on, the six battalions, with the rest of the army, found themselves fronted by the Aisne.

The crossing of the Aisne was a more difficult operation, for the Germans had turned and were prepared to stand and fight. Yet the movement was tried and accomplished. The arrangements were made on September 13, and the 1st brigade got across without difficulty on a bridge at Bourg, which had been left undamaged. The Guards brigade was less fortunate. One battalion was got across in boats at Chavonne, but, when night came on, the three others were still on the southern side of the river. They got over, however, on the next day, and then began the equally serious task of driving the enemy from the positions on the hillside, which he was feverishly strengthening. All the Guards were in this movement, the object of the 1st corps being to seize the Ladies' Road, the famous Chemin des Dames. The movement was carefully planned. The 2nd brigade was ordered to seize a sugar factory—by this time a fortress—at Troyon, and to assist them the 1st Coldstreamers came on from the 1st brigade. In front of Troyon there was some costly fighting in which the Scots Guards did very good work.

Meanwhile, the 4th brigade was advancing from the river bank towards Ostel, its orders being to seize the woods around that village. The advance was difficult, for the day was wet and the numerous trees made it almost impossible for the artillery to lend effective support. However, some progress was made and, after a rest at noon, the march was resumed. By the end of the day an attempt to outflank the brigade had been thwarted, and although not on the Ladies' Road, the Guards were entrenched only a little way below it. The Irish Guards bore the brunt of this encounter.

The forward movement then stopped. Some weeks were passed in poor, wet trenches, whence a continuous succession of attacks were beaten back, and then suddenly and silently came one of the changes of the war—the transfer of the British army to Flanders. The 1st corps, in which all the Guards were, was the last of the three to go. On October 19 it left the train at St. Omer and marched towards the new front already reverberating with the clamour of the guns.

Two more battalions of Guards were by now at the front. A division of regulars, numbered the 7th, had been hastily formed

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (I)

in England, put under Sir Henry Rawlinson, and hurried across to save Antwerp. In one of its brigades, the 20th, were the 1st Grenadiers and the 2nd Scots Guards. They landed at Ostend on October 6, moved quickly to Ghent, but were unable to do anything for Antwerp; however, they were not too late to make the retreat less disastrous than it would otherwise have been. Acting as a rearguard to the Belgians, they marched from Ghent to Roulers, joined up with the main body of French's force, and were ordered by him to get possession of Menin.

In this way the first battle of Ypres began, the thin British line being just, but only just, in time to stem the heavy German onslaught—in plain English, to save Calais. In this struggle all the eight battalions of Guards were in the same neighbourhood. Six, as we have already seen, were in Haig's 1st corps, which had just come up, and as regards the other two, those in Rawlinson's corps, French said: "I directed Sir Henry Rawlinson to endeavour to conform generally to the movements of the 1st corps."

In the thickest of all this fighting were the Guards. On October 22 those in the 1st division, Scots and Coldstreamers, were almost surrounded, but managed to fight themselves free. Three days later, at Kruseik, the Germans broke through where the 2nd Scots Guards held the line. The position was restored by a counter-attack, but early the next morning the Germans came on again, and there was some more dreadful fighting. Although driven back, the Scots did not break, and at length the line was saved. The 1st Grenadiers were also in the struggle, and both they and the Scots had very heavy casualties.

The climax of the battle was yet to come. On the 29th Gheluvelt was attacked, and soon the Guards in the 1st and 7th divisions were fighting against tremendous odds once more. Under cover of a fog the Germans broke through down the Menin road, and then, attacking the 1st Grenadiers from the rear, reduced the battalion to 150 fit men. Not far away the 1st Coldstreamers were nearly destroyed, no officer escaping unhurt, and some of the 1st Scots suffered a like fate. The Guards brigade under Lord Cavan came to their help, and the 1st Irish and 2nd Grenadiers, sent into the front line, also distinguished themselves in those dire days. A little later the Irish, lying under a terrific fire of high-explosive shells, had 300 casualties, their colonel, Lord Ardee, being hit; and in the

## A FIGHT IN THE BRICKFIELDS

attack on November 6 one of their companies was destroyed and another badly mauled.

The line had been saved, but at the cost of almost eight battalions of Guards, to say nothing of other soldiers. Of the 8,000 or 9,000 men who left England, only twelve or thirteen weeks before, very few now remained in the ranks. The 7th division, in which were two battalions of Guards, had been reduced to 44 officers and 2,336 men, and the 1st brigade, in which were the 1st Coldstreamers and 1st Scots, to eight officers and 500 men—battalions, that is, averaging two officers and 125 men each. The 1st Coldstreamers had been practically destroyed, 70 men only being left, and the other battalions suffered almost as heavily. Altogether it is not improbable that the Guards lost 6,000 men in those three months of war, and that the Coldstreamers lost more heavily than any other regiment.

In January and February the Guards had another little battle almost alone. Where the line ran through some brickfields near a village called Cuinchy the 1st Scots and 1st Coldstreamers were in trenches, and on January 25 these were suddenly and violently assailed. Something was done to recover them, but the enemy could not be altogether dislodged, and to improve matters the Guards brigade came up from reserve. They took over the trenches, but soon the 2nd Coldstreamers were driven out, and a first attempt at recovery failed. Then a picked party of Irish and Coldstreamers tried their hand, and this time, careful preparations having been made for the attack, they were completely successful.

Bigger operations were at hand, for the wet and dismal winter was nearly over. Neuve Chapelle was fought on March 10, 11, and 12, but it was only on the third day that any Guards were really in action. The 1st Grenadiers and 2nd Scots strove hard to seize Pietre Mill. Both battalions lost very heavily as they tried to storm cunningly-defended buildings, the killed including the Grenadiers' colonel, L. R. Fisher-Rowe.

When the second battle of Ypres was fought all the Guards were away to the south, holding the line where it stretched from Armentières to Arras. Just as the German assaults at Ypres were dying away the British struck on their part near Festubert. A first attack, made on Sunday, May 9, did not yield the desired results, and another was fixed for the 16th. The 2nd division, in which was the Guards brigade, took part in this

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (I)

movement, and so was the heroic 7th division, with its Scots and Grenadiers.

In the northern section of the attack the Guards were in reserve, but farther south the 2nd Scots was one of the assaulting battalions, and it is of their fight that one of the epic tales of the war is told. One company of the Scots dashed on with such impetus that they soon became isolated in the German position. As far as their comrades knew, they were lost, and so they were; but the fine sequel was only revealed some days after, when our men won this forward ground. There they came upon the bodies of the Scots lying amid a ring of foes; they had died fighting. While they were thus so desperately employed the other companies had cut off the Germans, and, with the help of the supporting battalion, the 1st Grenadiers, had held and consolidated the ground.

On the 17th the Guards, the supporting brigade on the other part of this battle, were needed. Under heavy fire they marched forward to relieve the battalions which had stormed some German trenches, and they themselves won several hundred yards of ground. The 1st Irish and 2nd Grenadiers led this attack, in which the former lost 17 officers and several hundred men.

Soon after these events there was a notable change in the organization of the British army. This included the formation in August, 1915, of a division of Guards, the battalions already at the front being taken away from their comrades of the line and formed into a distinct unit, which was brought up to full strength by other battalions from England. At this time a division consisted of thirteen battalions, twelve being in three brigades of four each, and one having been specially trained to serve as pioneers. Of the Guards eight were already in France, so five more came out to complete the division. Its 1st brigade was the old Guards brigade, the one composed of the 2nd and 3rd Coldstreamers, 2nd Grenadiers, and 1st Irish. Its 2nd brigade contained the 1st Coldstreamers, 1st Scots, 2nd Irish, and 3rd Grenadiers, the two last named being new to the field. In the 3rd brigade were the 1st Grenadiers and 2nd Scots from the 7th division, the 1st Welsh, representing the new regiment of Guards, and the 4th Grenadiers. The 4th Coldstreamers were the pioneers. The earl of Cavan commanded the division, and its three brigades were under Generals G. P. T. Feilding, J. Ponsonby, and F. J. Heyworth.

## THE BATTLE OF LOOS

This corps d'élite was held in reserve when the battle of Loos opened on September 25, 1915. It arrived on that evening at Nœux-les-Mines, about eight miles from the front, and from there was sent forward to share in the fray. On the Sunday some furious German attacks recovered part of the ground near Loos itself, and Sir Douglas Haig decided that the Guards should be asked to regain these vital positions. The Guards reached the front trenches about mid-day on Monday, and the arrangements for the impending attack were soon made. One can imagine the activity at divisional headquarters as the three brigadiers motored up to discuss the matter with Lord Cavan. Each was told what was expected of his brigade, what was the time to start, while the nature of the artillery support, the strength and situation of the reserves and other vital matters were doubtless indicated. The brigadiers motored back to their headquarters and summoned their colonels. Again the process was repeated, although this time the plans were on a smaller scale, and so it was when the colonels conveyed their orders to the captains and the captains to their subalterns.

The plan of attack provided for the employment of all three brigades. The 1st brigade—General Fielding's—was on the left, up with the 7th division, and it had the easiest task. This was to advance some little way and then to stand firm and prevent the enemy from troubling the other two brigades by a flank attack. It was soon accomplished, and these Guardsmen carried out the other part of their programme with equal success, including the letting off of smoke bombs.

In front of the 2nd brigade (Ponsonby's) were the wood and the chalk pit which the British had originally won, but from which one of their divisions had just been driven, while still farther to the right was Pit—or Fosse—14, really the headworks of a colliery. These had been hurriedly but, as events proved, by no means badly fortified by the Germans. After a preliminary bombardment had lasted for about an hour and a half, the men began the advance at four o'clock. They marched in artillery formation, clumps of half platoons with a fair space between each. The 2nd Irish, with the 1st Coldstreamers in support, were directed against the wood, and the 1st Scots against the colliery.

The former movement was quite successful. The ground was won, and the men dug themselves in; but around the colliery

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (1)

there was some desperate work. First of all the Scots, some of the Irish helping them, won the buildings, but they were driven out and forced back on the road they had just crossed. A second attack, in which two companies of Grenadiers assisted, was ordered, but again the casualties were frightfully heavy, and the Irish in front were in grave danger of destruction. A third attack was, therefore, made by some Coldstreamers, by which the chalk pit was firmly secured, and along this the new British line was made. During the evening it was heavily shelled, but it remained substantially unaltered, although a further assault failed to dislodge the enemy from the colliery.

The business of the 3rd brigade was to advance up the slopes of Hill 70, famous for the deeds of the Highlanders on the previous Saturday. As they moved out of Loos they suffered a number of casualties from gas-shells, but the Welsh and the 4th Grenadiers, the leading battalions, marched majestically on. They reached the summit, which was swept by a hail of bullets, and the men were ordered to dig their trenches just below the crest. The 2nd Scots Guards had by this time relieved the Welsh, and the Guards remained in their new position until the following Thursday. In this action the heaviest losses fell, perhaps, on the 2nd Irish, but the 1st Scots and the 1st Coldstreamers must have had nearly as many. The dead included more than one notable name, but none aroused more general grief than that of Mr. Rudyard Kipling's only son, a lieutenant in the Irish Guards.

For some months after this engagement very little was heard of the Guards, or, for that matter, of any British division, but the daily casualty lists bore tangible witness to the fact that they were still "somewhere in France," still holding some part of the scarred, long battle-line, still waiting for the great offensive of which all spoke though none knew its day or hour. As a matter of fact, they were in the neighbourhood of Loos until February, 1916, when they went back to the Ypres district.

The year was just half-way through when, on July 1 the battle of the Somme began. The authorities were singularly reticent about the doings of the various units. Something, however, did filter through; something was known about the corps, divisions, and battalions which were thrown into the fire, and as July and then August came to an end, and there was no word of the Guards having been engaged, some natural surprise was

## FROM YPRES TO THE SOMME

expressed. When it came, the surprise was on the other side. On September 15 the tanks appeared in the battle, and so did the division of Guards. It was a day to be remembered. A word to get the setting of the battle. On September 9 an Irish division had captured Ginchy, but its environs had not been cleared of the enemy, who still held, among other places, a strong position nearly half a mile away called the Quadrilateral. Three divisions were detailed for the new attack here. The Guards were directed to advance towards Lesbœufs, the Quadrilateral being on its right.

By easy stages the Guards had come from Ypres. Trains carried them on the earlier part of the journey, and soon they found themselves out of Belgium and in the pleasant land of France; long white roads, pretty nestling villages, and clean, alluring auberges met their eyes. When they left the trains, motor-lorries carried them to villages, where they were billeted for two nights or so. Then, in the heat of August, marching began, after which some of them passed ten days in a delightful village, day and night, waking and sleeping in the open air. Later they were, for some days, in trenches in a quiet part of the line, after which they bivouacked for two days in a forest.

If the men did not know whither all these marches were leading them, the officers at their head did, and no part of this tedious preparation was without an object. Especially this was so when they found themselves in a village through which passed a constant stream of military traffic, and in which the air was reverberant with the sound of gun fire. There, day after day, they were marched, sometimes only in platoons, at others by companies, at others by battalions, to a training ground where the coming attack was rehearsed in every detail. Night operations, conferences of officers, false alarms, and orders for immediate departure quickly cancelled helped to keep up the sense of expectancy.

After this there could only be one order, and that one soon came. The various battalions were to take up their positions at the front, some being in the advanced trenches, and others as supports behind them. These trenches were well in front of the old British line, for much ground had been won since July 1, and they were by no means of the best type, while the journey to them was both dangerous and difficult. It lay through a tract of utter desolation, a land marked only with shell-holes and

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (I)

the wreckage of former fights. Landmarks hardly existed, and as one officer said of it, "What we shall want most is our compasses."

At this time the Guards formed one of the three divisions of the 14th corps, then under their old leader, Lord Cavan. The big attack was fixed for the 15th, but on the two previous days some of the battalions lost heavily in endeavours to clear the way, if possible, by seizing the Quadrilateral. On the 13th the 2nd brigade moved out towards this, and made some progress but, unable to get the full way, the men dug trenches and waited where they were. The 2nd Irish Guards were especially noticeable in this operation. On the 14th the 3rd brigade made a similar effort, but again constant and destructive fire from the Quadrilateral held them up.

The next night—it was a Thursday—the remainder of the men were led up to the trenches. In the morning all were awake early, for 6.30 was the hour fixed for the assault, and one who was there has told how the last tense moments of waiting for the whistles to blow were relieved by the strange sight of the new monsters of war crawling slowly forward to their task. To the Guards the sight was a delight, an omen of victory.

At last the whistles went. The 1st and 2nd brigades—the 3rd was in reserve—had each two battalions in front and two in support, and so it came about that the attack was led by three units of Coldstreamers and one of Grenadiers, the Coldstreamers being together, a unique event even in the history of that famous regiment. Over the parapet the four battalions went, and those behind could see them slowly, but steadily, making their way up the long brown slope by Ginchy. One wave followed another, and soon the supporting battalions—the 1st and 2nd Irish, the 2nd Grenadiers, and the 1st Scots—were also in the open. In the last stages of the advance the Coldstreamers lost heavily, but with a wild shout—the explosion, as it were, of the pent-up powder of months of waiting—they were among the foe. One battalion, checked for a moment by fire from some unsuspected trenches, had been rallied by blasts from the hunting-horn of their colonel, J. V. Campbell, D.S.O., who led a further charge in which other trenches were won.

Although the most superb gallantry was shown by the whole division, the attack was not an entire success. Some German trenches were taken, and for a time were held, but the

## THE SCOTS GUARDS ATTACK

Quadrilateral remained an enemy stronghold, and its fire was responsible for many deaths. A sunken road facing the line of advance was just a nest of machine guns, and so complete was the wilderness that many lost their bearings entirely. Indeed, a war correspondent related how "at one point in the advance certain battalion commanders of the Guards held a conference in a shell-hole to try and locate precisely where they were."

One of these was Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, soon to be a V.C., and as the orders given to them were "the attack will be pushed with the utmost vigour," their duty was plain. That they were prepared to do it does not need stating. The scattered battalions, the men in the ruined trenches and numerous shell-holes, must be collected and led forward again. Eventually this was done, and in the afternoon some of them reached another line, and when they could get no farther, set to work to dig themselves in. Here they were in perhaps the greatest peril of the day. No one could be seen advancing to their support, although Germans were detected massing for an attack, while a powerful and accurate shell fire was making their numbers dangerously few.

Worse still, in places the machine guns were all useless, and, examining their revolvers, some of the officers quietly awaited the end. A message indicating their peril was got through, however, to Headquarters, and from the 3rd brigade the 2nd Scots Guards were sent forward to their relief. The barrage fire was heavy, and in passing through it the Scots lost very heavily, their colonel being among those who fell; but the remnant pushed on, and the tired Coldstreamers were cheered by the report passing from mouth to mouth, "The Scots Guards are attacking!"

So the counter-attack did not materialise. Instead, night came on, and with the darkness there arrived food and drink, a delight which almost compensated for the horrors of the day. For one or two days and nights more the remnant of Guards held on to those trenches, and at last up came the men who were to relieve them. One by one the shrunken battalions were withdrawn, and in pleasant quarters behind the line they rested, bathed, shaved, and fed—civilized men once more.

While in rest camps one important duty was not neglected. The reinforcements which had arrived from the base to fill the gaps were drilled and placed in the ranks, and it was while this work was proceeding that rumours came that the Guards were going to be sent forward again. They were true. Once more

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (I)

the men marched along the muddy roads, and, after a day or two behind the lines, were led in the darkness across the trackless wilderness of shell-holes to the trenches in front. This was on September 24, and just after mid-day on the 25th the Guards were to "top the parapet" again. This attack was not a big affair; the objectives were only local, but they were attained, the 3rd and 1st brigades forming the attacking force. The left of the Guards, where the 4th Grenadiers were, lost heavily, but the division took Lesbœufs and materially advanced the British line in that direction. This done, they were soon relieved, and had no share in the later stages of the great Battle of the Somme. The British successes of 1917 were substantial, but they were not, perhaps, so spectacular as were those of 1916. In a despatch dated January 7, 1918, Sir Douglas Haig dealt with these operations, and in this document there are several mentions of the deeds of the Guards.

From September to December, 1916, they were engaged in trench warfare and raids, holding the line about Lesbœufs, Combles, and Sailly-Saillisel during the unusually severe weather. After a brief rest in the Somme back area the division was moved up in January, 1917, to hold sectors of the line between Combles and Péronne. The German retreat in March, from positions rendered untenable owing to the Somme advance, was followed up until the end of the month, when the division was withdrawn to engage in the construction of roads and railways to facilitate the advance. This work continued throughout April and May.

The Guards thus took no part in the British offensive near Arras, on April 9, or in the one near Messines on June 7; but in July they were in action. They were then right on the north of the allied line, not far from the sea. A new offensive was in preparation when it was discovered that in this neighbourhood the Germans had quietly fallen back. With some French troops, therefore, on July 27, the Guards crossed the Yser, and along a front of nearly two miles settled themselves firmly in the enemy's front and support trenches. They were by no means undisturbed, but they beat back every attack, and during the night, to safeguard their communications, threw no less than seventeen bridges across the river or canal. This action, said Sir Douglas Haig, "greatly facilitated the task of the allied troops on this part of the battle-front, to whose attack the Yser Canal had previously presented a formidable obstacle."

## THE GUARDS AT CAMBRAI

The threatened attack was delivered on July 31. The British troops started from the trenches defending Ypres, and, after certain objectives had been secured, battalions of Guards were brought forward to secure the crossings of the little River Steenbeek. This was held, and marked the new British line, at least, for the time being. This movement from Ypres consisted of a succession of attacks, an advance in a series of bounds, as Sir Douglas Haig expressed it, each having a certain limited objective. In one of these, on October 9, the Guards, again in the company of French troops, had a great success. They crossed the flooded valley of the Broenbeek, captured four hamlets, some woods, and a great number of farmhouses and strong points on the outskirts of the Forest of Houthulst.

The Guards' most notable exploit of the year was yet to come. That brilliant feat, the surprise attack at Cambrai by Sir Julian Byng's army on November 20, was followed by some fine fighting for the possession of Bourlon, both the village and the wood, and the former changed hands several times. On the 27th the adjacent village of Fontaine-Notre-Dame was captured by the Guards and the tanks.

The unexpected reverse which is associated with the name of Cambrai opened with a strong German attack on the last day of November. At the moment the division of Guards was in reserve, and when it was seen that the German thrust was dangerous the division was ordered forward. Its business was to win back some lost villages, and it attacked near Gouzeaucourt. Advancing with their customary élan, the Guards drove the enemy from this village and won their way along the ridge to the east of it.

The real glory of the Guards, however, was not so much in the seizure of this or that village, but in the fact that they stemmed the hostile tide. The enemy had broken through and was advancing with all the encouragement of success when they flung themselves across his path and drove him back. The British losses were heavy.

On January 1, 1918, the division took over trenches in front of Arras, holding the line continuously in that sector until March 20. The Guards were relieved on the night of March 20, and were in Arras preparatory to going back to rest when the German offensive opened in the early hours of the 21st. Whereupon they were rushed off, leaving all spare kit in Arras, and

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (I)

took over the right of the 3rd army in touch with the left of the 5th army, which was bearing the full weight of the German attack, with Amiens as its immediate objective. To conform with the line on its right, the division was slowly forced back a few miles until March 27, after which the line it held remained firm until the German retreat.

In the meantime the 4th Guards brigade—for the division had been by now divided into four—was moved farther north to assist in the repulse of the attacks to the immediate south of the Ypres salient in the Bailleul sector, where it took part in extremely heavy fighting in April and greatly distinguished itself in action at Merris, suffering such considerable casualties as to require its withdrawal from the line. August again saw the division recalled to the line to the immediate south of Arras, and from then onwards it was continuously called upon to assist in driving back the enemy. Its efforts can best be summarised by an extract from a message, dated November 11, 1918, sent to the division:

Nothing in the record of the brigade of Guards is finer than the performance of the three Guards brigades of this division since August 21. From Moyenneville to Maubeuge they had advanced a distance of almost fifty miles. In the first week of this advance, from August 21 to 28, in the face of very heavy fighting, they went forward a distance of five and a half miles. In the second phase, from September 3 to 27, during which they stormed the deep ditch of the Canal du Nord, broke through the Hindenburg system, and won the Flesquières Ridge, they penetrated into the enemy's lines a farther distance of eleven and a half miles. In the third phase, from October 9 to 22, at the end of which they forced the crossings of the river Selle, they advanced a distance of fourteen miles. And in their final advance, against still tenacious opposition and in constant rain and cold, they drove the enemy back a distance of nineteen miles before they reached their final goal, Maubeuge.

The casualties of the five regiments of foot guards were very heavy, no fewer than 15,444 men having been killed or died of their wounds during the course of the war. Memorials to the fallen of the Guards regiments are in St. James's Park, London, at Lesbœufs on the Somme, and at Villers-Cotterets.

## CHAPTER 22

# Records of the Regiments

## (II) English

With that breadth and generosity of mind which make them the truly Imperial people of the world, the English and the English Press have continually extolled the valour of the Scots, Irish, Welsh, and men of the Oversea Dominions. There has hardly ever been a mention of the English as such, and the fact has given rise to some very false impressions. It is for the reader to bear in mind, none the less, that four-fifths of this great army was purely English, and that the English divisions, be they north or south, had shown a sobriety of discipline and an alacrity of valour which place them in the very first place among fighting races.

The above quotation, which is taken from Sir A. Conan Doyle's History of the War, emphasises a fact which was often overlooked during the progress of the struggle.

In some introductory sentences to the Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, the writer, who was the wife of that model Puritan soldier, remarks that "to number his virtues is to give the epitome of his life." A somewhat similar idea must surely be in the mind of anyone who attempts to give in any fullness the war story of the English infantry regiments. To do that is to cover little less than the full tale of the struggle; and this, it may be, is the real reason why, in spite of their undoubted gallantry, these units have lacked their historian. Such, it might well be argued, would be a work of supererogation. Their record is in the ordinary histories of the Great War, for the enemies of England, whether on the Somme or the Lys, the Tigris or the Jordan, the Piave or the Struma, found them like that flaming sword "which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life."

In the first seven divisions there were 84 battalions, and in the four that stood at Mons on Sunday, August 23, 1914, there were 48. Of those at Mons six were Guards, six were Scottish units, four were Irish, and two were Welsh. This accounts for 18, and

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

the remaining 30 something like two-thirds of the whole, were English. At Mons the heaviest part of the attack fell upon the 8th and 9th brigades, which held the position formed by a loop of the canal, and there the 4th Middlesex was entrusted with the task of guarding the three bridges across it. The 4th Royal Fusiliers and the 1st Northumberland Fusiliers were hard by, while other battalions hotly engaged on that day were the 1st Royal West Kents, the 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, and the 1st East Surreys. The West Kents were, there is reason to believe, the first troops, apart from cavalry patrols, to suffer losses in the Great War.

The retreat then began, and during the next day there were some rearguard actions. The 1st Lincolns and 1st Northumberland Fusiliers fought a stubborn little battle at Frameries, in which both had heavy losses; the 2nd South Lancashires kept back the foe, also at a heavy cost, at Bavai, and the 2nd West Ridings, in a like encounter, lost three hundred men and all their officers save five. The 1st West Kents, in the same brigade, also suffered heavily, as did the 1st Norfolks and the 1st Cheshires in the 15th. The Cheshires, near Eloignes, were surrounded and practically destroyed; out of 27 officers and 1,007 men, only five officers and 193 men were left to answer to their names. In fact, in this earlier and harder part of the retreat, the brunt of the fighting was done by the 5th division, in which, like the 6th, eleven of twelve battalions were English.

The battle of Le Cateau was also something of a special ordeal for the English regiments, especially those in Sir C. Fergusson's division, the 5th. The 2nd Suffolks and the 2nd Manchesters on the right had the worst time, and when their part of the line had been destroyed the shock fell upon the 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry and the 1st East Surreys. The formed battalion lost 500 men and 20 officers, and Major Yate led the nineteen survivors of his company in a last desperate charge.

At the other end of the battlefield the 4th division, which had only just joined up with the rest of the force, felt the strain, especially its 11th and 12th brigades, which were in front. The 1st Royal Lancasters, 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers, and 2nd Essex there behaved most gallantly, as did the battalions of the 11th brigade. These, all English units, were protecting some quarries near Ligny, and from these they were four times driven out, but each time returned to renew the grim struggle. The brigade lost

## THE ROYAL WEST SURREY

over 1,000 men, while, when the retreat began again, the 1st Warwicks of the 10th brigade had a bitter experience. On September 1 the 1st Middlesex, marching to the succour of the heroic L Battery at Néry, captured some German guns. The first five divisions forced the crossing of the Aisne, and one of the most daring exploits in that long encounter stands to the credit of the 2nd, one of the purely English brigades. The 2nd Sussex, 2nd King's Royal Rifles, 1st Northamptons, and 1st North Lancashires seized the sugar factory at Troyton, a building the Germans had turned into a fortress.

The 1st division, in which these battalions were, crossed the river without very serious difficulty, for it found one unbroken bridge; but it was not so with those on its left. The 3rd, 4th, and 5th divisions only crossed after tremendous exertions—boats, rafts, pontons, and broken girders being used for the purpose. Once across, the second part of the fighting began. Some ground was gained, but the end was a stalemate, both sides being forced to remain in the trenches they had dug. The 2nd brigade, General Bulfin's men, again distinguished themselves by their stout resistance to continuous German attacks; and of the others, although it is perhaps unfair to single out any one, certainly the 1st Queen's, or Royal West Surreys, one of those whose colonel was killed, deserves a word of praise. Their continual assistance to the Northamptons was one of the outstanding feats of those grim September days.

In the latter part of this battle the tired ranks were gladdened and helped by the arrival of a new division—the 6th—practically, as already stated, an English one. One of its brigades, the 18th, relieved the 2nd, and as soon as the battalions were in their new positions they were violently attacked. The 1st West Yorkshires in front were driven out, so General Congreve, V.C., ordered the 2nd Sherwood Foresters and the 2nd Durham Light Infantry to regain the ground. With a rush they came up the hill, the survivors of the West Yorkshires with them, and the 1st East Yorkshires and the 2nd Sussex of the relieved 2nd brigade in support. For half a mile they advanced, and then with a whoop they were among the Germans. The lost trenches were regained, but the brigade had lost a third of its strength.

The first battle of Ypres began with the advance of Smith-Dorrien's 2nd corps towards La Bassée, on October 12. Eighteen English battalions were in this offensive movement,

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

and among their many skirmishes may be mentioned the stand of the 1st Dorsets at Pont Fixe, near Givenchy. After a check, the 8th and 9th brigades had successful days on the 16th and 17th, when the 4th Middlesex, 4th Royal Fusiliers, 1st Lincolns, and 1st Northumberland Fusiliers were prominent. Meanwhile, the 1st Warwicks, in Pulteney's 3rd corps, had helped to seize Bailleul, and the 2nd York and Lancasters and 1st Buffs had been prominent at Radinghen. About the 21st the offensive passed to the Germans, and the village of Lorgies, where the 2nd South Lancashires joined hands with the 1st East Surreys in the 4th brigade, was attacked in force. A gap was made in the line, the South Lancashires and the 3rd Worcesters beyond them being badly hit; however, it was closed, largely by the 1st West Kents and the 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry.

Another attack was made at Violaines; where the 1st Cheshires suffered a fate like that of the South Lancashires at Lorgies. The 1st Dorsets shared in their resistance, and the enemy's advance was stopped by the 2nd Manchesters and by two battalions which had just been in the thick of it at Lorgies—the 3rd Worcesters and the 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry. The 1st Wiltshires, 1st Norfolks, 4th Royal Fusiliers, and other English battalions were in some more fighting near Neuve Chapelle.

It was in these critical operations that the 1st West Kents and the 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry held on for three days to some trenches, although, when relieved, the Kents had been reduced to two officers and about 150 men. Of this event Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien said: "There is one part of the line which has never been retaken because it was never lost." The story of fighting around Neuve Chapelle cannot be left without mentioning the heroism of Lieutenant Leach and Sergeant Hogan, of the 2nd Manchesters, who, with ten volunteers, captured a German trench; and the grand work done by the 1st Devons, who, having replaced a battalion in the 14th brigade, held stoutly on to their post for sixteen days.

Across Belgium the 7th division had marched to Ypres, and for some days had to stand alone before a vast host of Germans determined to break through before the thin British line was strengthened. Seven of its twelve battalions were English, and one of these, the 2nd Bedfords, bore the brunt of an early attack. In fact, before the 22nd, when a little of the pressure was taken off, every battalion was heavily engaged, and among those which

## A CRITICAL DAY

lost several hundred men were the 2nd Wiltshires and 2nd Warwicks. It was at this time that the 2nd Yorkshires had one line firing in one, and the other in the opposite, direction.

These gallant battalions, however, had still to face more of the storm. On the 22nd, Lawford's brigade—the 22nd—fell back to Zonnebeke, and the few survivors of the 2nd Wiltshires were destroyed. The 2nd Warwicks drove back the enemy, and splendid work was done by the 1st South Staffordshires and the 2nd Worcesters. A day or two later the division was definitely attached to Haig's corps, and as part of that little force it stood at bay on October 29, 30, and 31.

Sir Douglas Haig's two other divisions were in the line by the 21st. For three weeks the Germans persisted in their assaults, and they were stopped only at tremendous cost. One of the earliest was made upon the British position round an inn on a road near Pilkem. It succeeded—for the time, anyhow—so Bulfin's fine 2nd brigade was ordered forward, and with it were the 2nd South Staffords and the 1st Queen's. The Queen's, the 2nd King's Royal Rifles, and the 1st Loyal North Lancashires did the work, and did it well, "capturing the trenches round the inn, besides releasing 60 Camerons and taking 500 prisoners." A day or two later the 1st Liverpools and the 1st Berkshires met with heavy losses, although they seized two villages.

In the fighting around Kruseik on October 29, one of the critical days of this battle, only one English line regiment—the 2nd Border—was at first engaged, but others came up with the reserves, and soon the 1st and 2nd Queen's and the 1st Gloucesters were fighting hard. On the 30th the 2nd Bedfords and 2nd Yorkshires were almost overwhelmed as they fell back step by step; and then came the 31st. The storm broke at dawn. In enormous force the Germans threw themselves upon the weary men at Gheluvelt. The 1st and 2nd Queen's (Royal West Surrey) were in the thick of it, and nothing could stop the rush, though the reserve battalions (1st Loyal North Lancashires and 2nd King's Royal Rifles) did more than their best. Disaster was impending. At 1.30 two of the divisional generals were wounded, and the whole line was falling back. But the day was not lost. The 2nd Worcesters, 550 strong, went forward under heavy fire and closed the gap. They lost 187 of their number, but they performed a deed which will be remembered as long as English history is read.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

If Gheluvelt was the most critical spot, and 2.30 p.m. the most critical hour of that dreadful day, there were others where the tide of battle rolled almost as furiously. At Klein Zillebeke, a short distance to the south, the 1st Northampton and 2nd Sussex held on grimly to a line hardly less vital than the one at Gheluvelt. Still farther south, at Wytschaete, where dismounted cavalry were facing the foe, the 1st Lincolns and 1st Northumberland Fusiliers lost heavily when going forward to help; and at Messines, about five miles away, the 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry, also from reserve, were engaged in some desperate street-fighting. The succeeding days, the first few of November, were not quite so strenuous, but the burden of defence was falling upon fewer and fewer men, and those few more exhausted than ever. The English 2nd brigade at this time, for example, consisted of only forty-three officers and 1,315 men—not much more than one strong battalion; and the 22nd brigade, in which were three English units, had been reduced to seven officers and 1,100 men.

The battle continued until November 17, or thereabouts. On the 5th the 1st Gloucesters made a fine but costly advance, and on the 9th the 3rd Worcesters and 1st East Lancshires beat back a strong attack at Plug Street. On the 7th the four battalions of the 22nd brigade had performed, if possible, a finer feat of arms. Though each was only about a company—say, 250 men—strong, they were ordered to retake some lost trenches, and it is said that in this wild enterprise they were led by General Lawford himself with a cudgel in his hand. They took the trenches and some machine guns, but were reduced to three officers and 700 men. The English battalions in this affair were the 1st South Staffords, 2nd Warwicks, and 2nd Queen's.

With the German defeat on November 11 the campaigns of 1914 were virtually over, although to its end there was fighting on a smaller scale. On December 9 the 1st Lincolns made an unsuccessful attack upon a wood near Wytschaete, and five days later part of this was captured in an action in which the 4th Middlesex were prominent. A bigger affair took place around the 20th at Givenchy, when the Indian corps was attacked by the enemy. A counter-attack by the 1st Manchesters and 4th Suffolks regained the lost village; while on the 21st the 2nd English brigade, ordered up from reserve, closed a dangerous gap.

## TERRITORIAL UNITS

Everyone at this time was looking forward to the spring, and for the anticipated advance the British army was being steadily strengthened; the first seven divisions were no longer to bear the strain alone. Three more, in addition to the two composing the Indian corps, were soon at the front. The 8th had ten English battalions, and one of its brigades—the 24th—was entirely English. In Sir Herbert Plumer's 5th corps, consisting of the 27th and 28th divisions, were 17 English battalions out of 24. The 83rd and 85th brigades in the 28th division, to which General Bulfin had been transferred, were wholly English, and in that whole division the 1st Welsh was the only battalion from outside. The 80th brigade was also wholly English.

Moreover, many Territorial battalions were by this time at the front, and most of these were English. The 4th Suffolks have already been mentioned, and others were the 5th and 6th Cheshires, the London Rifle Brigade, the Honourable Artillery Company, the 8th Middlesex, the 5th Royal Lancasters, and battalions of Monmouthshire, Cambridgeshire, and Hertfordshire regiments, wholly made up of Territorials. Four magnificent London units—the Kensingtons, the Queen's Westminsters, Queen Victoria's Rifles, and the Rangers—must not be forgotten.

For the time being these Territorial units were not brigaded together. To gain experience, one or two were assigned to each brigade of Regulars, and these citizen soldiers received their baptism of fire. The H.A.C., for example, joined the 7th brigade, the London Rifles joined the 11th, and the Kensingtons the 25th. The 83rd brigade had both the 3rd Monmouths and the 5th Royal Lancasters; the 84th brigade had the 1st Monmouths and the London Rangers. This was an intermediate stage in the organization of the British armies at the front, and it may be said to have lasted until after the second battle of Ypres.

The fighting at Cuinchy, the most serious during the first two months of 1915, fell mainly upon the Guards, but the 2nd King's Royal Rifles, the 2nd Sussex, and the 1st Northamptons, of the incomparable 2nd brigade, were also in it; while on January 25 the 1st Gloucesters had a hot time in Givenchy. The 5th corps, holding the line near Ypres, had difficult days, too, in those wet, cold months. On February 14 the 2nd Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry were to the fore in regaining some lost trenches, while others to win repute were the 1st West Kents and the 2nd Royal Lancasters.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

The attack on Neuve Chapelle, which opened on March 10, was entrusted to the 4th corps, made up of the 7th and 8th divisions, and to the Indian brigades, which had each one or two battalions of English soldiers, including the 1st Manchesters, 2nd Leicesters, and 4th Suffolks. As far as the 4th corps was concerned, three of the four leading battalions were English. On the right the 2nd Berkshires and the 2nd Lincolns dashed victoriously into the enemy's trenches, seized the dazed survivors of the terrific opening bombardment, and then took up there a defensive position; while the 2nd Rifles, together with an Irish battalion, passed through their lines with a wild shout and swept into the village of Neuve Chapelle beyond.

The leading battalions of the other brigade were less fortunate. They found that the guns had failed to cut the terrible German wire, and as they hacked at it they were maimed and mangled in scores. One of the two was the 2nd Middlesex—the Diehards of Albuera—and on that day the losses were greater than ever before in its history. At length a way was cleared through the wire, and the supporting battalions—the 2nd Devons and 2nd West Yorkshires—racing up, helped to hold ground gained at a great price.

By this time the reserve brigade, one composed of four English battalions, had come up, and with their help the position was consolidated. At the same time the 2nd Leicesters and some London Territorials, both with an Indian Brigade, had made their way through obstacles hardly less formidable, and before twelve o'clock had entered the village from the other side.

In the afternoon the attack was pressed further. The 21st brigade, in which were the 2nd Bedfords, 2nd Yorkshires, and 2nd Wiltshires, got some way towards a hamlet to the north-east of Neuve Chapelle, while the 24th advanced as far as a small stream; but when darkness came on, the other reserves had not been seriously engaged. This main attack was helped by secondary ones, the chief of these being at Givenchy. There the English 6th brigade had an experience which, alas! was far too common that March day and afterwards—the men found themselves confronted with uncut wire. The 1st Liverpools in front suffered the most, but the 2nd South Staffordshires and the 1st King's Royal Rifles had also heavy losses.

The battle continued on the 11th, but not with its initial violence, although three English battalions and an Irish one

## FIGHTING AT ST. ELOI

seized the village of l'Épinette. On the 12th came a German counter-attack and an advance by the 20th brigade. In the former the 2nd West Yorkshires recovered a lost trench, and in the latter the 2nd Borders took 300 prisoners by capturing a fortified building, once a peaceful farmhouse. Another British diversion was at Wytschaete, where the 1st Wiltshires and 3rd Worcesters had heavy losses.

The real German reply to Neuve Chapelle was at St. Eloi, and in the first rush there the 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry were overwhelmed. Good work was done by the Cambridge territorials, and later in the day—or, rather, during the night—the 3rd and 4th King's Royal Rifles, the 4th Rifle Brigade, and the 2nd Shropshires attacked to recover the lost ground. These battalions, especially perhaps the Shropshires, showed the most astounding gallantry, but they had not taken the key position when daylight put an end to the movement.

In this fighting the Territorials made good, and well it was for Britain that it was so. Consequently, Lord Kitchener and his advisers thought it possible to send them out in divisions of their own, and the first of these to arrive at the front were the 46th North Midlanders, from Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, and Stafford counties, and the 48th South Midlanders. A division mainly of Northumberland and Durham men was soon out, and so was one of the Londoners, the 47th.

On April 17 the West Kents, on the explosion of a tremendous mine, led the way in a wild rush which gave them the famous Hill 60. That opened a terrific fight, for the position was a vital one. The Germans won part of it back again, but in a second British assault the 2nd West Ridings and the 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry were the stormers. Again the crest was won, but the West Ridings had lost most of their officers and more than half their men in the effort. The defence was then handed over to other battalions, and these, too, were English. The 1st East Surreys, 1st Bedfords, and Queen Victoria's Rifles held on under a most furious bombardment, which continued through day and night alike, and there it was that G. H. Woolley, a young officer of the Victorias, won the first V.C. for the Territorials. The 1st East Surreys were noted, too, for the heaviness of their losses and the absolute steadiness of their defence, and so it was till the end. The capture of Hill 60 was distinctly an English victory.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

The opening of the second battle of Ypres, in April, 1915, belongs rather to the story of the Canadians, but, as it progressed and extended, English battalions were also involved. The 2nd Buffs (Geddes' own men), the 1st York and Lancasters, the 4th Rifle Brigade, the 2nd Cornwalls, and some Shropshires, as well as some Royal Lancaster Territorials were among these battalions, and on the 23rd they took part in an attack. The 1st Staffs and two Territorial units—the 1st Monmouths and the London Rangers—made a desperate attack at Fortuin, which somewhat relieved the strain. A bigger effort was needed, however, and for this the 50th division was brought up.

The plan was that on the 25th an attack should be made by these and other troops. The assault was led by the 10th brigade and some Canadians, and when these had reached the limit of endurance—for they were weak battalions assailing armies—the Northumberland brigade of the 50th division advanced, moving under fire for two miles towards St. Julien. Near Fortuin they came up with some Durham Territorials, the 9th battalion, who had previously advanced thus far, and there some trenches were dug and another German attack beaten off. On the same day, at Broodseinde, hard by, the 2nd East Surreys, the 1st Hampshires, and other English units had a strenuous time, in which they were greatly helped by the 8th Durhams, Territorials who, like the 9th, lost very heavily in their first serious engagement.

The pressure was still intense, and accordingly another attack was arranged for the 26th. The Northumberland Territorials had got forward to Fortuin, and from there they were ordered to capture St. Julien. All four battalions were Northumberland Fusiliers, the 6th and 7th in front, and the others in reserve, while behind them was a brigade of Durham Light Infantry. Crossing the fields, resting behind hedges for a moment, they got into the village; but they had lost their general, Julian Riddell, with half their strength, and they could not hold it.

Other deeds of that day were the attack of the Indian troops, in which the 1st Manchesters won more glory, and the work of some English Territorials in going to the help of the 28th division. On the 27th four English battalions went up to support the Indians, although in previous fighting they had been brought down to only 1,300 strong. Such an episode was typical of this battle. No unit did better work in those awful days than the 1st Warwicks, the one English battalion in the 10th brigade.

## LANCASHIRE MEN

April ended with one or two more German attacks, in one of which the London Rifle Brigade lost 170 men, and when May came in the British line was being made shorter and more defensible, while new—or at least rested—troops were replacing the survivors of the stricken battalions. Among these were the 12th brigade—1st Royal Lancasters, 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers, 2nd Essex, and two Territorial units, the 5th South Lancashires and the 2nd Monmouthshires—and on May 2 this brigade was attacked with gas. It was on this occasion that the Lancashire Fusiliers lost 300 men.

The 11th brigade was next attacked, the 1st Somerset Light Infantry being the chief sufferers; but owing to the prompt arrival of reinforcements—Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Kentish men mainly—the enemy's advance was stopped. On Hill 60, too, the Germans had an initial success with their gas; there, on May 1, some Dorsets were killed by it, and some Devons and Bedfords, sent up to relieve them, had also great losses. Another enemy attack followed on the 5th, and this time it was the turn of the 2nd West Ridings to suffer from the gas. Captain Robins, himself already poisoned beyond recovery, staggered to his colonel with the words, "The men are all up there—dead!"

The second part of this battle began soon after the shortening of the British line, and, as usual, with a big German attack, the feature of which was the increasing strength and horror of the bombardments. Whatever was the case with the British, certainly at this time the Germans were not short of shells. The attack opened on the 8th, although before then the 5th South Lancashires and the 2nd Monmouths had been hard pressed, and the 3rd Monmouths, near Frezenberg, almost annihilated.

The more determined attack of May 8 was beaten back in the north, where it came up against the battalions of the 11th and 12th brigades, nearly all English; but near Frezenberg the six—all English—units of the 83rd brigade had an experience almost as ghastly as that of the Canadians. Out of 2,500 men, nearly 2,000 were put out of action by the gas or the shells, the 2nd East Yorkshires being perhaps the hardest hit. The brigade fell back—or, rather, its few survivors were forced back by sheer numbers—and then the 80th, entirely English except for Princess Patricia's Canadians, felt the full force of the storm.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

The 84th brigade fared as badly as the 83rd. The 1st Suffolks were surrounded and destroyed—at the time they were under 300 strong; and then the other battalions, endangered by this occurrence, found themselves faced by hordes of the foe. The 2nd Cheshires, 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers, 1st Monmouths, and London Rangers—for this brigade, too, had only one non-English battalion in it—were reduced to skeletons, and the few remains were brushed out of the way. In this mêlée the 1st Monmouths, although attacked on all sides, refused for long to budge an inch, and as the German stormers surrounded them, Captain Edwards cried out, "Surrender be damned!" They lost, however, their colonel, C. L. Robinson, and perhaps 600 men in this fine but hopeless resistance.

Meanwhile, the few regiments which had lost less heavily than the others were collected for a counter-attack. These, mainly English, took Frezenberg again, and on the next day the 1st Gloucesters made a forward move. The 4th Rifle Brigade and the 3rd and 4th King's Royal Rifles were in the thick of some later fighting, and indeed every battalion in the 27th and 28th divisions, it is hardly an exaggeration to say, had been destroyed when this six days' fighting came to an end.

The 4th division had similarly days and nights of loss and horror, thinned ranks getting still thinner, and weary men still wearier; but with unshaken courage they held on, and the men were still confronting the Germans when, on the 24th, a last attack was made. This was preceded, as usual, by clouds of gas, but the Britons could not be moved. The 12th brigade, we were told, was attacked on the front, the flank, and the right rear, and two of its battalions—the 1st Royal Lancasters and 2nd Essex, together with the 1st East Lancashires and 1st Rifle Brigade from the 11th brigade—stuck to their places all the day, and even made efforts to counter-attack. In the evening they were ordered to form a new line 500 yards behind, and this they did in perfect order, carrying their wounded with them.

The long battle was now almost over, dying away, as did most of those in the Great War, from sheer exhaustion; but during May the Germans made several spasmodic assaults on the thin British line, the 2nd East Surreys, 2nd Buffs, 3rd Royal Fusiliers, 3rd Middlesex, 2nd Cheshires, 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers, and some Durham Territorials being among the English battalions that added to their already high reputations.



**HORSES AT WAR WORK.** This photograph shows the horse as beast of burden. It was taken near Ypres in August, 1917. The animals are carrying shells for light artillery and are moving up to the battery positions. After crossing an area of liquid mud they are just gaining the road.

*Imperial War Museum*



**PIGEONS IN WAR.** Many pigeons went into action with the artillery in France and some were even carried in tanks. The photograph shows one being released from a revolver porthole under cover of a projecting machine gun casemate.



**FEATHERED AID FOR THE NAVY.** A message being sent off from a submarine, the vital piece of paper being packed into the metal tube fastened to the pigeon's leg. One of these birds was the means of bringing aid to a submarine after it had captured an enemy vessel.

*Imperial War Museum*



*Imperial War Museum*

**A FIELD LOFT FOR PIGEONS.** Pigeons are invaluable to armies, and during the Great War performed very varied tasks. In Plates 42-43 they are seen in action on land and sea. This photograph shows a pre-war London omnibus turned into a motor loft for field service.

## THE KENSINGTONS

Meanwhile, away to the south, the British on their part were conducting an offensive. This consisted of two frontal attacks on the German positions near Festubert—attacks which, owing to their very unsucccess, had important political results in Britain, for they revealed the terrible shortage of shells and led to the changes which quickly turned the country into one great arsenal. Both attacks were made on a Sunday, May 9 and 16, and both followed the same familiar tactics—a preliminary bombardment, and then a rush by certain selected battalions, with others after them at a stated interval. Three army corps shared in the first attack, made on a front between Richebourg and Festubert, these being the 1st, the 4th, and the Indian.

Two brigades of the 8th division advanced against the Aubers Ridge, whence the pitiless rain of fire mowed them down in hundreds. The 2nd Rifle Brigade, one of the leading battalions of the 25th brigade, suffered in this way, as did the 2nd Lincolns and 2nd Berkshires behind them, but the palm was awarded by common consent to the Kensingtons. To these a distinct task was given, and in carrying it out they got right into the German lines. There they remained, but no aid could reach their dwindling numbers, and in the afternoon in ones and twos they began to make their way back. A few did so successfully, but the majority, including all the officers save four, lay dead or wounded in front. This was "a feat of arms," said Sir Henry Rawlinson, "surpassed by no battalion in the Great War." The 24th brigade which, like the 25th, reached the first German trenches, suffered almost as heavily, the battalions here being the 2nd Northamptons, 1st Sherwood Foresters, and 2nd East Lancashires. The 2nd Devons also lost over two hundred men, but the casualties in the 2nd Rifle Brigade are said to have been 21 officers and 526 men.

In the south the attack was equally unsuccessful and almost equally costly. Here the 2nd brigade, that fine English unit which had done such grand work in the earliest days of the war, was heard of again, for it and the 3rd led the assault for the 1st corps. It had now six battalions, two of Territoria's, the 5th Sussex and 9th Liverpools, having been added, and for the attack its formation was the 1st Northamptons and 2nd Royal Sussex in front, with the 2nd King's Royal Rifles and the 5th Sussex to follow. But the German fire was more devastating than ever, and the attack was a total failure.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

In spite of these discouragements, a second attack was arranged for a week later, the main change being that it was made in the dark instead of the daylight. This time the 2nd and 7th divisions were selected for the work, the Indians, as before, assisting. As regards the 2nd division, the men were led out in front of the trenches on the Saturday night, and there they lay down for an hour's rest. At 11.30 they rose and moved quietly forward. As before, most of the battalions were English. The 2nd Worcesters came up against some uncut wire, but the 1st King's Royal Rifles, 1st Berkshires, and 1st Liverpools got into the German trenches. There their lot was not unlike that of the Kensingtons a week before. Daylight made the ground behind them, swept as it was by machine gun fire, impassable. The 5th and 7th Liverpools strove gallantly to reach them, but their efforts were in vain.

The 7th division's general sent forward the 2nd Borders and 2nd West Surreys, when at 3.30 a.m. his attack was made. After a temporary stoppage, both reached the enemy. The 1st South Staffords and the 2nd Warwicks did splendid work in supporting, and later in the day the 2nd Oxfordshire Light Infantry maintained its high reputation. The end of this battle, which lasted some days longer, was remarkable for the fact that the London Territorials of the 47th division, one destined to win a renowned name in after days, came up to the front as a unit, and were involved in some heavy fighting near Givenchy. The 23rd London and 24th London very skilfully seized a German position, and under the heaviest fire they, with the help of the 1st London and 22nd London, held it—a fine feat of arms.

One more piece of fighting, and the first year of the war came to an end, although isolated encounters were numerous. In one of these the 4th Royal Lancasters and 4th Loyal North Lancashires were to the fore. The fighting around Hooze began on June 16. The British command was anxious to improve the line by straightening it out, and to do this the 9th brigade was brought up from its rest camp. In their usual impetuous fashion the 1st Northumberland Fusiliers and the 4th Royal Fusiliers dashed forward, and this time the attack succeeded. With the 1st Lincolns at their heels, the leading battalions made for the second, third, and even fourth German lines; while, following up, the 7th brigade took over the captured ground. But they had gone too far, and had to fall back to the first line, where the

## LIQUID FIRE AT HOOGE

1st Wiltshires, 3rd Worcesters, and the H.A.C. had been under a steady and deadly fire. Around Ypres, about a fortnight later, the 1st Rifle Brigade and 1st Somersets won a distinct though small success, and the 2nd Lancashire Fusiliers showed equal gallantry in holding the ground.

To return to Hooge. The Germans were very reluctant to see their trenches in British hands, and, having found out how to make use of burning liquid as a weapon of offence, they decided to try and recover them. The place of trial was then held (July 30) by four English battalions of Kitchener's men, the so-called New army. They were all Rifles—the 7th and 8th K.R.R., and the 7th and 8th Rifle Brigade—and upon them the flaming fire was hurled. Those in front were nearly all killed, and the remainder found shelter in a wood, while the artillery and the bombers stopped the Germans from coming farther.

A counter-attack was necessary, but for this very few troops were available. It had to be made, however, and the survivors of the Rifles, with the 9th K.R.R., and the 6th Cornwalls, torme<sup>d</sup> up for it. It failed with heavy losses. The men were killed or wounded immediately they emerged from the wood, and soon more than half their officers were on the ground. The liquid fire was then tried upon the wood, but this was held, the Cornishmen doing fine work here.

This brought to an end the first year of the war; but during that anxious and critical time English regiments had done a good deal of campaigning in other parts of the world, quite enough to make a considerable story even if France and Flanders had never existed. The Loyal North Lancashires had a battalion fighting the heat, as well as the Germans, in East Africa; and the 2nd Dorsets, the 1st Oxford Light Infantry, and the 2nd Norfolks were marching along the Tigris with the Indians. On November 17, 1914, the Dorsets, advancing over a bare and fiery plain, led an attack on a strong Turkish army near Basra, but the greatest of all these subsidiary enterprises was the attack on Gallipoli.

As the Great War grew in magnitude, and it became possible to count its fighters by the million, the method of recording it changed also. The scale, as it were, of the maps—or, to use another metaphor, the focus of the glass—was altered. So large did the operations become that battalions were of no more importance, relatively speaking, than companies had been, while later still they sank rather to the level of platoons. No definite

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

date can be assigned for this change, but as far as Britain was concerned it may be said to have begun in the spring of 1915. By then the working idea of an Expeditionary Force of perhaps 200,000 men to aid France had been definitely abandoned in favour of a fighting army on the Continental scale.

The first seven divisions had undoubtedly done superb work, had saved the Empire from destruction, but it was hardly by divisions that the heroes of the Expeditionary Force were popularly known. It was rather as battalions, and as there were only 84 of them, it was possible to deal with them as such; but a year later, so much more numerous were they, it was impossible. Two years later Britain had nearly 84 divisions in the field.

This change, although it came gradually, meant that the battalion ceased, save in exceptional cases, to be the unit mentioned in despatches. Its place was taken by the division, a force twelve times its size, and from the early part of 1915 Britons were made familiar with the numbers and deeds of the various divisions. The first division to make a name for itself was the 29th.

The 29th division was the one that, in April, 1915, landed on the beaches of Gallipoli, a feat probably unparalleled in military history, and one certainly that only troops of the very highest quality could have even attempted. Just half of its 12 battalions were English. They were the 2nd Royal Fusiliers, 1st Lancashire Fusiliers, 1st Border Regiment, 2nd Hampshires, 4th Worcesters, and 1st Essex.

It is not easy, nor is it always desirable, to classify brave men into ranks of first, second, and third, but on this occasion one of the six battalions certainly stood out, remarkable for the heroism which it showed on a day when all men were heroes. It was the Lancashire Fusiliers, the old 20th, and a Minden regiment. The men came to the shore in 32 small boats, eight strings of four each. On landing, strong wire entanglements faced them, and while they hacked their way through they were mown down as with a scythe. Others, however, came along; and at terrible cost the beach was won.

It is not unfair to describe this 29th division as the backbone of the Gallipoli enterprise. It was in all the savage fighting for Krithia, and later was sent round the coast to put new life into the failing attack at Cape Suvla. But it had comrades as devoted, even if they were not as hardened to warfare; and among

## THE LANDING AT SUVLA

these, Lancashire men were prominent. At the beginning of May the first battalions of a Territorial division, the 42nd, or East Lancashire, landed on the peninsula, and these by a happy chance, belonged to the Lancashire Fusiliers.

These Lancashire Fusiliers took a leading part in the attack on Krithia which began on May 6, and a few days later, when the forward move was again at a standstill, they were joined by the rest of the division. The Territorials were in the attack of June 4, and the Manchester brigade "advanced magnificently." In five minutes the first line of Turkish trenches was captured, and by 12.30 the brigade had carried with a rush the second line. Elsewhere, however, the advance was less pronounced and the Manchesters had to withdraw, but, says Sir Ian Hamilton, "such was the spirit displayed by the brigade that there was great difficulty in persuading the men to fall back."

For a new plan, a landing at Cape Suvla and a general offensive everywhere else, five more divisions were sent to Sir Ian Hamilton. One of these, the 10th, except for a battalion of Hampshires, was Irish, though a good many Englishmen had been drafted into some of its battalions, and another was largely Welsh, but the other three—11th, 13th, and 54th—were, except for a Welsh battalion or two, English. The 13th—men from Lancashire and the Western counties—was sent to assist the Anzacs, and in the fight of August 8 the 7th Gloucesters performed the remarkable feat of fighting on for hours after all their officers had fallen. Other English battalions which distinguished themselves on those dreadful and indescribable days of heat and horror, disease and death, were the 6th South Lancashires and the 10th Hampshires. Heroism of a high order was also shown by the 9th Worcesters, 5th Wiltshires, and 6th North Lancashires, and a Warwickshire battalion which, like the Worcesters, lost all its officers. In all, the 13th division lost 6,000 men out of 10,500, and ten of its 13 colonels.

At Suvla Bay the landing of August 6 was led by the 11th division, men from the Northern counties. The Turks were surprised by the move, and only one of the three brigades met with any opposition. At once the 9th West Yorkshires and 6th Yorkshires made a successful assault on a Turkish outpost, and the 11th Manchesters drove the enemy before them in fine style. This charge of the Manchesters was followed by another; on a hill of blazing gorse they and the 9th Lancashire Fusiliers

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

routed some more of the enemy. The hill of Yilghin Burnu was seized meanwhile by the 6th Lincolns and 6th Borders, and the same two battalions were mentioned by Sir Ian Hamilton for gallantry on August 9th.

While the war in the East was languishing, that in the West was taking on new vigour when, on September 25, the British attacked the German positions around Loos. For the main assault six divisions were employed. Two were Scottish, three were divisions of Regulars which had been at the front from the start, and the sixth was a division of London Territorials—the 47th. The London division was wholly English save for the London Irish, and the three Regular divisions contained a majority of English battalions.

Where the 2nd division attacked, the 2nd South Staffordshires and the 1st Liverpools lost heavily, the position in front of them being especially strong. The 7th division on the right of the 2nd, but with the Scots between the two, was almost wholly composed of English battalions of the line, for the two of Guards formerly in one of its brigades had been replaced by the 8th and 9th Devons. The leading battalions, among them the 2nd Warwicks, 1st South Staffordshires, and 8th Devons, got well into the German trenches, but after a time the division was obliged to fall back.

A high road divided these divisions from the three in the 4th corps. In the 1st division the rush of the 1st brigade was led by the 8th Berkshires and the 10th Gloucesters, two service battalions that had replaced the Guards. Some trenches were gained, but the losses were disproportionately heavy, as they were also where the four English units of the 2nd brigade found some uncut wire. The whole four fought with all the heroism for which they were rightly noted, and at length they got to the German line and beyond, where they linked up with those on either side. Had they allowed the wire to stop them, the advance of this corps would have been in jeopardy.

While the Scots of the 15th division were on their way to Loos, the Londoners' advance was as successful, and they, too, entered Loos itself. With the London Irish, the leading battalions were the 6th, 7th and 20th London. The whole of their gains was not maintained, but a good deal was, and in the critical days that followed the Londoners held on firmly to the captured German trenches of the second line.

## THE BATTLE OF LOOS

Such was the fate of the main attack by the six divisions on September 25, but there were also others intended to deceive and puzzle the foe. The 8th division, the 2nd Rifle Brigade, 2nd Berkshires, and 2nd Lincolns in the van, carried some trenches; the 12th Rifle Brigade and 6th Shropshire Light Infantry assisted the Indian Corps near Neuve Chapelle, but the biggest of the feints was one near Hooze; there an English division, the 14th, did excellent work, as did an English battalion in the 3rd division, the 2nd South Lancashires.

With the advances and withdrawals the first day's work was over, but the enemy was in no sense beaten, and in one or two places the British line was drawn back a little under heavy pressure. However, two new English divisions—the 21st and 24th—were at hand from reserve, and it was hoped to follow up quickly the initial gain of ground. These reserves were sent to the aid of the weakened Scots of the 9th division; while two battalions, the 8th Bedfords and 9th Norfolks, had heavy losses while attempting to retake the Quarries.

The assault of September 26 was delivered by the 21st division and part of the 24th on the enemy positions between Loos and Hulluch, where, for various reasons, the struggle had become most desperate. Six battalions of the 24th—men from Surrey, Kent, Essex and Suffolk—with the 10th Sherwood Foresters in support, got on for some distance, but about midday they found themselves faced with uncut wire and the target of bullets and shells innumerable.

The 21st division, like the 24th, was fighting in sections. One of its brigades—8th East Yorkshires, 12th and 13th Northumberland Fusiliers, and 10th Yorkshires—was sent to support the Scots of the 15th division, and these battalions having got into the line there, were engaged stubbornly throughout the day. This left two brigades only for the main assault. The 8th Lincolns and 12th Yorkshires got well forward, and some men of the 10th York and Lancaster regiment distinguished themselves, but in the Bois Hugo the two leading battalions crashed into a German attack, and were almost destroyed. The 27th was another costly and critical day. The Hohenzollern Redoubt was practically regained by the Germans, but by this time the 28th division was on the spot. One of its English battalions, the 2nd Buffs, delivered two gallant attacks, but in general it had to be content with defensive operations.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

On October 8 came the real German reply to the British attack. It took the form of a desperate infantry assault, delivered against four British divisions, three of which were mainly, if not wholly, of English infantry of the line. One of these was the 12th, entirely English service battalions, and in a successful resistance the 6th East Kents and 6th West Kents distinguished themselves.

The last big event in the battle of Loos was the fine attack made by a division of English Territorials on the lost Hohenzollern Redoubt. This was the 46th, men from the Midlands, who on the 13th assaulted that destructive stronghold. The 4th Leicesters, 5th Lincolns, 5th North Staffords, and 5th South Staffords were the attackers, and in superb fashion they reached their objective. Once there, the Staffords on the right were shot down in scores; the Lincolns and Leicesters got somewhat farther, but met almost the same fate. The bombers, however, did deadly work in the trenches into which they made their way, and the action ended with a final attack delivered by four battalions of the Sherwood Foresters, which won a section of the coveted redoubt.

During the earlier part of 1916 there was plenty of activity on the western front, as casualties to the extent of over 1,000 men a day certainly proved, but it was trench warfare only. The Germans were putting their force into an attack on Verdun, but they found time and energy now and again to keep the British front on the alert. On February 13, for instance, they bombarded a part of the line near Ypres held by three English divisions, the 17th, the 24th, and the 50th. On the 17th the 10th Lancashire Fusiliers were nearly all killed by the explosion of powerful mines, and the 10th Sherwood Foresters had also heavy losses, but the 7th Borders and 7th Lincolns won back some of the lost ground. Against the 50th and 24th divisions, however, the Germans had no success, thanks largely to the 3rd Rifle Brigade and the 9th Sussex.

On March 2 a spirited assault gave back to the British the ground lost in this attack. The 2nd Suffolks, from the 3rd division, won a marked success against a difficult position called the Bluff, and other English battalions helping were the 7th Lincolns, 8th Royal Lancasters, 9th West Ridings, and 12th West Yorkshires. To the same division, the 3rd, was entrusted another difficult operation, the capture of a valuable observation point near St. Eloi, and this was won on March 27 by two of

## THE BATTLES OF THE SOMME

its English battalions, veterans in the war, the 4th Royal Fusiliers and the 1st Northumberland Fusiliers. The critical position in which the British holding the captured trenches found themselves during the next few days was relieved by an equally gallant charge made by the 8th Royal Lancasters.

In April the 1st Shropshire Light Infantry, wading through mud, captured a trench near Langemarck, and in May the 11th Lancashire Fusiliers and 9th Loyal North Lancashires won ground at Vimy. Along almost the whole line desperate German attacks were beaten back, sometimes only after heavy losses; and, as July approached, raids by the British battalions became more numerous. Finally, on June 20, doubtless a feint, the 39th division, represented by the 12th and 13th Sussex, rushed forward into a terrible fire, reached the German line, and then, with only three officers left, fell back.

The battle of the Somme opened on July 1, 1916, and lasted until November. On that bright summer morning the first attack was delivered by the men of 13 divisions, with five others in close reserve. Six of the 13 were wholly English, and there was only one, the 36th, that contained no English units. Four, the 4th, 7th, 8th, and 29th, were divisions of Regulars of mixed nationality, but with a majority of English battalions. The 18th, 21st, 30th, and 31st were composed entirely of service battalions from the English counties; the 46th and 56th entirely of Territorial battalions of the same kind. The remaining two, the 32nd and 34th, contained Scottish as well as English units, but the majority were of the latter. On the north, near Gommecourt, the attack was made by Territorials from Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and by some Londoners. The men advanced, six paces between each with smoke clouds in front, with splendid steadiness, and reached the German trenches. Unfortunately, however, these and their defenders appear to have escaped any serious damage from the artillery; the few unwounded Englishmen were too few to hold them, while machine guns and barrage fire made it impossible to get supports forward.

This happened to both the midlanders and the London men. The latter had the 12th London, Queen Victoria's Rifles, and the Queen's Westminsters in front, with the 2nd and 4th London, the Kensingtons, and the London Rifle Brigade following. To the south of the Londoners the Regulars of the 4th and 29th divisions had no better luck, nor had those with

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

them, the north countrymen of the 31st division and some Warwick territorials. The 31st division had a terrible ordeal. The men advanced with superb determination, but nothing could live in that zone of fire; the 12th York and Lancaster, men from Sheffield, was reduced to the colonel and six orderlies, while the 11th East Lancashires, who had shared their advance, were only slightly more numerous after the fight.

In the 4th division the six leading battalions were all English, the 1st Somersets making the biggest advance; but here again there was no decision. The famous 29th division sent forward, with some Welshmen and some Irishmen, two of its hardened English battalions; but once more the sad story was repeated—defences almost intact and gallant men going down in hundreds under the hail of shot and shell. In front of Thiepval the 32nd division, English save for its battalions of Highland Light Infantry, suffered as heavily, as did the Ulstermen on its left. Among the battalions that won glory here were the 1st Dorsets, 11th Borders, and 15th Lancashire Fusiliers.

The 8th division included at this time a brigade, the 70th, raised mainly from the Yorkshire miners, and the four battalions of this lost heavily, many being killed before the advance began. When the whistle blew, however, the survivors went forward towards Ovillers, but the ground there was little more than a bare plain, and only a few came back. Of the rest of this division the 2nd Middlesex was almost entirely destroyed, and the other leaders—2nd Devons, 2nd Berkshires, and 2nd Lincolns—fared little better. The 34th division, next in the line, was only partially English. In it the 10th Lincolns and 11th Suffolks dashed through a terrific curtain of fire, and their gallantry did something to turn the fortunes of war in favour of the British.

The British attack was a failure in the north, but a success in the south. The success really began with the assault of the 21st division, an entirely English unit, for, although its composition had been altered somewhat since its gruelling at Loos, this was only a case of like replacing like. The 9th and 10th Yorkshire Light Infantry led one of its brigades, and although the former lost its colonel and four captains, the men got into the German trenches; then, having been joined by two other battalions from behind, they continued their way forward. They lost heavily, it is true, but they took many prisoners and some valuable ground. This particular brigade had got forward faster

## SOME ENGLISH DIVISIONS

and farther than any other in that region, so the men made such shelter as they could and awaited events. After a time another brigade, also an English one, came alongside them, and the line was soon strengthened by a reserve brigade, 1st Lincolns and 10th Yorkshires leading, that put the finishing touch to a victory, important in itself but far more so for its influence on the rest of the battle. This 21st division was aided by an attached brigade, the 50th, mainly composed of Yorkshire battalions, that did good work around Fricourt.

The 7th division continued this success. Its four leading battalions, all English save the 2nd Gordons, had a somewhat easier task perhaps near Mametz, but it was only comparatively so. There was some sharp fighting in the village, where the 21st and 22nd Manchesters, two service battalions, showed as much courage and dash as did the veteran regulars.

Another English division came next in the line. The 18th, composed mainly of men from the home and eastern counties, had been drilled to a high state of perfection by General Maxse, and on the day of trial this training told. All three of its brigades had battalions in the front line, a somewhat unusual formation, for generally one remained in reserve and only two attacked; and, dashing forward, they found the wire cut and the hostile trenches approachable. These were easily rushed, but loss came from isolated redoubts and from snipers, and it took time to reduce these to silence. The task, however, was accomplished, and the Englishmen of the 18th division could congratulate themselves upon a distinct success. The hardest of its fighting fell upon some Londoners, the 8th East Surrey and the 7th Queen's, but all the battalions did splendidly, especially those who forced their way with bombs into Montauban Alley, and so made possible the successes of the division on their right.

This division, the one joining up with the French to the south, was the 30th, nearly all men from Manchester and Liverpool. On this occasion, however, it had exchanged a brigade with the 7th division, and, as it formed up on that July morning, it consisted of eight battalions of Service men and four of Regulars. However, save for one battalion, it was entirely English. It attacked with two brigades, the third being ordered to go through and seize Montauban as soon as the initial assault was successfully launched. All went as arranged, although the losses in certain units, especially the 18th Liverpools, were very heavy

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

indeed. The first day of the battle was over, and much had been gained, but the issue was undecided. That depended largely upon the speed, endurance, and leadership of the reserves. The gaps made had to be widened, and this work occupied the British for nearly a fortnight. Then they were ready to move against the second line of the German defences.

The reserves immediately available amounted to seven or eight divisions, and one or two of them were in action before midnight on July 1. Until the Welshmen of the 38th came up these were all English units, save for an odd battalion or two, and were numbered the 12th, 17th, 19th, 25th, and 48th, so the fighting that began on July 2nd and prepared the way for the general assault on the 14th was practically an English operation. It took place chiefly around Ovillers and Contalmaison, but near Thiepval some battalions of the 25th division, 8th Borders, 11th Cheshires, and 2nd South Lancashires, had heavy losses whilst assisting the 32nd. The 12th, 19th, and 25th divisions made attack after attack upon Ovillers, and finally a charge, magnificently led by the 8th and 9th Royal Fusiliers, took possession of a part of it. This success was improved upon by other battalions, and the 48th division, men from the south midland counties, shared in the final assault, afterwards clearing the enemy from the outskirts of the village.

Around Contalmaison the 17th and 23rd divisions had come to the aid of the 21st and the 7th, and here was the most desperate fighting of those days. One particular trench defied the gallantry of various battalions from the north of England, while others were equally unable to get into Contalmaison itself. Three attacks were delivered on the trench on July 6, and on the 7th three others were made, but the result was the same. The midlanders could do no more than the northerners had done, and regiments from the counties of Lincoln, Derby, Nottingham, and Stafford had long casualty lists. Nothing daunted, however, Northumberland Fusiliers and Durham Light Infantry tried again, and this time got into the village. Their success turned the scale, and men of the 17th division were now able to seize the trench that had defied them for so long. This work was done mainly by the 6th Dorsets and 7th East Yorkshires.

Farther to the south the 18th and 30th divisions were battling for the possession of Trônes Wood, on which a first attack was made by the 2nd Yorkshires and other regulars of the famous

## THE GERMAN SECOND LINE

7th division. The Lancashire men of the 30th division then came forward and won a footing in the wood, but not the whole of it; they were too weakened by their losses to continue. The men of the 18th division completed the work, the 6th North-amptons and the 12th Middlesex being, perhaps, the most prominent in this deadly task, although the stand by 200 isolated West Kents in the recesses of the wood must not be forgotten.

• The breaking of the German second line was not quite such a purely English performance as those just recorded. Leicester men of the 21st division were successful near Bazentin-le-Petit, while close by, some superb battalions of the 7th division—8th Devons and 2nd Borders leading—got well into Bazentin-le-Grand Wood. The 2nd Warwicks cleared a village here, and High Wood, destined to prove another dreadful obstacle, was attacked by the 2nd Queen's and 1st South Staffords. The attack on July 14 was shared by two other divisions, the 1st and the 3rd, both now combined of Regulars and Service men.

In the fighting that followed, the 1st division continued to be heavily engaged, losing many men in an unsuccessful attack on the 23rd, when the chief sufferers were the 2nd Sussex, 2nd King's Royal Rifles, and the 10th Gloucesters. The savage fighting for the possession of High Wood brought the 33rd division to the front. This was of mixed nationality, but none did better than its English battalions, especially perhaps the 1st Queen's, 2nd Worcesters, 1st Middlesex, and 16th King's Royal Rifles. Later, the 20th Fusiliers, a battalion of public school boys, helped materially in this costly fray. The 19th, an English division, was also battling for High Wood about this time, the 7th South Lancashires, 7th Royal Lancasters, and 10th Warwick-shires showing marked gallantry and resolution.

After the South Africans and some Scots had passed dreadful days and nights in another bloodstained wood—Delville—two other divisions, the 3rd and the 18th, were sent there. Both carried the line forward, especially perhaps the battalions—8th Norfolks, 8th Suffolks, and others—from the eastern counties. The village of Longueval, standing in the wood, was a terrible obstacle, even to the tried soldiers of the 3rd division. With the help of the 5th division they assailed it strongly on the 23rd, and made some progress, high praise being due to the 1st Norfolks, 1st East Surreys, and 1st Northumberland Fusiliers, and equally to those new but not less ardent units, the 17th West

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

Yorkshires and 12th Gloucesters. The last and victorious assault on it was carried out mainly by Londoners, men of the 22nd and 23rd Royal Fusiliers and 17th Middlesex, although the 1st King's Royal Rifles and 1st Berkshires rendered no mean service.

The German line of defence consisted of an elaborate arrangement of trenches with certain villages as bastions thereon. Until these were reduced no advance was possible, and two of the most formidable that faced the British after their first success were Guillemont and Pozières. The former had been attacked by the 36th division without success, so a bigger assault was arranged for the 30th. That, too, failed, although service battalions from Manchester—16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th—lost hundreds of lives in crossing the fire-swept ground.

Pozières was an Australian success, but it was also attacked on June 23, and later by territorials from Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and the adjacent counties of Oxford, Gloucester, and Berkshire; and it speaks well for these men that they were able to go forward with the heroes of Gallipoli and so to share their undying glory. They, too, made good, the 4th and 6th Gloucesters showing special fighting qualities. When withdrawn, this 48th division was replaced by the 12th, and these veterans from Surrey, Kent, and Sussex were equally determined to advance, their efforts culminating in a gain of ground on August 12. The midlanders then returned and carried the matter a stage farther, the 5th and 6th Warwicks showing marked skill as raiders, and the Gloucesters their accustomed valour. North of Pozières, between that place and Thiepval, other English divisions were crashing into almost impregnable defences, and thereabouts the 11th division, like the Australians transferred westwards from Gallipoli, captured the Wonder Work, a feat due entirely to Yorkshire battalions.

The August fighting on the Somme was almost as desperate as that of July. High Wood was once more attacked, this time on the 16th, by the 33rd and 1st divisions. However, the gallantry shown by the 4th Liverpools, 4th Suffolks, and 20th Royal Fusiliers of the former was almost wasted; and although the four English battalions of the 2nd brigade won some ground, the position remained, as a whole, untaken. In beating back a German attack here the 1st Northhamptons and 2nd King's Royal Rifles lost heavily. About the same time the 14th division, English battalions all, was struggling forward from Delville Wood.

## LIGHT INFANTRY BATTALIONS

Another attempt had to be made to move the Germans from their stronghold, Guillemont, and this was entrusted to the 24th division. The 9th East Surreys lost heavily in a preliminary assault on the 16th, and the 13th Middlesex in one two days later. The 7th Northhamptons and 9th Sussex, however, won some ground, while the 3rd Rifle Brigade got possession of the railway-station here. The village itself was still untaken, although the assault was by no means a failure. A larger and more general attack followed on the 24th, three divisions, practically all English, being employed. This attack was aimed at a stretch of the German line, and at one end of it the 1st Queen's, 2nd Worcesters, and 16th King's Royal Rifles made some ground.

Near them the light infantry battalions of the 14th division, men from Yorkshire, Oxfordshire, and Shropshire, with a brigade of Rifles, were still more successful, and the movement was carried farther by Durham, Somerset, and Cornwall men on the 27th. Near Guillemont was Ginchy, and there the 1st South Staffords and other units of the noted 7th division beat back a strong German attack, which shook also the men of the 20th division. It failed, however, to move them, and in reply other battalions of the 7th assaulted Ginchy. The 20th Manchesters actually got into the village, but although finely helped by the 2nd Warwicks, they were too few to hold it. A second attack led by the 9th Devons was also ineffectual.

The two villages, however, fell at last to the determination and prowess of the British race. The main credit of Guillemont and of Ginchy belongs perhaps to the Irishmen; but they were greatly helped by an English brigade, one composed of the 10th and 11th Rifle Brigade and 10th and 11th King's Royal Rifles, which swept victoriously into the village from the south and west. Contributing also to this distinct success was the capture of two woods by another English brigade—1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, 1st Devons, 1st East Surreys, and 12th Gloucesters.

The third main attack on the German lines was made on September 15. One of its features was the capture of High Wood by the Londoners of the 47th division, the lead in this fine enterprise being taken by the 6th and 15th London. Between them and some equally victorious Scots, the Northumbrian Territorials of the 50th division, now quite veteran soldiers, went forward with equal speed, valour, and success. Farther to the south the attack was pressed home by other divisions, two

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

out of three in Sir Henry Horne's corps being English. These were the 41st, men from the south of England, and the 14th, which had done so much of the recent fighting. The former did splendid work in helping the New Zealanders and the tanks to capture Flers; then they pressed victoriously beyond that village, taking trench after trench, until, when relieved, the attacking battalions had lost nearly half their men. As regards the 14th division, its battalions of Rifles, followed by the light infantry of Oxfordshire and Shropshire, were equally successful.

To the south of these divisions was a corps under Lord Cavan, and this, too, like the one under Sir Henry Horne, had two of its three divisions composed mainly of English infantry. These were the 6th (Regulars) and the 56th (London Territorials), the former containing an Irish battalion and the latter the London Scottish. The Regulars were sent on the 15th against an exceptionally strong position called the Quadrilateral, and their first attack, a frontal one, failed with heavy losses to the 1st Buffs, 1st Leicesters, and 8th Bedfords. A more circuitous method of advance on the next day had happier results, and the trenches were entered by the 2nd Durham and 1st Shropshire Light Infantry. The Londoners had to fight equally hard. One of their brigades got into Bouleaux Wood, where the 7th Middlesex had heavy losses, but it was almost cleared of the enemy.

The next operation was the reduction of Thiepval, a position of enormous strength, and one to which the Germans attached the greatest value. This formidable task was entrusted to two English divisions, the 18th and the 11th, and on September 26 it was attacked. The consistent steadiness of the former—Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk men leading—was again of the utmost service. They got into Thiepval and stayed there.

Two days later the same divisions made for the Schwaben Redoubt, a fortified maze of trenches which crowned a long upward slope. Some of its trenches were seized at the first onrush of these tried English troops, and for days there was desperate fighting. The 7th Bedfords were among the most persistent and successful of the attacking battalions; bit by bit the coveted ground was won until when, on October 5, the 18th division was withdrawn, the whole of the redoubt, except a small section, was British ground. The 6th Borders and battalions from the Midlands, all in the 11th division, helped materially in this expensive but successful feat of arms. The 18th and

## THE DURHAM MINERS

11th were relieved by two other English divisions, the 25th and 39th, and by the efforts of the 8th North Lancashires, 10th Cheshires, 16th Sherwood Foresters and others, a further advance was made. Finally, on October 21, these and other English units assisted the Canadians to carry Stuff and Regina Redoubts, two of the most terrible defences in that region.

Farther along the line, in a northerly direction, there was also heavy fighting, this again being almost entirely an English affair. Of the three divisions engaged, the 1st, 23rd, and 50th, two were almost entirely drawn from Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire. During October they made their way surely and steadily into the German defences, one incident being when some Londoners of the 47th division, having come up to help, broke into Eaucourt in the wake of a tank.

Le Sars was only captured after a heavier fight, in which the 8th York and Lancasters won distinction and, incidentally, two Victoria Crosses, while Durham miners fell in scores near the Butte de Warlencourt. Leicestershire battalions of the 21st division took Gueudecourt, and good work in the same region was done by the 55th division, Territorials from West Lancashire. Lesbœufs and Morval were taken by the regulars of the 5th and 6th divisions, such tried battalions as the 1st West Yorkshires, 2nd Durham Light Infantry, 1st Cheshires, 1st East Surreys, and 1st Devons performing Homeric deeds here.

Combles, another stronghold, fell to the combined operations of the London Territorials and the French. These Londoners, forming the 56th division, were engaged in another grand assault, one made on October 7, which was shared by three other English divisions, the 12th, the 20th, and the 41st. In this the most promising move was made by the light infantry battalions of the 20th; but the elements were by now fighting against the British, and the affair, although conducted with great gallantry, did not have the desired results.

The same was true when the attack was continued by the Regulars of the 4th, 6th, and 8th divisions, except that the 8th won a certain amount of valuable ground near Le Transloy, where the trenches were especially strong and numerous. Other English divisions that did well in the same neighbourhood were the 33rd and the 17th. Yorkshire troops in the 17th were praised for aid to the Australians; while in the 33rd the 16th King's Royal Rifles and 20th Royal Fusiliers were as useful to the French.

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The offensive of 1916 ended with the battle of the Ancre in November. Everyone knows of the gallant part taken by the naval men in the desperate work around Beaumont-Hamel, but apart from this the attack was largely performed by English infantry battalions. Three of these—the 1st H.A.C., the 4th Bedfords, and the 7th Royal Fusiliers—actually served in the Naval Division. The five other divisions in line on November 13 were the 2nd and 3rd, composed of Regulars, the 31st and 39th of English service men, and the 51st of Highlanders. In the northern area of attack, where the Yorkshiremen of the 31st vied in gallantry with the regulars of the 2nd and 3rd, some ground was gained, but the losses were very heavy. The 12th and 13th East Yorkshires showed remarkable skill and courage, and near them the 2nd Suffolks and 8th Royal Lancasters fell in scores before some uncut barbed-wire. In the southern area, a splendid deed was the capture of the village of St. Pierre Divion with its garrison by the 16th Sherwood Foresters and the 17th Rifle Brigade of the 39th division.

When the naval men opened their memorable attack on Beaumont one of its brigades, composed of infantry of the line, three English and an Irish battalion, was in reserve, but it was soon thrown into the fight, as also was one from the 37th division, and these were in the final assault, the H.A.C. and certain battalions of Rifles sharing the heroism and the success of the sailors. A day or two later the 32nd division made an attack in which the 2nd Manchesters and 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry met with only partial success, for they lost very heavily from lack of bombs when within the German trenches. Finally, the last attack of the year was carried out on November 18 by the 19th division, but this, too, was a failure, although the 7th South Lancashires and 8th Gloucesters won part of Grandcourt.

The first months of 1917 were marked by the great German retreat, and then on April 9 came the British attack, generally known as the battle of Arras. As regards the initial stroke we know on the authority of Sir Douglas Haig himself that "the greater part of the divisions employed in the attack were composed of troops drawn from the English counties," and that, with some other units, these won "a most striking success." The whistles blew at 5.30 in the morning, and by 12 o'clock, among other gains, men from the eastern counties had seized Observation Ridge, while London Territorials had taken Neuville

## ARRAS AND MESSINES

Vitasse. Manchester and Liverpool troops were also mentioned for good work. An English division around Fampoux tore a wide gap in the German third line, and some north countrymen took a strong position called the Point du Jour. Vimy Ridge was taken by the Canadians, but an English brigade was in the centre of the attack. On that memorable day of victory the English were ubiquitous. On the 10th and 11th Monchy-le-Preux was a centre of resistance, and this fell at length to two English brigades. English troops were also to the fore when the attack was renewed.

Preparations were then begun for another great effort, the Messines Ridge being selected as the objective, and during May there were preparatory operations. Ballecourt was a specially strong obstacle, but after two weeks of almost constant fighting English troops got into it on May 7, and London and West Riding territorials completed its capture ten days later. The Londoners also took Cavalry Farm, while other English battalions helped to seize Rœux.

When Sir Herbert Plumer's army made its attack, almost a model operation, on June 7, English brigades were certainly in the majority of those that "pressed on up the slopes of the ridge to the assault of the crest line." The clearing of Grand Bois was done by men from the western counties, while a strong point known as the White Château could not permanently stop a rush of the Londoners. In Ravine Wood English battalions were fighting hard, and before night the Oosttaverne line had been taken. That line was first pierced by troops from the northern and western counties.

Before the third and longest of the year's great battles, that at Ypres, there was more preparatory work and also something in the nature of a disaster. In the former, English troops won a real success near Oppy, but the hardest fighting of this time was round Lens, where the Canadians were assisted by some north midland Territorials. On June 24 these midlanders, by capturing a small hill near Lens, compelled a retirement on both sides of the Souchez, and on the 28th they helped the Canadians to win forward. About this time the British took over from the French the defence of the stretch of allied line nearest to the North Sea. Following a heavy bombardment, the Germans advanced there, and the few British in front were isolated by a clever manœuvre which destroyed their communi-

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

cations across the Yser. It did not, however, destroy the fighting spirit of the two English battalions there, one of Northampton and the other of King's Royal Rifles, who won great renown by their resistance to an overwhelming number of foes.

When, on July 31, the 2nd army attacked at Ypres, four army corps were told off for the attack, and in these a majority of the battalions were English. On a front of seven miles and a half English troops were engaged almost everywhere, and at one point, the key to the German position—where, as was to be expected, the resistance was specially stiff—Lancashire men were prominent, as they had been many times before. Pommern Redoubt, a stronghold near Frezenberg, was taken by Territorials from West Lancashire, and later in the day English troops captured St. Julien with its memories of the earlier fighting at Ypres. When a successful day ended, English troops were also in Holbeke and on the outskirts of the village of Westhoek. A week later they completed the capture of the latter place.

The battle was renewed on August 16, and again English troops were in the van. Some brigades got forward as far as Langemark, while West Lancashire territorials, probably the 55th division, were again mentioned for excellent work.

A third great attack was delivered on September 20. Inverness Copse was completely secured by one English division. Men from the west country and from the south-western counties attained their objective, as did a division of London territorials, while once again the men of West Lancashire were mentioned for advancing finely over very wet and heavy ground near St. Julien. The positions were not only won but maintained against constant and furious efforts at recovery. Six days later other English troops took Zonnebeke, while north midland and London territorials seized a long line of strong German positions. This fighting took place around Polygon Wood, where English battalions helped to capture some fortified farms and to win useful ground.

The policy was pursued of giving the Germans no rest, another assault taking place on October 4. The attack was made on a front of seven miles from the Menin road to the Ypres-Staden railway. On the right, men from Kent, Devon, and Cornwall carried their objectives after heavy fighting; battalions from Yorkshire, Northumberland, Surrey, and Lincolnshire cleared the small enclosures east of Polygon Wood, and, although

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meeting with strong opposition, seized the village of Reutel; and on the left Surrey, Stafford, Devon, and Border men crossed the crest of the ridge and took a coveted hamlet. South midland troops and other English divisions were also mentioned for their conduct in this victorious affair.

Houthulst Forest was the next British objective, and here, around places bearing the familiar names of Poelcappelle and Passchendaele, English battalions were hard at work on October 9. East Lancashire, Yorkshire, and once again south midland territorials were singled out for high praise, as were the Warwicks and the H.A.C., who regained a part of Reutel. The Canadians won the greatest glory in the concluding operations of November, 1917, but they were assisted by English troops hailing from Northumberland and both eastern and western counties. London Territorials and other English units were also fighting in the awful conditions around Passchendaele.

In his account of the fighting around Cambrai in November and December, 1917, Sir D. Haig reverted to the practice of mentioning by name the various divisions. Sixteen divisions were singled out by him in his despatch dated March 4, 1918, but of these two of cavalry and one of the Guards do not concern us here. Of the remaining 13 only three were entirely non-English. Of the ten remaining, four were divisions of Regulars in which English battalions predominated, this being especially true of the 6th. Three were divisions of Service men drawn from the English counties and towns, and the other three were divisions of English Territorials—the 47th and 56th, both of Londoners, and the 62nd from the West Riding.

In the sudden and successful attack of November 20 the 12th division, men from the eastern counties, moved along the Bonavis Ridge, met with an obstinate resistance at Cateau Wood, and ended by taking the enemy's position and also his guns. Another English Service division, the 20th, having seized La Vacqu rie, stormed the strong defences of Welsh Ridge, while near it two other English divisions had a successful day. The 6th took the village of Rib court, and the 62nd that of Havrincourt, both showing their skill and bravery in fighting their way from street to street and from house to house. The work of the West Riding men was described as "a most gallant and remarkably successful advance." After it, moving out of Havrincourt to the north, they stormed the German reserve.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

line and seized Graincourt, making a total advance of four miles and a half. Meanwhile the 29th division, half English, coming up, had entered Masnières, and at two villages had secured the passages across the Canal de l'Escaut. The 3rd division helped by a subsidiary attack at Bullecourt. Less progress was made on the second day, but the 62nd division was again mentioned.

The first surprise was over, but Sir Douglas Haig decided to press farther forward and secure, if possible, the important Bourlon Ridge. A few days were consumed in preparations, not the least noteworthy of these taking place on the 22nd, when a battalion of the Queen's Westminsters stormed a vital point in the Hindenburg line, contributing much to the success of the subsequent attack. In this new attack, made on the 23rd, were at least two English divisions, the 40th and the 56th. The former was engaged for four and a half hours in capturing Bourlon Wood,,after which it got a foothold in the village, while the latter was fighting around Mœuvres. The attack on Bourlon was renewed on the next day, November 24, and this time it was taken by Englishmen of the 40th division. It was lost on the 25th, but parties of the 13th East Surreys held out there for two days, and then the division was withdrawn. The valiant 62nd came up and entered it, but even they could not hold it.

Much, therefore, had been gained, but not everything that was intended, when on November 30 a sudden German attack came upon five divisions which were defending the British line along a front of nearly ten miles. The 29th beat back many powerful assaults and kept its grip intact. Others, however, were less successful, and a surprise was undoubtedly effected by the enemy, who managed to turn the British positions and to recover much of his lost ground. Limerick Post, however, gave the Germans a good deal of trouble, for its English defenders, two Lancashire battalions, kept them off for a whole day.

Farther to the north, around Bourlon itself, the line was held by London Territorials and others. Both the London divisions were mentioned as greatly distinguishing themselves, as did the 2nd division. It was here that a platoon of the 17th Royal Fusiliers won immortality. Four platoons were just being withdrawn when the German fury burst upon them. The commanding officer sent three of them on their way; with the fourth he held up the enemy's attack. All were killed. A company of the 13th Essex is worthy to rank with these heroes. Isolated

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in a trench they resisted throughout the day, and at four o'clock in a council of war the remaining officers decided on "no surrender." They, too, died fighting. Hard by, a somewhat similar deed was done by a company of the 1st Berkshires.

The next great move in the war was the German attack of March 21, 1918; and of the struggle, unprecedented for savagery and seriousness that followed that massive onrush, something was told officially about the deeds of the various British divisions. Up to April 23 no fewer than 27 of these were singled out for mention. Four of them hailed from Australia and New Zealand, but of the others the majority were English.

The 4th division, also largely an English unit, performed especially gallant service on March 28, north of the Scarpe, in assisting to break up the attacks launched by the enemy on that day for the capture of Arras and the Vimy Ridge. This division also distinguished itself on the Lys battle-front on the night of April 14-15, when, in an admirably executed counter-attack, it took the village of Riez du Vinage and again on April 18, when it repulsed strong hostile attacks.

During the first two days of the enemy's offensive south of Arras the 21st division maintained its positions at Epéhy against all assaults, and only withdrew from the village under orders when the progress made by the enemy to the south rendered such a course necessary. Before this division withdrew it inflicted great loss on the enemy, and the German official reports acknowledged the bitterness of the fighting. In this work men from Lincoln and Northumberland were singled out for mention; rather than surrender they died by the score on Chapel Hill. The 25th division was in close support when the German attack opened, and was at once sent into battle in the neighbourhood of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. Though constantly attacked, it was not dislodged from any position by the enemy's assaults. After this severe ordeal it was on these men that the blow of April 10 fell in Ploegsteert Wood, but they resisted finely.

On April 13 the 31st division was holding a front of some 9,000 yards east of the forest of Nieppe. The division was already greatly reduced in strength as the result of its fighting from March 24 onwards, and the enemy was still pressing his advance. The troops were informed that their line had to be held to the last to cover the detraining of reinforcements, and all ranks responded with magnificent courage and devotion to

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

the appeal made to them. Throughout a long day of incessant fighting they beat off a succession of determined attacks. In the evening the enemy made a last great effort, and by sheer weight of numbers overran certain portions of the British line, the defenders of which died fighting but would not give ground.

After severe fighting in the neighbourhood of Croisilles, at the commencement of the battle, the 34th division took over the Armentières sector and was in the line there on April 9. The division maintained its position intact throughout the first two days of the Lys battle, and when the enemy's advance on either flank made it necessary to order the evacuation of Armentières it withdrew deliberately from the town on the night of April 10-11.

In the fierce fighting at the end of March and early in April around Bucquoy and Ablainzeville two territorial divisions did superb work. These were the 42nd from East Lancashire and the war-worn 2nd from the West Riding of Yorkshire. Of the former, Lancashire Fusiliers, East Lancashires, and Manchesters used their bayonets to good effect in counter-attacks, and all contributed greatly to the successful maintenance of the British line in this important sector. Another, the 50th, although but recently withdrawn from a week of continuous fighting south of the Somme, on April 9 and subsequent days held up the enemy along the line of the Lys, and by the stubbornness of its resistance at Estaires and Merville checked his advance until further reinforcements could be brought up.

In the attack of March 28 the Londoners were in the midst of the storm. Some Queen's Westminsters showed the highest qualities of heroism, while equally some Essex men, with no word of surrender, fought to the last. In the 3rd division, which held its position at Croisilles against repeated attacks, battalions of Suffolks and Northumberland Fusiliers proved their manhood. Finally, on April 9, the 55th division regained Givenchy by a fine action at a most critical hour for Britain. The Portuguese positions in that region had been breached, so these Lancashire men retired their left to make a flank on that side, and began that defence of Givenchy which will be remembered as one of the brilliant incidents of the war. The ground here was of some importance, as being almost the only exception to the general flatness of the battle area. Three times at least, it is said, the German masses succeeded in breaking a way into Givenchy, once during the course of the day, and twice during the

## HEAVY CASUALTIES

evening and night, only to be thrown out again by the most dashing counter-attacks. A lull, due on both sides to utter exhaustion, followed this desperate fighting. The casualties had been very heavy indeed, and here it may be mentioned that seventy-six per cent. of the British losses had fallen upon English units.

The French were in like case with the British, for Sir Douglas Haig, weak as he was, allowed one of his corps, the 9th, to move south in order to strengthen the French line. This corps consisted of five divisions, and may be fairly described as an English unit, for, except one or two battalions in the 8th division, it was certainly so. The 19th, 21st, and 25th divisions were composed of Service battalions recruited in the English counties, and the 50th was one of Territorials from Northumberland and Durham. All had been but lately filled up with young drafts, and despite their high spirit and gallant record, were in no condition to take part in major operations until they had had a rest.

So great was the need of men, however, that during the first fortnight of May, three of them—8th, 21st, and 50th—were put into the line near Reims. They held a front of about 15 miles, and were there on May 27, when the Germans launched a great attack on the Aisne front. The whole of the 9th corps was soon involved in this battle. Greatly reduced in numbers, it was forced across the Aisne and the Vesle, and was there pressed back, fighting grimly all the way. The 19th division, the last British reserve here, was rushed up in omnibuses to close a gap in the French line, and this, mainly men from the west country, deployed with great skill and retook Bligny.

A few other details may be mentioned. The 8th division had a trying time in this battle, for a very heavy fire was opened on its front between Craonne and Berry-au-Bac. Incidentally, it had thirty-four bridges to hold, and the nerve of the troops was highly tried by an abundance of gas-shells and a dense fog. The Germans got across the river Aisne, but they had to fight hard for every inch of the ground, the battalions which contested their progress including West Yorkshires, Berkshires, Sherwood Foresters, Cheshires, and Wiltshires. The 50th division on the left of the 8th, had an equally formidable task.

As the tide of battle seemed now to be definitely surging rather against the French than against the English, Marshal Foch asked for four more British divisions, and this request was agreed

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

to, the 22nd corps being accordingly sent down to the French front. In this there were two English divisions, the 34th and the 62nd, the noted West Riding Territorials; and they were there on that great day, July 18, when Foch launched the counter-offensive for which he had long been preparing on the front between Château-Thierry and Soissons. The Yorkshiremen attacked astride the river Aisne, near Reims, and for ten days were engaged in continuous fighting of a most difficult and trying nature; the 34th attacked near Soissons on July 23, and both won high praise for their behaviour at this time.

This operation was in the nature of a *ballon d'essai*, and having been successful, larger schemes were decided upon. For the British there several plans and theatres of attack were suggested, but eventually it was decided to devote all the Allied resources to freeing Amiens from German pressure; and in August the battle of Amiens opened. A few instances may be cited. The Englishmen of the 12th division took Morlancourt on August 9, and south of this the Southerners of the 13th division were also successful in their attacks. On August 13 the Londoners of the 47th division took over the line here. These tried soldiers fought their way forward to St. Pierre Vaast Wood, which they cleared of the enemy, and took many prisoners and several guns.

On August 21 another strong attack, which has been called the battle of Bapaume, was launched, wherein twenty-three British divisions turned the line of the Somme and took 34,000 prisoners. Three Regular divisions, in all of which English battalions predominated, were to the fore in this enterprise. The 2nd attacked at Alette, and was constantly advancing for six days, during which time it took Ervillers and other villages; the 3rd took Courcelles, and two days later Gomicourt, and the 5th took Achiet-le-Petit. The Service men in the 12th division fought their way forward for nine days and took Mametz; while to the 17th, Englishmen from the north country, fell the honour of seizing Thiepval, Courcellette, and the Stuff Redoubt. Combles, Montauban, and Trônes Wood fell to the 18th division, and Beaucourt to the 21st.

This success was exploited gloriously in September. On the 2nd the 4th division, the 57th division, which had just completed some splendid work, and the naval men of the 63rd, with the Canadians and the Scots of the 52nd division, broke through the powerful Drocourt-Quéant line. On the right of the assault

## THE FINAL ADVANCE

the 57th led the way, and the 63rd passed through them later to complete the tale. The 4th division, on the left of the Canadians, did its share, and on the next day seized two villages.

A great combined attack by the French, British, American, and Belgian forces was then arranged, and it was in front of the British, who were to advance in the centre against Cambrai and St. Quentin, that the German defences were most highly organized. First were two heavily-wired lines of continuous trench; behind this the Scheldt Canal, and across the canal the Hindenburg line proper.

Besides these main features, numerous other trench lines, switch trenches, and communication trenches had been constructed at various points to meet local weaknesses and to take advantage of local command of fire. At a distance of about 4,000 yards behind the most easterly of these trench lines was a second double row of trenches, known as the Beaurevoir-Masnières line, very thoroughly wired and holding numerous concrete shelters and machine gun emplacements. The whole series of defences, with the numerous defended villages contained in it, formed a belt of country varying from 7,000 to 10,000 yards in depth, organized by the employment of every available means into a most powerful system.

The battle of Cambrai opened on a seventeen-mile front in the early morning of October 8. This is not the place to describe it in detail, for that has already been done in earlier chapters, but only to say something about the deeds of the English units engaged therein. As a preliminary, the 8th division, on the preceding day, had seized Biache St. Vaast and Oppy, and this movement was continued on the 8th. The main attack was successful, and soon signs of a wholesale withdrawal on the part of the Germans began to show themselves. Some part of the credit for this, and for the success farther north, which led to the capture of Ostend and Lille, belongs to English divisions.

On November 4 the last great attack was delivered by no less than three British armies. The Regulars of the 1st division seized Catillon and got across the River Sambre, the 1st North-amptons being prominent here. The English 32nd division was also mentioned for fine work, and the 10th, 25th, and 50th divisions, forming the 13th corps, for capturing Landrecies.

The 17th division got into the forest of Mormal, where also the 37th had a fine success. Other divisions mentioned included

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (II)

the West Riding, or 62nd, which, after hard fighting, captured Fresnoy, the 19th, 24th, 11th, and 56th (London) which, however, met with less desperate resistance. By now the German retreat was in full swing, and the story may fitly end with the entry of the 62nd division, accompanied by a division of Guards, into Maubeuge on November 9.

Of the subsidiary campaigns carried on by Britain during the concluding period of the war the most important were those against Turkey and Austria, and in both Englishmen played a notable part. In describing the action of November 16, 1917, Sir Edmund Allenby mentioned particularly London troops, and the yeomen, among whom regiments from Warwickshire and Worcestershire were prominent. In fact, right through the campaign these English yeomen did splendid work, and there were constant references both to them and to the Londoners.

After the disaster at Caporetto in October, 1917, Sir Herbert Plumer was sent to Italy with an army almost at once. Having assisted the Italians to form a new line, Plumer and part of his force returned to France, but, under Lord Cavan, two divisions remained in Italy. These divisions were both wholly English—the 23rd, Service men from Northumberland and Durham, and the 48th, Territorials from the south midland counties. These were in line with the Italians and the French on the Asiago Plateau when the Austrians attacked in June, 1918. The first shock fell most heavily upon the Territorials, and they gave way a little; but they soon recovered, and in a day or two were able to advance and to share in the winter attack which delivered Italy. The two divisions remained there until the end, and did their part in recovering Italian soil from her ancient foe. Around Salonica, too, there were Englishmen fighting for the cause. Among them were the 12th Cheshires, who, by a particularly gallant attack, earned the praise of the French as “a marvellous battalion.” They were but one of a number of scattered units of English soldiers who did fine work in every theatre of war.

## CHAPTER 23

# Records of the Regiments

### (III) Scottish

**T**HE contribution made by the Scottish regiments to the efforts of the Empire in the war was as glorious as that of the sister countries. This chapter which summarizes the gallant deeds of these units is written with due regard for the relative proportion of things; for, after all, Scotland is but a thinly-populated part of the British Isles. Its pride is that in proportion to its population it came to the shock of conflict with as much patriotic fire and endurance as any other part of the realm, and that its troops, during the campaign, markedly distinguished themselves in every part of the world where the armed might of the British Empire was then engaged.

The call to war in August, 1914, nowhere had more immediate response than in the north. There was an instant rush to join the Colours, and the cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, as well as the towns, had for months the utmost difficulty in dealing with successive tides of recruits, impelled by a common emotion always more urgent in densely peopled communities than in rural parts. Yet the rural districts of the country were quite as prompt in realizing the situation and answering the bugle call.

Industrial conditions of the Highlands and Hebrides had driven numbers of the crofters into the old militia battalions for training each year, and the fishermen were, in large numbers, in the naval reserve. These were automatically mobilised at the outset, but were followed immediately by volunteers to an extent that is believed to have made the recruiting of the western Highlands exceptional in the first six months of the war. In the isle of Lewis, closely populated by the crofter and fisher class, young men became as rare as trees, and the absence of trees in the Hebrides is still as marked as when Dr. Johnson was there. Skye—with a record of military enterprise for 150 years probably more striking than in any other rural area of the same

### RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (III)

extent in the kingdom—a nursery of Peninsular commanders, was no less eager to follow the call of the pipes again. The Lowland counties, too, rose magnificently to the occasion.

On Sunday, August 2, 1914, when Germany invaded Belgium, Scotland, which had just entered the season during which its tourist and sporting attractions for the realm in general are at their height, realized that the holiday spirit must instantly be suspended. Territorials, who had just completed their summer camp training, were comparatively easily handled; more difficult was it to deal with the unregimented manhood of the country, which promptly rushed to the recruiting offices. For a fortnight there was but hazy speculation as to the situation and aims of the regular army.

It was first definitely heard of under Sir John French at Mons, where the Scots Greys were in Sir Philip Chetwode's 5th cavalry brigade; at that time also it became known that Scots Guards, Black Watch, Gordons and Royal Scots, Highland Light Infantry, Argyll and Sutherlands, Royal Scots Fusiliers, Scottish Rifles, and Borderers were under Sir H. Smith-Dorrien and Sir Douglas Haig. It was a stimulating thought to Scotland, and yet fraught, naturally, with anxieties—that already her most famous regiments were in the fray. The list of them was almost complete when the Seaforth Highlanders, with the 4th division, in which were two Scottish brigadier generals, Hunter-Weston and Lowthrop Haldane, came up to the reinforcement of the main body near Le Cateau.

The Seaforth Highlanders saw service during the war in three continents. The 1st battalion on the outbreak of war was stationed in India, but by the end of October, 1914, it was fighting in Flanders. At the first battle of Ypres the men showed their fighting qualities, especially near La Bassée, and in 1915 at Neuve Chapelle, Aubers Ridge and Loos this battalion was highly praised by Sir John French. Later the men of the battalion fought in Mesopotamia, taking part in the attempt to capture Kut, where they fought alongside their brother Scots, the Black Watch. Other actions in which this battalion took part were the capture of Bagdad, the crushing defeat of the Turks at Tekrit, and Allenby's sweeping advance in 1918 through Palestine and Syria. At the close of the war it was at Alexandria and Cairo, where the men helped to quell the unrest that took place in those places.

## THE SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS

Throughout the war the 2nd battalion was on the west front. At Mons and Le Cateau it fought dourly, and in the Marne and Aisne battles it suffered severe loss. At Metern it distinguished itself in a bayonet charge which caused the Germans to retreat in panic before its ferocity, and at the German thrust for the Chânel ports it again showed its fighting qualities, especially when it held the Ypres salient. The 3rd battalion, although it did not serve as a unit, sent out drafts to various fields of war, while the 4th battalion, the Ross-shire Territorials, were the first Highland territorial troops to cross to France.

The 5th and 6th battalions of the Seaforths were part of the 152nd brigade of the 51st (Highland) division, the 5th battalion being composed of Sutherland and Caithness Territorials and the 6th of Moraysshire Territorials. The men of these battalions played their part in the fifteen great battles in which the 51st division was engaged, among them being Festubert; the fighting in the Labyrinth, the Somme, Armentières and Hebuterne, the Ancre, Arras, Ypres, Cambrai, and various minor battles.

The 7th and 9th battalions were particularly noted for their fighting at Loos in September, 1915. They formed part of the renowned 9th division, and were present at the fighting at the Hohenzollern Redoubt, Longueval, Delville Wood, Zonnebeke, and in other places. In the great German offensive of March, 1918, the 9th division was again in action when the Seaforths fought with great gallantry. From this time until the end of the war the battalion was in action almost without a break, and after the armistice it crossed into Germany with the army of occupation.

The Seaforths were also represented in the famous 15th division, the 8th battalion being present at the battle of Loos and many of the later battles. This battalion's final combat, matching its initial fight at Loos, was at Soissons, where it fought alongside the French in the last battle of the Marne, in July-August, 1918. Like the 3rd battalion, the 10th did not serve as a unit, but sent drafts of men to the west and other fronts where they fought with their native fierceness and bravery.

The next regiment to be noted is the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders. It owes its origin to Alan Cameron, who, about 1790, raised 700 young men in his native county of Inverness. The 1st battalion of this regiment was stationed at Inverness when war was declared. On August 14, 1914, it crossed to

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (III)

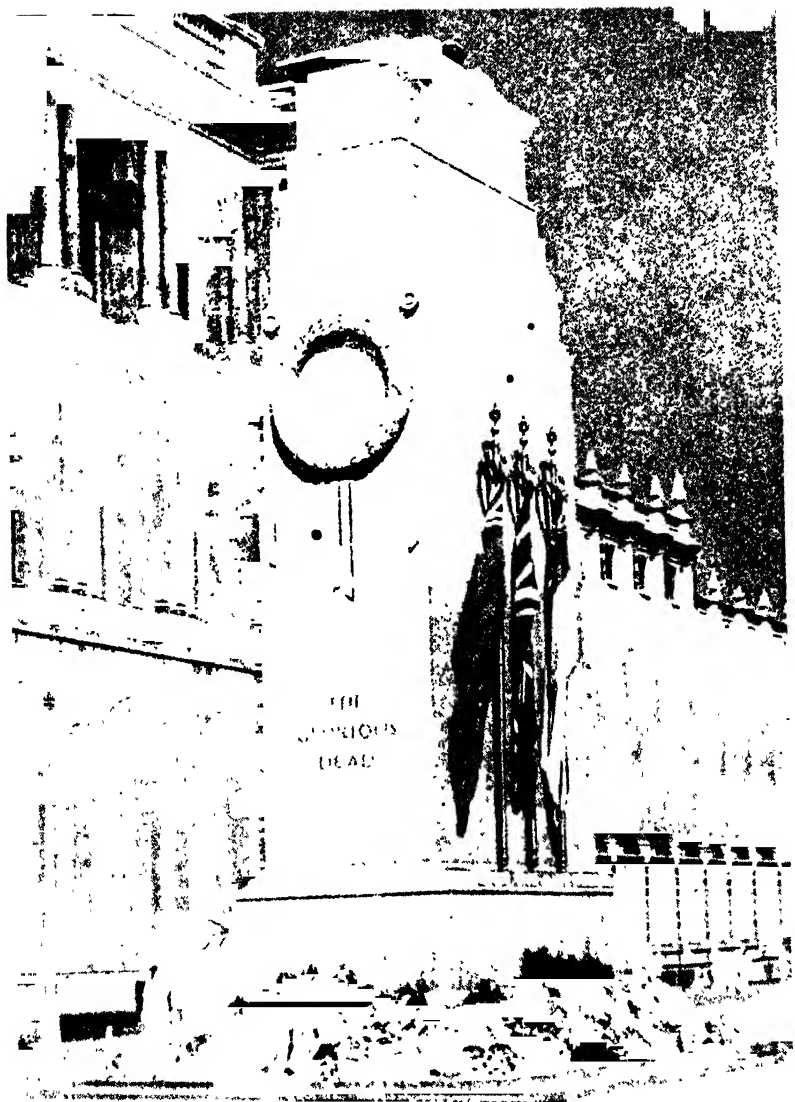
Havre, and was soon in the thick of the fighting. It took part in the fighting at Le Cateau, on the Marne, on the Aisne, in the first battle of Ypres, Givenchy and Festubert, at Loos, on the Somme, and on the Ancre. It was prominent in the fighting at Passchendaele Ridge, and played its part in the final overthrow of the German armies in 1918. When war broke out the 2nd battalion was stationed at Poona, but returned to the United Kingdom in November and left for France on December 20. . It saw service in France, Flanders, and Salonica, arriving at the last place in December, 1915.

On August 4, 1914, the 3rd battalion was mobilised; it was trained at Invergordon, and crossed to Ireland in 1917, where it remained until 1919. The 4th and 5th battalions reached France in 1915, where they engaged the enemy at various points along the west front, the most notable of which were Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, Loos, Festubert and Givenchy. The 6th battalion was in France by July 10, 1915. It distinguished itself at the battles at Loos, on the Somme, at the Ancre, Passchendaele Ridge, Arras, and in the final advance to victory, while the 7th battalion played a very similar part.

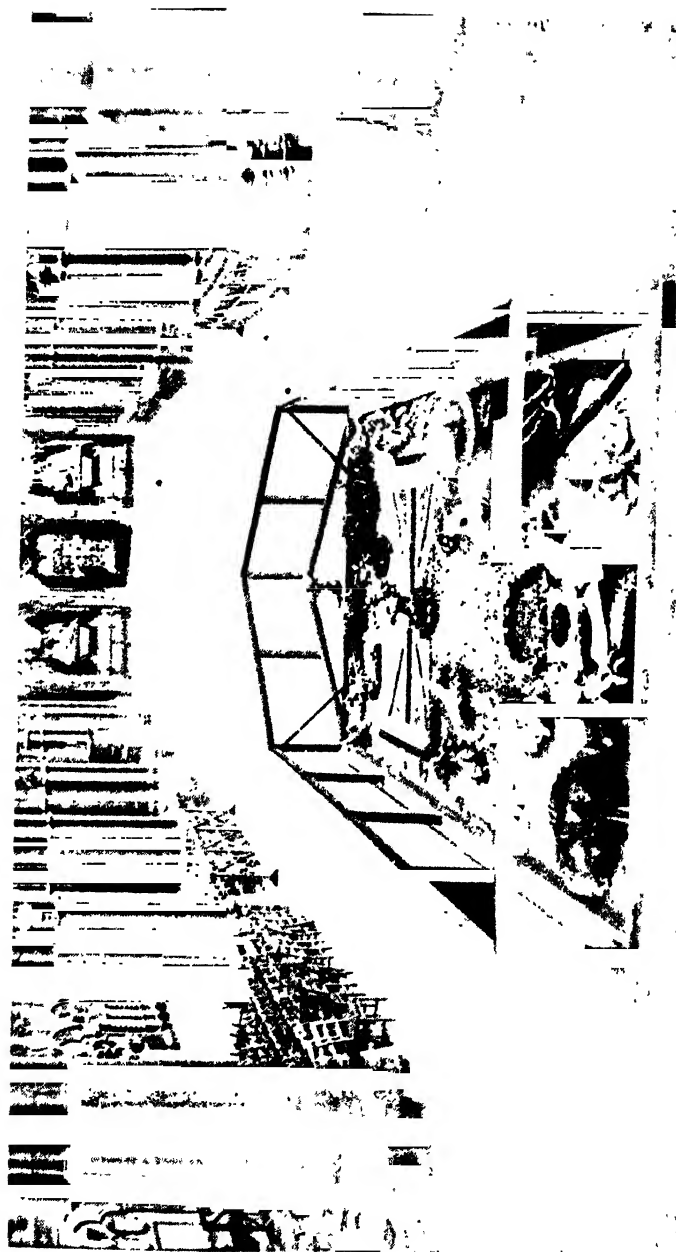
The 8th battalion was raised as a reserve battalion in 1914, and after being stationed at various places in England was reformed into the 52nd graduated battalion of the Gordon Highlanders. It was not until 1916 that the 9th battalion was raised, but by September of that year it was in France, where it fought in many great battles. A line of Lovat Scouts formed the nucleus of the 10th battalion, which took part in the fighting in Egypt and Salonica, and the 11th, or labour battalion, helped in the final defeat of the German armies in the Nieppe Forest and at Armentières in 1918.

We will now pass to the famous Black Watch (Royal Highlanders), the senior Highland regiment, dating from 1739. In August, 1914, it contained two regular battalions, one special reserve, and four Territorial battalions. By 1918 there were 27. Through these battalions passed 53,000 men, of whom over 8,000 were killed and 24,000 wounded. The regiment fought in France, Flanders, Macedonia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. The fighting record of the various battalions is briefly summarized.

The 1st battalion took part in all the battles in France and Flanders in 1914. After the great part played by the Black



**THE WHITEHALL CENOTAPH.** This notable monument commemorating Britain's "Glorious Dead," designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, was erected in Whitehall, London, 1920, reproducing a temporary structure unveiled in 1919. The Cenotaph is the focusing point of the national observance of Britain's Day of Remembrance, held annually on November 11.



**TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR.** On the second anniversary of the Armistice, November 11, 1920, the remains of one of the Empire's sons, brought from a nameless grave in France, were laid to rest in the nave of Westminster Abbey. The Unknown Warrior typifies every British mother's son who died unidentified in the red water of battle. Every successive Armistice Day brings its

## THE BLACK WATCH

Watch at the 1st battle of the Marne Sir John French, the commander-in-chief, said to them :

The Black Watch—a name we know so well—has played a distinguished part in the battles of our country. You have many well-known honours on your colours of which you are naturally proud, but you will feel as proud of the honours which will be added to your colours after this campaign. At the battle of the Marne you distinguished yourselves. They say that the Jaegers of the German Guard ceased to exist after that battle; I expect they did. You have followed your officers, and stuck to the line against treble your numbers in a manner deserving the highest praise. I, as commander-in-chief of this force, thank you, but that is a small matter. Your country thanks you and is proud of you.

The transference of the British line to Flanders after the battle of the Aisne brought many fresh Scotch troops into line, and they were included in the three divisions, 7th, 1st, and 2nd, which with some cavalry barred the advance of the Germans along the Menin road. During the most critical part of the fighting those divisions had against them five German army corps, three of them of the first line, and the 1st Black Watch along with other Scottish units put up a memorable defence.

The 2nd battalion reached France in 1915, and in the fighting at Neuve Chapelle, Loos, and Givenchy in that year bore a notable part. Transferred to Mesopotamia it was engaged in the battles of Shaikh-Saad and the Wadi, in the assaults on Sanna-iyat, in the operations leading up to the fall of Kut and the advance on Bagdad. Moved to Palestine the Black Watch was in action at Arsuf, June 8, 1918, and in Allenby's great decisive battle of Megiddo, September 19-21, 1918. The 3rd battalion, a reserve one, did not fight as a unit but trained and sent out drafts. The Territorial battalions did good work from 1915 to the close of hostilities, and one of the new army battalions, the 10th, served in Salonica from November, 1915, to July, 1918, when it was transferred to France.

A typical example of the bravery of the regiment, one of many similar deeds performed throughout the fighting, may be given. It took place during the Allied offensive in August, 1918. At this time an advancing British force on the Albert-Arras road was held up by a German force occupying some heights. The Black Watch determined to clear them out, and one company had

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advanced to within about 100 yards of the enemy when a murderous fire was directed upon them. With their Highland blood quickly afire, the company rushed the position, encouraged by the skirl of the pipes, and although nearly every man was wounded, they drove the Germans out and captured their objective.

None of the Highland regiments has a more glorious fighting record than the doughty Gordon Highlanders. The regiment dates from 1788. Just after the outbreak of the War the 1st battalion left Plymouth for the front, and the men had only been a few days in France when they met with a serious misfortune. They were in the 3rd division, the one under General Hubert Hamilton, and on Sunday, August 23, they were stationed close to Mons. They fell back, stood and fought at Le Cateau, then fell back again, and on the night of the 26th met with disaster.

In the darkness the Gordons became separated from the rest of their brigade—the 8th—and took a wrong turning. Through the night they marched unawares, until, about two o'clock in the morning, when they were going down a narrow lane, shots were suddenly fired at them. At first it was thought that a French detachment had mistaken them for the enemy, and Lieut.-Colonel W. E. Gordon, V.C.—one of the six Gordons who won the Victoria Cross during the Boer War—rode into a field to explain. He called out “Les Anglais! Les Anglais!”—and then, as he returned to his men, they were fired on from all sides. The Germans had surrounded them. The Gordons returned the fire, but in a few minutes all was over. Many were killed and more wounded, and the rest had no choice but surrender. Thus this fine battalion was destroyed as a fighting force. Eighteen officers were taken prisoners. A little later when the battalion had been reconstituted, it fought in the battle of the Aisne. With the rest of the 8th brigade it crossed the river near Vailly, and after one attempt had failed, drove the Germans from some high ground above it.

Meanwhile, the 2nd battalion of the Gordons had returned to England from Cairo, and early in October it left Southampton for Zeebrugge as part of Sir Henry Rawlinson's 7th division. Too late to save Antwerp, it marched through Belgium, and about the 15th had joined up with the rest of Sir John French's army near Ypres.

## YPRES AND NEUVE CHAPELLE

The 2nd Gordons had plenty to do during the 1st battle of Ypres, which began about the time of their arrival there. They marched out towards Menin, and then fell back to the cross-roads at Gheluvelt, about half-way between that place and Ypres. There they held their ground during some days of very fierce fighting, especially the 23rd, and the 25th, when their brigade was violently attacked. On the 29th they came to the assistance of the 1st division, and stormed Kruiseik Hill. By this time the 7th division had been reduced from 12,000 officers and men to 44 officers and 2,336 men, so Sir John French gave it a well-earned rest. At this time the two battalions of the Gordons—the 1st in the 2nd division, and the 2nd in the 7th division—both reduced to skeletons, were united temporarily in one battalion. On December 14, 1914, the Gordons were chosen to assist the French by attacking a wooded hill near Kemmal.

We must now pass to the battle of Neuve Chapelle, March, 1915, where the 7th division, refreshed and restored, was in the thick of the fight. Around the little village of Pietre the Germans had a specially strong position, and the assault on this was entrusted to the 20th brigade, in which were the 2nd, and also the 6th Gordons, a territorial battalion. They took position after position, but proper artillery support was wanting, and complete success was not attained. On this day the battalions suffered terribly. The 6th battalion in attacking the German trenches had their commander, Lieut.-Colonel Colin Maclean, and at least four other officers, killed, and the 2nd battalion, which came up to support them, lost Lieut.-Colonel Uniacke. The 1st Gordons fought at Hill 60 and Ypres in the spring of 1915, as did the 4th (Territorial) along with the H.A.C. and two other Territorial battalions. The Gordons fought in the battle of Festubert on May 16, 1915, when they reached the German trenches, and they were heavily engaged near Rue d'Ouvvert a month later.

Throughout the remainder of the war the Gordons played their part with a bravery which was not surpassed. In nearly all the big battles their tartan was to the fore; in hand-to-hand fighting they excelled, and in bayonet charges they struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. At Vimy Ridge, in 1917, they played a large part in clearing the ridge of Germans, and at Cambrai, October, 1917, they upheld their prestige and reputation. The 4th Gordons, attached to the 51st division, took a

### RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (III)

leading part in the capture of Famars, October 26, 1918, the last battle of the War in which that division participated.

The oldest British regiment, dating from 1633, the Royal Scots, also known as the Lothian Regiment, received in December, 1920, the title The Royal Scots (The Royal Regiment). In the War over 50,000 men enlisted in the regiment. The 1st battalion was in India in 1914, fought in France in 1915, and later on the Salonica front. The 2nd was part of the original expeditionary force, and took a leading share in the big battles of 1914, beginning with Mons and Landrecies. Part of the 3rd division of the 2nd army corps, the 2nd Royal Scots had with them their compatriots, the 1st Gordons and the 1st Scottish Fusiliers. When this corps, on August 25, on the Cambrai-Le Cateau road, met the German onslaught of seven divisions single-handed, and with both its flanks exposed, it seemed an impossible situation from which to extricate itself, but it did so.

In 1915, the 4th, 5th, and 7th battalions were in the Gallipoli campaign, and the 8th, 9th, 11th and 12th fought at Ypres and Loos. It fell to the honour of the 5th Royal Scots (Lothian Territorials) along with a battalion of the King's Own Scottish Borderers to be the first Scottish troops to land on the Gallipoli peninsula. Noted places, such as Ghurka Bluff and Krithia Nullah, are associated with the Royal Scots there, who formed part of the last garrison at Cape Helles previous to the evacuation of Gallipoli in December, 1915. Men of the regiment took part in the battle of the Somme, 1916. In the following year they played an heroic part in the capture of the great El-Arish Redoubt in the campaign which ended in the capture of Jerusalem.

An interesting account of the close of this action is described in The Fifty Second (Lowland) Division, 1914-18, by Lt.-Col. R. R. Thompson, M.C.:

At 11 o'clock the Turks again attempted to counter-attack El-Arish Redoubt from the cactus-ridged garden to the N.E. At the same time the enemy artillery fire became intense. A few Turks could be made out close at hand among the cactus, but their main body was still in mass further behind, when the British barrage descended upon it breaking it up at once. Half an hour afterwards the enemy artillery fire died away, but continued intermittently throughout the night. By this time the 4th Royal Scots had lost over 200 of all ranks, and

## THE ROYAL SCOTS

it was decided to relieve them with the remaining three companies of the 7th Royal Scots. Again, however, the enemy artillery and machine guns deluged the El-Arish Redoubt, so that the relief could not take place until the fire had died away at 4.30 a.m. on the morning of November 3 (1917). By this time Umbrella Hill was well consolidated, and the great El-Arish Redoubt definitely in British hands, thanks mainly to the dash and determination of the Royal Scots and the Cameronians.

Achievements of the regiment in France in 1918 included the stand of the 11th and 13th battalions against the German spring offensive, and the brilliant work of the 2nd battalion in the battle of Bapaume. Other battalions were conspicuous in the Allied victories of 1918.

Describing the fighting on the Canal du Nord in the closing weeks of the war, the History of the 4th Royal Scots says:

Having attained the trench immediately west of the canal, the men were reorganized and an attempt made to gain the bank by a frontal attack. It was at once evident that this would be very costly if successful, and bombing parties were organized to work round the left flank. These fought back the enemy traverse until held up by the last short stretch of trench, at the end of which was a small pill box and two machine guns. Quickly a heavy covering fire was arranged, and Corporal Foggo, dashing forward, threw two bombs into the post and, joined by others, cleared the post and gained the top of the canal bank immediately south of the road crossing.

The Cameronians assisted the Royal Scots in this attack, and between them the Scotsmen crossed the canal and began clearing the trenches on the other side. The 2/10th (Cyclist) battalion was raised at Bathgate early in the war, and was engaged in coast-watching duty. In 1918 it greatly distinguished itself against the Bolsheviks in Russia, returning home in June, 1919.

Another old Scottish regiment, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, dating from 1678, and long famous as the 21st Foot, rendered valuable services. It had five Territorial, one Service, one Garrison, in addition to its three Regular and Special Reserve battalions. The 1st and 2nd formed part of the British Expeditionary Force, and were in all the chief battles of 1914. At

### RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (III)

the first battle of Ypres in that year the Fusiliers especially distinguished themselves. The Germans in their onslaught pressed back the British, and points of weakness were the angles of the salient at Bixschoote in the north and Hollebeke in the south. In the centre another wedge had been driven into the British 21st brigade at Becelaere. Here the Fusiliers acquitted themselves magnificently in the heavy fighting, for by a splendid counter-attack, in which the Yorkshires assisted, the breach was partly repaired. Towards the end of the battle the Fusiliers again saw stern fighting, several companies were enveloped, and many men killed or taken prisoner.

In the battle of the Somme, 1916, the 2nd Royal Scots Fusiliers distinguished themselves in the fighting for Montauban. They were part of the 9th brigade of the 30th division. The former was composed of the Manchesters and Royal Scots Fusiliers, and its objective was Montauban and La Briqueterie. Although raked by a German machine gun, the men reached Train Alley, rested for some time, then advanced and occupied Montauban. In this same year the Scots Fusiliers were fighting in the East, where, under a famous Scots general, Sir Archibald Murray, they participated in the campaign that cleared the Turks from Egypt, and so enabled General Murray to lead his victorious troops into Palestine.

A battalion of the Royal Scots Fusiliers was prominent in the fighting for Katia. A company of them were stationed at Duweidar, near the Suez Canal, and during a counter-attack by the Turco-German commander bore the brunt of the surprise stroke. The enemy came on in a thick mist, and in an encircling sweep to the rear of the Duweidar post attacked the little company of Fusiliers. The men, by high skill and desperate courage, held their position until reinforcements arrived. Then two companies of the Fusiliers routed the enemy in a bayonet charge. In 1917 the 4th battalion was in the Palestine campaign, but was recalled to France in 1918, where it rendered special services at Bullecourt, Mœuvres, and in the storming of the Drocourt-Quéant line. Men of the regiment formed part of the army on the Rhine in 1919.

The Highland Light Infantry, in spite of its name, is not a Highland regiment. The men are recruited mainly in Lanarkshire, and they do not wear the kilt. It dates from 1779, and was at first called Macleod's Highlanders from the founder, Lord

## THE HIGHLAND LIGHT INFANTRY

Macleod. In the war the two Regular battalions were early in France. The 2nd crossed in August, 1914, as part of the 2nd division. The 1st went from India somewhat later.

Comparatively speaking, the 2nd battalion had an easy time during the retreat from Mons, but it was far otherwise at the battles of the Aisne and Ypres. At the former the Highlanders crossed the river at Pont Arcy, on the broken girders of a bridge, and once on the other side pushed the Germans before them till they were past Verneuill. Here it was that Private Wilson with only one companion went for a machine gun; the other man was killed, but Wilson dashed on, killed the officer and the six Germans who had charge of it, and then destroyed the weapon. For this deed of valour he received the V.C. The fiery ordeal of Ypres tested the Highland Light Infantry most severely from November 11 to 14, at the close of that long battle.

By this time the 1st battalion had arrived in France from India, as stated, and on December 19 it took part in a little engagement near La Bassée. The idea was to seize some German trenches, and at 4.30 in the morning the Highland Light Infantry and the 4th Gurkhas led the way thereto. Two enemy lines were captured, but on either side the men were unsupported, and, after holding on throughout the day, they fell back after dark. This unfortunate occurrence evidently encouraged the Germans, for on the next day they came forward in force and seized most of Givenchy. In this fight valuable assistance was given by the 9th battalion, Territorials from Glasgow.

In 1915, as part of a Territorial division, some other battalions of the Highland Light Infantry were sent out to Gallipoli. In July they were thrown into the fight, and on the 21st they distinguished themselves in an engagement which ended in the capture of a Turkish redoubt. It was on this occasion that Piper K. McLennan, of the 7th battalion, played the men into action, and continued to do so until his pipes were destroyed by shrapnel.

In the battle of Loos at least four battalions of the Highland Light Infantry played leading parts. The 12th was in the 15th division, the one which swept through Loos and made the most successful attack of the day. In the 9th division were the 10th and 11th battalions, and when the word was given, at 6.30 on the morning of September 25, they made for Fosse 8 and the Hohenzollern Redoubt. At one stage of the advance

### RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (III)

they had especially heavy fighting, but they forced their way into the first line of hostile trenches. The 10th battalion lost very heavily indeed, and at one time seemed somewhat shaken; but Major H. C. Stuart took it in hand, reorganized the men who remained, and, their confidence being restored, led them again forward.

During the great British offensive in the summer of 1916 the Highland Light Infantry showed a remarkable aptitude for trench raids. On June 27 they carried out one which Sir Douglas Haig described as "particularly successful"; and so in cold truth it was. With the loss of only two men wounded, the raiding party returned with forty-six prisoners and two machine guns, while they had succeeded in destroying two mine-shafts.

Later, Sir Douglas said that he had reason to believe they had caused over ninety casualties to the enemy; so his praise, although high, was not in any way exaggerated. A few days later, on July 5 they undertook another raid. They got into the German trenches, destroyed a machine gun emplacement, and killed many of the enemy.

These raids were but useful preliminaries to the real and grim business which began on the Somme on July 1, in which the Highland Light Infantry took a notable part. One example, typical of their dashing bravery, was shown when a party of the Highland Light Infantry seized and held a post which the Germans regarded as a vital one. Throughout the remainder of the war the regiment acquitted itself nobly and well. In 1915 some units of the Highland Light Infantry were in the Gallipoli campaign. In September, 1918, a party of the 1/5th battalion made a notable stand at Mœuvres, and there were other incidents of this kind.

The fighting record of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders is next given. This kilted regiment is a union of the old 91st (Argyllshire Highlanders) and the 93rd (Sutherland Highlanders). They were in the first transport that reached Boulogne in August, 1914, the first troops to reach France. They were prominent in the 1st battle of Ypres, where in a night charge on October 29 they drove the Germans from trenches they had captured from the 19th brigade south of La Boutillerie. Scottish battalions, among them the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, played a gallant part in the operations on the Struma-Doiran front during the Salonica campaign by which General Milne

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supported General Sarrail's offensive, further west, directed upon Monastir in the autumn of 1916. Earlier in that year in Flanders the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders were conspicuous in carrying out or repelling local attacks and raids in the operations at St. Eloi. In his despatch Sir Douglas Haig singled out the 2nd battalion with other units for their good work.

In the protracted fighting around Arras in April, 1917, Scottish battalions of the 51st division, included in which were the Argyll and Sutherlands, made a gallant attack upon Rœux village. Along with men of the Middlesex regiment they made a desperate stand during one of the great German counter-attacks, which drove the British back. Only one company of each regiment remained, surrounded by Germans, but they clung to two German officers and fourteen men they had taken prisoners. The heroes were eventually saved by a clever barrage of British artillery. In November, 1917, the 1/8th Argyll and Sutherlands, fighting with the 51st division had a notable part in the 1st battle of Cambrai. In the leading battles of 1918 the regiment fully upheld their fine fighting record.

The Cameronians, or Scottish Rifles, are recruited in the lowland counties. The 1st battalion was in action after the retreat from Mons, and in the 1st battle of Ypres, 1914. The 2nd battalion reached France in November of that year. Like other Scottish units the regiments saw service in many campaigns in various countries. The Cameronians were in the Gallipoli landing, and took part in the subsequent fighting in the peninsula, and in Allenby's army that conquered Palestine. On the west front they were engaged subsequent to 1914 in desperate fighting on the Somme, at Arras, Canal du Nord, Meteren, Broodseinde, Passchendaele, and many other places.

Their great deeds of heroism are similar in character to those of other Scottish regiments, in that they showed grit, dourness in danger, gallantry in attack, all the qualities found in the fighting man of the North. A few incidents illustrating this may be given. During the retreat from Mons and in the succeeding weeks the 1st battalion saw a good deal of fighting. On October 22, at the beginning of the 1st battle of Ypres, some of them were in a very tight place, but under a private, W. Cairns, all the officers having been either killed or wounded, they fought a gallant rearguard action, and throughout the winter many other deeds of bravery were recorded of Cameronians.

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Quite early in the war the Cameronians had a Territorial battalion at the front. This was the 5th, and it reached France on November 5, 1914, and did good service throughout the following winter. The 6th—another Territorial battalion—showed gallantry in an attack on some German trenches made on June 15, 1915. Across open ground the Scots rushed on; the trenches were captured, but it was impossible to hold them.

The Service battalions, the men of Lord Kitchener's army, were the next to arrive at the front, and several of these won great glory at the battle of Loos in September of that year. One to do so was the 10th Cameronians. They were part of the 15th division, one marked off to seize Loos itself. This they did, the Cameronians and the rest of the 46th brigade sweeping round from the north, and then, not content with this success, they made for Hill 70 beyond. As at Neuve Chapelle, they did all that brave men could do. In the later fighting the Cameronians distinguished themselves. The German attempt to break the British line on the Lys in April, 1918, was one of the critical moments of the whole war. It was during this battle that Sir Douglas Haig issued his famous "Backs to the wall" message to his troops. His exhortation to the tired men to stand "and fight it out" did not fall on deaf ears, and the Cameronians, along with the Highland Light Infantry and other battalions, made a successful stand about the approach to the town of Hazebrouck which a German army was endeavouring to capture.

Of the Scottish regiments of the line there remains one other to be noted, the King's Own Scottish Borderers. At the outbreak of war the 1st battalion was at Lucknow and the 2nd at Dublin. The latter went to France in August, 1914, being one of the four battalions of the 13th brigade. The 1st battalion was in Gallipoli in 1915 as part of the 29th division. In the battle of Mons the Borderers lay along the Condé Canal. It was there when the army got the order to retreat, and with the other regiments of the division the Borderers fell back some five miles on the morning of Monday, August 24.

The battalion was in excellent spirits, and had only lost a few men, but in the retreat it had a terrible time. Of the six brigades in Smith-Dorrien's corps the 13th was in the rear, and consequently it felt the full force of the German attack. At Fromeries on the Monday, and again at Le Cateau on the

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Wednesday, it was in the thick of some desperate fighting, and on those days the battalion was nearly destroyed. Altogether, the Borderers lost fifteen officers—or just about half their total—during the first days of the retreat. Their colonel, Lieut.-Col. C. M. Stephenson, Major A. E. Haig, and several more were wounded, while a number of others were reported as missing. The casualties included four captains—Spencer, Macdonald, Kennedy, and Cobden.

The Borderers soon recovered from this gruelling, and when Sir John French ordered his army to “make good the Aisne,” they were again put in a position of danger. They were ordered to cross the river opposite Missy, and all through Sunday, September 13, they struggled on, but the ground over which they had to move was quite open, and when night came they were still on the wrong side of the Aisne. Their efforts, however, had assisted the other brigades of the 5th division to cross, and these in their turn held out a helping hand to the Borderers and their comrades of the 13th, who crossed on September 14. On that day Private G. Turner, of the Borderers, won the Distinguished Conduct Medal for carrying ammunition to the firing line under heavy fire.

The Borderers are next met with at Cuinchy, where the 2nd corps, under General Smith-Dorrien, was fighting hard to drive the Germans from Lille. On October 12 and 13 they were in the thick of a slow advance, and on the latter day one of their corporals, A. Brown, won the D.C.M. for his successful sniping. By this he kept the enemy from occupying a position essential to the safety of the advancing troops.

During the first battle of Ypres the Borderers did their share in holding on to La Bassée, round which place the struggle swayed backwards and forwards for some three weeks. On October 22 they were attacked heavily, and from November 7 to 9 they were in a critical position. In the fighting in October Major W. L. C. Allan was killed, and several officers were wounded, while Sergeant-Major Kirkwood received the D.C.M. for “great gallantry and coolness in action.”

During a good part of the winter of 1914-15 the 2nd army corps, in which the Borderers were, was in reserve, and it did not take any serious part in the battle of Neuve Chapelle. But, refreshed and strengthened, the Borderers were again to the fore in the 2nd battle of Ypres, and especially on Hill 60. With

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the West Kents, they were chosen to lead the attack on this position. On the evening of April 17 the engineers exploded seven mines under the German trenches there, and as the great masses of earth, carrying with them the remains of men and guns, shot furiously into the air, the Borderers and the West Kents leapt from their trenches, charged up the hill, and planted themselves fairly on the top. With feverish haste they set to work in the darkness to entrench themselves in the great holes made by the shells, and to drag up their machine guns, for they knew what to expect as soon as ever it was again light. Sharp at 6.30 the Germans came on, as usual, shoulder to shoulder. Many of them were shot down, but others reached the trenches, where there was some fierce hand-to-hand fighting.

In the battle of the Somme, 1916, the 1st battalion formed part of the 87th brigade, which was included in the 29th division. At the battle of Cambrai, November, 1917, the Borderers showed great gallantry in sallying from Marcoing and attacking the Germans in a network of sunken lines. Throughout the last year of the conflict they helped to stem the German onslaught and participated in the final British triumph.

The Royal Scots Greys, also known as the 2nd Dragoons, fought throughout the war both as cavalry and as dismounted troops. In the retreat from Mons they rendered valuable services, being attached to Sir Philip Chetwode's 5th cavalry brigade. As dismounted troops the Scots Greys participated in the first battle of Ypres and, again dismounted, in the second battle of Ypres in April, 1915. They helped to hold up the German offensive of March-April, 1918, especially distinguishing themselves at a number of Somme crossings. In the great battles which brought final victory to the Allied cause they superbly upheld the long and glorious tradition of their regiment, recalling the famous incident of their charge at Waterloo, when the grey horses dashed down the slope, with the Gordons clinging to the stirrups of the riders, shouting "Scotland for ever!" The record of another Scottish regiment, the Scots Guards, with those of the other regiments of Guards, is given in Chapter 21.

## CHAPTER 24

# Records of the Regiments

## (IV) Irish and Welsh

**A** PART from the Irish Guards, whose record has been already described, there were in 1914 eight distinctively Irish infantry regiments in the British army. The senior was the Royal Irish Regiment, the old 18th of the Line, now disbanded. Then each of the four provinces had one. These were the Leinster Regiment, the Connaught Rangers—the old 88th and 94th of Peninsular fame—the Royal Munster Fusiliers all of which have ceased to exist, and the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, which still has its depot at Omagh, co. Tyrone. The three others were the Royal Dublin Fusiliers, now disbanded, the Royal Irish Rifles, now the Royal Ulster Rifles, and the Royal Irish Fusiliers. Other Irish units were the 18th County of London, generally known as the London Irish, and battalions of Irishmen attached to the King's, or Liverpool, Regiment and the North-umberland Fusiliers and other units.

In 1914 the eight Irish regiments had among them 16 battalions of regulars, four of which were with Sir John French at Mons. The 2nd Royal Irish and the 2nd Irish Rifles were in the thick of the struggle on the canal, and the 2nd Connaught Rangers lost heavily in a little action near Pont-sur-Sambre. In the 4th division, which came up to cover the retreat, there were three more Irish battalions; and the 10th brigade, with the 1st Royal Irish and the 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers, was half Irish.

The retreat ended without any serious disaster, but there were several small ones. One of these affected the 2nd Munsters, of the 1st brigade, a battalion which, on August 25, had driven off some German Uhlans with the bayonet, and themselves dragged the rescued but horseless guns into safety. The brigade formed the rearguard of the 1st corps, and on the 26th it found the enemy too close to be comfortable. An action was fought, in which the Munsters got separated from the rest of the brigade, and an order to retire failed to reach their commanding officer.

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The result was that they stood at bay near Etreux, fighting in anticipation of relief that never came, until their leader, Major P. A. Charrier, and many others were killed. A few got through the enemy's ranks, but the majority could not do so, and a fine battalion was reduced to five officers and two hundred men. This put it for a time hors de combat, but the other Irish units shared in the battles of the Marne and the Aisne, the 2nd Inniskillings taking part in a fine advance near Venizel, the 2nd Connaughts leading their brigade across the river on the remains of a broken bridge, and the 2nd Irish Fusiliers having a stiff fight one dark night with a force of German cavalry.

In the fighting around La Bassée in October the 2nd Irish Fusiliers cleared the enemy out of some trenches near Bailleul, and so made it possible for the British to seize that town; while the 2nd Royal Irish helped French cavalry to take Fromelles. On the 19th the same battalion, ordered to take the village of Le Pilly, gained their objective in fine style, advancing in skirmishing order for 800 yards. A few days later the 2nd Irish Rifles beat back a savage German attack near Neuve Chapelle, while similar assaults were made upon trenches held by the 2nd Leinsters and the 2nd Inniskillings. Just previously, the Leinsters had lost heavily at Premesque, where they held a position surrounded by Germans until relieved by the French.

The Irish battalions were not in the thick of the first battle of Ypres, although the 2nd Inniskillings and the 1st Connaught Rangers, the latter serving with the Indian contingent, did good work therein, but they were in the great battles of 1915 both in Flanders and in Gallipoli. By then there were more Irish troops in the field, and one brigade—the 82nd—in General Plumer's army corps was almost wholly Irish. Of its four regular battalions the only one recruited outside Ireland was the 2nd Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, and it was upon the corps to which it was attached that the defence of Ypres during the second battle largely fell. Before that, however, on April 14, the Irish brigade—for so it may be called—had made a spirited little attack on some trenches near St. Eloi, and still earlier there had been another sad but gallant episode in the career of the 2nd Munsters.

On December 20, 1914, the Germans, by a sudden surprise, had driven the Indians from their trenches near Givenchy, and the 1st corps, only just sent to a rest camp, had been ordered to the front again. In this was the 2nd Munsters, brought up to

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strength again after their early disaster, and now attached to the 3rd brigade. They succeeded in their task of recovering the lost ground near Festubert, but only at terrible sacrifices. For two whole days they were fighting, and, getting too far forward, they were for the second time practically destroyed. At the battle of Neuve Chapelle, the 1st Irish Rifles was one of the battalions engaged in the most successful move of the day—the dashing entry into the village itself; and an attack at St. Eloi on March 14 was carried out mainly by the Leinsters and the Royal Irish.

As far as this record is concerned, the second battle of Ypres is mainly, although not wholly, concerned with the doings of the 10th and 82nd brigades. On April 22 the latter, as part of the 27th division, was somewhat to the south-east of the old Flemish town, holding a line which stretched from near Gheluvelt to Hill 60. The 10th brigade, just after the first surprise, was brought up from reserve to face St. Julien, perhaps the worst position on the whole front. On the 25th the brigade attacked the German position near the village, and in this they were assisted by the 1st Royal Irish, sent up from the south.

Another successful movement carried out by this brigade, and in which again the Royal Irish were prominent, was the capture of Frezenberg early in May, after which the Irish and the 2nd Dublin Fusiliers suffered heavy losses near Shell-trap Farm during a severe gas attack. Shells fell upon those who survived the gas, and both battalions lost their colonels. Of the Irish battalions outside these two brigades, the 1st Connaught Rangers, coming up hurriedly with the Indians, fought heroically in a counter-attack, and the 2nd Inniskillings were choked and dazed in their turn with gas.

While this battle was dying away the British were taking the offensive elsewhere, and on Sunday, May 9, the 1st Royal Irish Rifles led an assault on Rouges Bancs. With the utmost gallantry they beat forward in the face of a storm of fire of an intensity unknown to earlier fighters; but nothing could avail them, and that tragic day cost the battalion twenty-two officers and nearly five hundred men. In another part of the fight the 2nd Munsters, now for the second time brought up to strength after practical annihilation, was one of the attacking battalions, and suffered quite as severely as the Rifles. Again they were nearly destroyed, for only three unwounded officers and about 200 men remained to be the nucleus of a new battalion.

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In the second attack, the one made a week later, on May 16, the 2nd Inniskillings were in the front of the assault. In the darkness these Ulstermen crawled silently through the mud until they were close upon the German trenches. There they lay for about three hours until midnight, when they rose and dashed into the enemy's trenches. The surprise was complete, and the first and second lines were speedily won. In this fight the Liverpool Irish won renown. They were brought up from reserve to assault some trenches, not as part of the main attack, but as a diversion, and under Captain H. Finegan, they topped the parapet and went across the open where the bullets were falling like hail. They did all that was asked of them, and contributed to a considerable French success.

Before this time, the British had made a landing at Gallipoli, and a narrative such as the present cannot pass over the share taken in it by the Irish regiments. In the 29th division were three Irish battalions—the 1st Munster Fusiliers and 1st Dublin Fusiliers in the 86th, or Fusilier, brigade, and the 1st Inniskillings in the 87th brigade. The hardest part of the attack, the landings on Beaches V and W, was entrusted to these Fusiliers, Beach V falling to the lot of the two Irish units. The plan was for three companies of the Dublins to be towed to the shore in small boats, while the other company and the Munsters followed in the River Clyde, a steamer formerly used for carrying coal.

The moment the boats grated on the sand a devilish storm of bullets met them. The sailors in charge and most of the Dublins were either killed or wounded, but a few of the soldiers managed to dash ashore, and found some slight shelter under cover of a bank of sand—much as one has often seen during a rainstorm a solitary pedestrian run from one shelter to another. After some little delay, due also to the terrific fire, a bridge of lighters was made between the River Clyde and the shore, and this ship began to disembark its human freight. A company of Munsters led the way, only, however, to be shot down; the second company was equally gallant but equally unfortunate, and those who were not struck by bullets were drowned through an unexpected movement of the lighters. The third company then rushed forward from the sheltering ship; but they, too, fell in scores, while those who landed found themselves faced by the Turkish wire entanglements which had been devised with diabolical cunning.

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For some twenty-four hours the handful of men sheltering on the shore remained there, the guns from the battleships keeping down the Turkish fire, and at dawn on the next day, having during the night beaten back at close quarters an enemy attack, they got ready to assault the positions above them. Incredible as it may seem, they made their way into the village of Seddul Bahr, and early in the afternoon had seized the old castle there and the hill marked 141.

So the 86th brigade made good, and it was for the others to follow up their initial success. In the general attack on Krithia, which opened on April 28, Sir Ian Hamilton stated that the Inniskillings, who reached a point about three-quarters of a mile from Krithia, got farther forward than any other unit. When this advance stopped, the troops were ordered to hold the ground they had won, and there, in conditions of indescribable horror, they remained for some days. Early in May reinforcements arrived, and it was possible to take the Dublin and Munster men out of the line, so the Inniskillings in the 87th brigade were the only representatives of Ireland in the second attack. On May 7 they captured three Turkish trenches. A very short rest, however, was all that could be given to the other Irish troops, and on May 8 and 9 the Dublins and Munsters were again in the fighting. But all chances of a quick success had by now vanished, and the struggle soon resolved itself into a succession of smaller attacks, especially after the bigger one which began on June 4. On June 16 the 1st Dublins recovered some trenches, and on the 28th the 1st Inniskillings were prominent in a success which gave Sir Ian Hamilton three more lines.

The men at this time training in England for the front were arranged in divisions mainly according to nationality, and one of these—the 10th—was entirely Irish. Its 29th brigade consisted of the 5th Royal Irish, 5th Connaught Rangers, 6th Irish Rifles, and 6th Leinsters, men from every part of Ireland. Its 30th brigade was the 6th and 7th Dublin Fusiliers, and the 6th and 7th Munster Fusiliers, once again to be comrades in glory; and its 31st brigade was made up of Ulstermen entirely—the 5th and 6th Inniskilling Fusiliers and the 5th and 6th Irish Fusiliers. Finally, a fine Irish soldier, Sir Bryan Mahon, was in command.

The division was trained first in Ireland, where the men discussed eagerly the time and place of their participation in the great fray. No one knew anything definite, but about the time

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when the Irish regulars were landing from the River Clyde the division was transferred to England. In and around Basingstoke they finished their training, and at the end of June it was known that the division was destined for service against the Turk. In July it was landed at Mitylene. The 5th Royal Irish had been trained to act as pioneer battalion, and its place in the 29th brigade had been taken by an English one—the 10th Hampshires.

The new movement included a landing at Suvla Bay. The general plan at Suvla was that the 10th division should support the 11th; but on August 5 one of its brigades, the 29th, was landed at Anzac and put into trenches by the side of the Australians. They were soon to gain a little experience of warfare, for they were in support when the Anzacs made a night assault on a Turkish position amid the hills. This took place on the 7th and 8th, and the Leinsters, detached from the others, went forward to the aid of the New Zealanders, who were holding on to Rhododendron Spur. There they came to close quarters with the Turk, and day and night alike there was some deadly work with the bayonet. The battalion did excellently, and a last charge of the foe was met by them running forward with a yell. The Turks turned and fled, and in one part of the field there was a temporary British success to record.

The other Irish battalions were equally active. On August 9 the Irish Rifles formed part of one of three columns of assault—the one that, led by General Baldwin, lost its way in the hills and suffered terribly from thirst and heat while on Chunuk Bair. There they were assailed by the Turkish hordes. In quick succession the officers of the Rifles were struck down, until only a few juniors remained. A retirement being decided on, the men fell back in good order, as was proved by their readiness in responding to the call for a charge against the pursuing foe. Their spirit was as high as ever, but when they reached the beach their number looked pitifully small. To save the situation the Connaught Rangers were hurried up. They had been sent off to act as reserves to another Australian brigade, but marched back again, and in the burning heat began the toilsome ascent of Chunuk Bair. They reached the summit, which fortunately the Turks had not yet occupied, collected all the wounded they could find, and then returned.

Meanwhile, at Suvla Bay the 11th division, having got ashore without serious opposition on August 6, was followed on the

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7th by six battalions of Irishmen—the four in the 31st brigade, and two of Dublin Fusiliers from the 30th. They landed at Nibrunesi Point, and having been told to assemble under Lala Baba, they reached that spot in spite of an accurate and constant fire from the Turks on the hills above. The plan was for these hills to be assailed at once, but unfortunately there was considerable delay owing to the landing having been made at the wrong beach.

Later in the day the Irish battalions, four in number—for the other two remained behind—left Lala Baba, and, skirting the Salt Lake, turned towards their objective, Chocolate Hill. In spite of bullets from unseen marksmen they advanced, the 6th Inniskillings and the 5th Irish Fusiliers in front with the 6th Irish Fusiliers and 7th Dublin Fusiliers in reserve, and in this order they continued until they were 300 yards from the hill. The final assault was made in traditional fashion. After a heavy bombardment by the big guns the leading companies dashed forward up the hill, and the men had the exultation of victory as their bayonets were successful against the Turks. In a trice the position was taken; but the more difficult part of the task then began, for it had to be made defensible during the night, while supplies of food, and especially water, must be obtained. In this work the 6th Dublins were most useful.

Two days later some new troops were brought up, but they were assisted by the 6th Irish and 6th Dublin Fusiliers, two battalions whose part in the recent attack had been less strenuous than that of their comrades. These got on to the hill which was their goal, but owing to the state of affairs elsewhere were ordered to fall back. The Irish battalions remained there for a few days longer acting as reserves, when another attack was made, and only left it when this enterprise was abandoned.

For this next attack the 10th division had been broken up. One brigade was at Anzac, and six battalions were on or near Chocolate Hill; the remaining three—two of Munsters and the 5th Royal Irish—really represented the division, for with them was its general, Sir Bryan Mahon. He landed with them, and at once ordered the Munsters to move forward towards the hills.

Pushing forward through a country densely covered with scrub, the Munsters soon came up with an English battalion, the 11th Manchesters, who had been sent forward in that direction. They passed on, after ascertaining particulars about the enemy,

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and, following a night's rest, succeeded in capturing a strong position, called by them after their leader, Jephson's Post. Beyond this they could not go, but with the aid of the Royal Irish, who had come up, and later of the 5th Inniskillings, who came over from the other detachment, they stuck to their gains.

With the abandonment of Chocolate Hill more attention was paid to this position, Kiretch Tepe Sirt. The battalions from the former were given a few days' rest on the beach, and then marched up and joined those under Sir Bryan Mahon. Thus united, the 10th division, now nine battalions strong, was ordered to make another attack on August 15. In its initial stages it made but slow progress; after a time, however, its direction was changed, and on the right, at least, the goal was won by a combined dash of Dublin and Munster Fusiliers. The Inniskillings, on the left, were less successful. The ground was unfavourable for skirmishing; the Turkish trenches, carefully hidden away, were untouched by the British guns; and, consequently, before they reached the enemy, the 5th Inniskillings leading had lost nearly all their officers and most of their men.

The counter-attacks began almost at once, and the Turks, having got back some of the lost trenches, were able to use their ample supply of bombs to good effect. Charges made with the highest courage failed to remove the intruders, and gradually the Irish battalions were worn to shadows. The remnant of the 5th and 6th Irish Fusiliers were relieved—not, however, by fresh men, but by those who had themselves only just gone away to rest. The 6th and 7th Dublin Fusiliers suffered as heavily as any on these sunburnt hills.

In two other parts of the peninsula there were Irish troops. The 29th brigade, really part of the 10th division, was at Anzac, and the Irish battalions of the 29th division were near Cape Helles. Of those at Anzac, the 5th Connaught Rangers alone were numerous enough for service, and they continued to face the Turks at Chunuk Bair until August 13, when they were given four days' rest. Then they returned to the trenches and got ready for the desperate attack of August 21.

Although the movement from Suvla had been a failure, it was decided to try again. The doughty regulars of the 29th division were brought round from Cape Helles, and arrangements were made for a simultaneous attack by the Anzacs and by the men at Suvla, the aim being for the two forces to join hands and

## A LESSON FROM BADAJOZ

so present a single front to the foe. Of the Irish battalions the most deeply engaged in this new enterprise was the 5th Connaught Rangers, whose duty was to capture the two wells of Kaba Kuyu. Sir A. J. Godley's address to them before starting was evidently based on that short speech which Picton made to the Rangers under him before the storming of Badajoz. "Gentlemen, we will do this business with the cold iron," and with this intention the men went forward, a platoon at a time, about four o'clock in the afternoon of August 21. Dashing through a hail of bullets, they were soon in the Turkish trenches; and the coveted wells belonged to the Rangers.

On the next day the units were relieved, twelve officers and over 250 men less than at the outset, but cheered by the knowledge that they had been completely successful. They enjoyed a short rest, and on August 29 sent 250 men, practically all their effectives, to take part in an attack on Hill 60. These men, weary though they were, said Sir Ian Hamilton, "excited the admiration of all beholders" by the swiftness and cohesion of their charge." In five minutes they had carried their objective, the northern Turkish communications, and they at once set to and began a lively bomb fight along the trenches against strong parties which came hurrying up. The regulars meanwhile, had assailed Scimitar Hill. There the 1st Inniskillings had charged into an inferno of fire, and had only desisted when the majority of them were dead or dying.

By this time notable events were taking place on the western front. On September 25 the British attacked the Germans near Loos. Six divisions were in line for the assault, but in all there was only one Irish battalion leading. This performed one of the outstanding deeds of the day. One of the brigades in the 47th (London) division was led over the top by the London Irish. Before them went their football, and, kicking this along, the men were soon into the first line of trenches, and then followed Major Beresford to the second, which they cleared with their bombs. In these shelters they remained for the next three days, holding their gains, which the Germans made constant and desperate endeavours to retake. At last, having not surrendered an inch, they were relieved, and thanked for an action remarkable equally for its dash and its endurance. In one of the later attacks—that of October 8, near the Chalk Pit—the 2nd Munsters, in the 1st division, did excellent service, and away

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (IV)

from the main fighting the 2nd Irish Rifles attacked, to make a diversion, near Bellewaarde Lake.

The story has now reached the opening of the battle of the Somme, where a number of Irish battalions were scattered throughout the divisions of regulars. In the attack on Beaumont-Hamel the 2nd Dublin Fusiliers was one of the leading battalions of the 10th brigade, and there the men sacrificed themselves recklessly in efforts to get through the deadly hurricane of fire. Near the Dublins were the battalions of the immortal 29th division, and there the 1st Inniskillings were in the van. They, too, came out of action a mere remnant—not for the first time.

Attacking near La Boisselle was a brigade in which were two battalions of Northumberland Fusiliers, recruited from the Irishmen in and around Newcastle and known as the Tyneside Irish. At first they were in support, but they were soon needed in front, and they did their share of the bitter work. They dashed into the enemy's trenches, and although La Boisselle was untaken, they secured a number of prisoners.

Almost in the centre of the field was the Ulster division. It was numbered the 36th, and consisted of nine battalions of Royal Irish Rifles—men from Belfast, three of Inniskilling Fusiliers, and one of Irish Fusiliers. It had finished its training at Seaford, and for nine months or so had been alternating duty in the trenches with rest in the areas behind. The ground now before it sloped upward to Thiepval, with the ridge behind it from which the German guns could sweep the whole long glaxis of approach. Two brigades attacked on a front of about two miles, some battalions being on one side of the Ancre and the rest on the other. Then was seen a spectacle for which the Great War had afforded few precedents—seven battalions of a single regiment, the Royal Irish Rifles, advancing together. The first, second, and third line of trenches were taken in turn, and finally the achievement was crowned by the seizure of the fourth.

The Schwaben Redoubt was now before them, and to take this the reserve brigade, mostly Inniskillings, came up. With the survivors of the earlier attack they dashed into its trenches, but that was the limit of their advance. The guns from Thiepval were trained with merciless precision upon them, and they fell back to the German second line, where they remained until relieved. The Ulstermen in this memorable deed of arms are

## THE CAPTURE OF GINCHY

said to have lost half their strength. Near the Ulstermen the 2nd Inniskillings (part of the 32nd division) shared in the fight; and so, still farther south, did the 1st Irish Rifles in the 8th division.

In the fighting which followed the assault of the opening day various Irish battalions were engaged, these being mainly regulars. The 2nd Royal Irish did good work at Mametz, and on the 7th the 2nd Irish Rifles lost heavily in charging forward to a nest of machine guns near Ovillers. It was near there also that the 2nd Inniskillings made a successful move on the 10th. On July 14 the time had come for a fresh attack on a grand scale. In the southern area the German first line had been taken, and the British were now confronted with the second. Bazentin-le-Petit was captured by the 2nd Royal Irish; and the 2nd Munsters made a marked advance.

By this time another Irish division was on the western front. Numbered the 16th it was not in the line for the assault of July 1, the units being then very much under strength; but it was brought up in order to make an attack on a selected part of the German line on September 3. One brigade, the 47th, was directed against Guillemont, and the afternoon was still young when the village was in British hands and its defenders in retreat. The Irish battalions, especially the 6th Connaught Rangers, lost heavily, but they showed once again the traditional Irish valour. On the same day the 2nd Royal Irish took part in the assault on Ginchy.

The real task and glory of the 16th division in those September days was the taking of Ginchy. There the main effort was left to it. Practically all the battalions were in front, and while the 6th Royal Irish and 8th Munster Fusiliers were fighting against the machine gun defences, the 7th Irish Rifles and 7th Irish Fusiliers made their way into the German trenches. The 8th and 9th Dublin Fusiliers, following quickly, completed the work. The village was won and held against attacks made under cover of night.

When, in October, 1915, the 10th division was taken from Gallipoli it was rested for a short time in Lemnos and then landed at Salonica. The Serbians were falling back through their own country, the Allies had marched out to help them, and on October 27 two Irish battalions took over a line between Kosturino and Lake Doiran. Other Irish battalions followed, and held a watching position in Serbia, until Sir Charles Munro

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (IV)

ordered a retirement. While this was proceeding the Bulgars came on in great strength. The French, on the Irish left, were retiring, and on December 6 the Irish began to follow, and in so doing fought a stiff rearguard action against superior numbers. They won for their steadiness the commendation of their commanding officer, and when within thirty miles or so of Salonica took up a strong position from which no Bulgar army could drive them. In August, 1916, there was a strong but unsuccessful Bulgarian attack on the front held by the allied troops, and in October one of the Irish brigades won the village of Yenikoi and held it against three strong counter-attacks, which lasted for a whole day and well into the night. In November some Dublin Fusiliers occupied certain villages and captured practically their whole garrison.

To return to the western front. Irish divisions were engaged in 1917 in the successful assault on Messines. At 3.10 in the morning of June 7, Irish brigades moved out with the first line of attack, entered the German trenches, and climbed up the slopes of the ridge to its crest. Once there they went on again, and at 5.30 the Ulstermen had reached the southern defences of Wytschaete. Their casualties were very slight, and they took over 1,000 prisoners.

This was an all-Irish achievement. On the left of the northerners was a division composed of men from the rest of Ireland, and the two went forward side by side in fine and friendly rivalry. Wytschaete Wood was the objective of the southerners, and though defended with both machine guns and wire, the Irishmen were soon through the wood and in the village itself. The companies which went over first had the greatest opposition, but when the supporting companies took up the advance they moved against machine gun positions and fortified posts in a way that no German could withstand. It was in the fighting in this wood that Major W. Redmond, M.P., of the Royal Irish, was killed.

On July 31, when another great attack opened near Ypres, the Irish were again in the van, for Sir Douglas Haig mentioned them among those who delivered the main assault. These were evidently, however, battalions serving in mixed divisions, and their exploits consisted in fighting their way steadily forward through Shrewsbury Forest and Sanctuary Wood and capturing Hooze, Stirling Castle, and the Bellewaarde Ridge. In the attack

## THE ULSTER DIVISION

of October 4 also a few Irish battalions were engaged, but it is only with the battle of Cambrai that they emerge again into the light of day.

The Ulster division took a leading part in the sudden and striking success of November 20. It was on the west side of the Canal du Nord, and, having swiftly seized a strong German position, its advance was carried forward in fine style. With some West Riding troops the Irishmen took the whole of the German trench system as far as the road running from Bapaume to Cambrai. This they crossed, and it was only when they reached Mœuvres that any halt was called. There they remained until the 23rd, when they renewed the attack, but this time the resistance was far more obstinate, and around Mœuvres and Bourslon there was severe fighting for several days. In this battle good work was also done by the 29th division with its three Irish units, and by the 16th, the captors of Ginchy. The latter, on the 20th, made a subsidiary attack at Bullecourt, which was very successful.

Apparently, when the Germans in their turn scored a success at Bourslon, the Ulstermen had been withdrawn into reserve, but they were in front when St. Quentin was surprised in March, 1918. On the morning of March 21 the mist was very thick, and at 11.45 it was reported that the Germans were through the wire, had isolated the forward positions, and were creeping round on the right of the division. The Ulstermen flung back their flank, to meet the danger, and then began the retreat, fighting always with their faces to the foe.

At Douchy the Inniskillings made a brilliant counter-attack which drove the enemy back and gained a short respite, and men of the Royal Irish Rifles fought magnificently on several occasions. On the night of March 24 the men prepared to go into billets, but before they reached them they were called out again, and that night all hands, including the orderlies, fought with rifles. Again, on the night of the 27th, the men were to have been given a rest, but had again to turn out to cover the detrainment of other troops.

This withdrawal was a fine feat for the Irishmen, and one incident, wherein the 1st Inniskillings fought a magnificent fight until the battalion was destroyed, has been recorded by Sir Douglas Haig. In general, however, the operations were on too grand a scale for battalions to be mentioned by name; but

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (IV)

we knew that the Irish regular battalions in the 29th and other famous divisions were in the thick of this affray, as were the Irishmen with the London divisions.

There were thus Irishmen fighting on the west and also around Salonica, but there were also Irishmen in Palestine. In the list of mentions for good service in the campaign in the Holy Land, issued in June, 1918, by Sir Edmund Allenby, were the names of officers and men from the whole of the eight Irish regiments, indicating that he had with him a strong Irish contingent. These Irish troops were specially mentioned by him for work against some trenches on November 6, 1917, and they did good service until Jerusalem was occupied in December.

Turning to the records of the other section of our subject, the fact may be recalled that the assistance of Welshmen has always been welcomed by the leaders of the English army. One of the notable events in the battle of Crécy, as Froissart tells the story, was the execution done by the Welsh footmen armed with their terrible knives, and nearly 7 hundred years before, at Lewes, Henry III had them in his host. Shakespeare was historically correct when in his Henry V he represented Welshmen as present at Agincourt, and Charles I always looked to Wales for support.

In addition to the later regiment of Welsh Guards, Wales had three infantry regiments in the British army. Two of them stand together in the list. The Royal Welch Fusiliers, the regiment of North Wales, is the old 23rd of the line, and the South Wales Borderers is the 24th, and incidentally one of the most famous regiments Britain possesses, ranking in glory with the Black Watch, the Oxfordshire Light Infantry, and one or two others. The third is the Welch Regiment, made up of the old 41st and 69th Foot. This drew its recruits mainly from the sturdy miners of the Glamorgan valleys.

Each of the regiments had, in 1914, two regular, in addition to various territorial, battalions; and soon service battalions were added. The first to come in serious touch with the enemy was the 2nd Welch Fusiliers, which formed part of an isolated brigade, the 19th. It took part in the battle of Le Cateau and accompanied the 2nd corps in its retreat to the Marne. With the 1st corps at Mons were the 1st South Wales Borderers and the 2nd Welch, both in the 3rd brigade. Having crossed the Aisne near Bourg, the 3rd brigade found the Germans almost wedged

## WELSHMEN AT YPRES

between the two divisions of Haig's corps. To prevent this its two Welsh battalions were thrown against them, and by their efforts the peril that the divisions would be divided was averted. The same two battalions had another common experience on September 26. A heavy German attack broke into the trenches occupied by a company of the Borderers and shot down all its officers. However, the reserves of the battalion with the Welch regiment regained the lost ground, and, in addition, drove the enemy from a wood in front of the position.

The Welshmen saw a good deal of fighting in the first battle of Ypres. The 1st Welch Fusiliers had crossed from England as part of Sir Henry Rawlinson's 7th division, and on October 19 found itself confronted with a great new German force. On this day General Rawlinson decided to fall back to his original line, and it was at this stage that the Fusiliers had a mishap. The order to retire did not reach their colonel, and the men lost heavily. They remained, however, full of fight, and on the next day beat back another sturdy assault. But on the 21st, the third day of continuous fighting, the battalion was almost destroyed, having by then lost 23 of its officers. Its trenches were shelled with deadly precision. When, about October 20, Haig's corps came into line before Ypres, its task was to advance towards Bruges. The village of Poelcappelle was bravely attacked by the South Wales Borderers, but the movement forward could not continue; numbers were against it. The Borderers were assailed with great ferocity, but once again men of the Welch Regiment came to their help in time.

The crisis of this grim struggle, however, was yet to come, and when it did come all the Welshmen were hard hit. On October 30 the Germans, by a tremendous effort, broke through where the line was very thin indeed, thus depriving one flank of the 7th division of its supports. They then worked round this flank, where at the time were the Welch Fusiliers; and the remainder of that fine battalion were nearly all killed or wounded. At dawn on the next day the 2nd Welch felt the force of the storm. They were defending the Menin road, across which their trenches ran, and from these they were driven with heavy loss. Half of them were down, but Captain Rees formed up the others in skirmishing order, and they protected a battery of guns behind them which were keeping back the enemy. The battalion, however, was reduced to two officers and 93 men.

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (IV)

English readers rightly know the story of how the 2nd Worcesters saved the British line about 2.30 on Saturday afternoon, October 31; but there is an addition to be made to it. The Worcesters were ordered to close a dangerous gap that had been opened in the line, but the whole front had not given way, for the South Wales Borderers were still in their original trenches. The Worcesters made for the gap between the Borderers and Gheluvelt, and in the most gallant fashion closed it; but their deed would have been futile had not the Welshmen remained steadfast and immovable. The battle died away some days later, but before the end of the year some Welch Fusiliers had won more distinction by raiding a German trench, and the Welsh and the Borderers of the 3rd brigade, on December 21, had recovered some lost trenches near Festubert.

At Givenchy, on January 25, 1915, the Germans made a determined attack upon the 1st Gloucesters, which was relieved by the strenuous courage of some of the 2nd Welch. A few of them charged forward while two of them captured a trench wherein were 40 Germans. In this fighting the South Wales Borderers were also active.

The second battle of Ypres found another battalion of Welshmen at the front. This was the 1st Welch, part of the 28th division, and its brigade had a very hot time on May 24 when attempting to regain some lost trenches. Into these they made their way in the darkness and fought by the fitful light of flares and bursting shells, but, having lost three-quarters of their numbers, were forced to retire at dawn.

Welshmen had a good deal to do with the great British attacks of May 9 and 16. By this time they were backed by some of their territorial battalions. The 3rd brigade, which, in the first attack, dashed against the German line at Rue du Bois, had the 2nd Welch in front, and the 1st South Wales Borderers and the 4th Welch Fusiliers, territorials from the Wrexham district, in support. The enemy's trenches were reached, but the attack failed because the British supply of ammunition was unequal to that of their foes. A second attempt, made later in the day, in which the Borderers led the line, met with a like fate. In the attack on the 16th the 1st Welch Fusiliers rushed the trenches before them, and one of their non-commissioned officers, with seven men, collected therein 94 Germans.

## SOUTH WALES BORDERERS

Wales was also represented in the ferocious struggle then being waged at Gallipoli. One of the battalions of the 29th division was the 2nd South Wales Borderers, and on the memorable April 25 this got ashore from trawlers at Morto Bay and soon had a firm grip on the cliffs there. Their casualties amounted only to about 50, and on the 27th they joined up with the other troops and made a line across the peninsula. The division was now in front of Krithia, and in the thick of a series of assaults were the Borderers. On May 8 they were largely responsible for a specially gallant effort to cross a smooth and bullet-swept area, and on June 28 were in a movement which captured three lines of Turkish trenches.

The second phase of the Gallipoli campaign began with the arrival of fresh divisions, and in these, too, were Welshmen. In conjunction with the landing at Suvla Bay it was arranged that the Anzacs should make a grand attack on the hills above their camp, and in this they were assisted by other British and Indian troops. Among the British, presumably in the 13th division, were the 4th South Wales Borderers and the 8th Welch, the latter having been trained as a pioneer battalion. The first advance was made at night by two columns of assault and two covering columns. Every trench encountered was instantly rushed by the Borderers, until, having reached the predetermined spot, the whole column was launched at the Turkish trenches, which were captured at the bayonet's point, and by 1.30 a.m. the whole of the hill was occupied. A day or two later, while the Borderers were repulsing two strong attacks, their colonel, Gillespie, was killed. The troops were then reorganized for a fresh advance, and in this the 8th Welch raced with other troops up a precipitous hill and were soon on the slopes and crest of Chunuk Bair. The position could not be held, and the operations at Suvla, in which the 2nd Borderers from Cape Helles also did good work, must be written down as a costly failure.

In the west the war was about to be marked by the battle of Loos, which began on September 25. On the left, where the 2nd division attacked, two companies of Welch Fusiliers, dashing forward to succour two isolated battalions, were almost destroyed, but the other Welsh units were not seriously engaged on the first day. On October 1, however, the 1st Welch got into the trench famous as "Little Willie," and held it in spite of heavy losses for about a day, while in a subsidiary attack

## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (IV)

near Givenchy, intended to deceive the enemy, two new Welsh battalions, the 9th Welch and the 9th Welch Fusiliers, did extremely good work at heavy cost to themselves. In March, 1916, the 10th Welch Fusiliers were heard of during a great German attack, and among the many raids which preceded the battle of the Somme one of the most successful was carried out by the 2nd battalion of this regiment.

On the opening day of the battle, the South Wales Borderers, from Gallipoli were there, leading the charge of their division against the murderous fire from the strongholds around Beaumont-Hamel, while the 1st Welch Fusiliers of the 7th division fought with success around Mametz. On July 2 the 9th Welch Fusiliers were in a fierce struggle for the possession of the village of La Boisselle, one of great importance to the British plan, and on the 5th the 1st Fusiliers were attacking Mametz Wood, which the Germans had turned into a forest fortress. By now Wales could boast not merely of battalions but of a division at the front.

The Welsh division of the new army was numbered the 38th, and this took the place of the 7th in the front line on July 5, 1916. It had already been for some time in France and had gained experience in trench warfare, but it was now set a sterner task—that of clearing Mametz Wood. The 16th Welch, men from Cardiff, and the 10th South Wales Borderers led a first attack on this formidable position which failed, and another was planned for July 10. The ground between the wood and the British trenches was terribly exposed, but the attacking battalions reached it soon after 4.30 a.m. The fight, a desperately hard one, raged for hours. Small groups fought their way forward, and early in the evening a good part of the wood had been cleared, and the two sections of the attacking force had joined hands.

The losses had been terrible. Fortunately the reserves were at hand, and while the pioneers, the 19th Welch, strove frantically to put the place into a state for successful defence, the 13th Fusiliers captured a trench from which very heavy losses had been inflicted, and the 10th Welch added numbers and vigour to the thin defending line in the wood. The 17th Welch Fusiliers and 10th South Wales Borderers pressed on until only one end of the wood remained in the enemy's hands when at nightfall the attack ceased. In the morning the Welshmen,

## BLOODSTAINED WOODS

after a stiff fight with bayonets, seized a trench that had hitherto thwarted them, and after this the division was relieved.

In the attack launched on July 14 the 1st Welch Fusiliers had a victory near Bazentin-le-Petit, and the 1st Borderers and 2nd Welch were in a movement on the night of the 15th near Pozieres. These two units lost many lives in trying to take Munster Alley, and the 2nd Welch Fusiliers were fighting throughout another July day in High Wood, where their dash was of supreme value at a critical moment.

In August also there was deadly work in these bloodstained woods. The 1st Welch Fusiliers fought hard near Delville Wood, and preceded the Irish in an attack upon Ginchy, while the two Welsh battalions of the 3rd brigade were striving to win High Wood in September. Finally, as far as the Somme battles are concerned, the 16th Welch Fusiliers did fine work near Lesbœufs on September 25, and the 10th battalion of the same regiment led one of those desperate attacks against uncut wire which made the November operations on the Ancre so costly.

The laconic statement about the opening of the Ypres offensive ran thus: "At 5.30 a.m. of the 31st July the combined attack was launched. English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh troops delivered the main assault on the British front." The 38th division was engaged here, and the reports of the fighting spoke highly of its gallantry. The objective of these Welshmen was the village of Pilkem, near which they met and routed the famous Cockchafer division of the Prussian Guard. They took Pilkem and, with the Guards, seized the crossings of the Steenbeek.

On September 20 the Welshmen had another successful day near Klein Zillebeke, and on the 26th were mentioned as fighting their way forward near Polygon Wood, where the Germans held some strongly fortified farmhouses. A few Welsh battalions were in the attack delivered on October 4, and in some fierce fighting for the possession of Bourlon in November. In this the 2nd South Wales Borderers of the 29th division were also employed. Welshmen also did good service in the raiding operations of 1916-17 near Salonica, between Lake Doiran and the River Vardar, where British and Bulgars faced each other in trenches not unlike those on the western front.

In December, 1916, Sir Stanley Maude began his advance in Mesopotamia, and on February 15, 1917, there was some heavy fighting beyond Kut. About this encounter he said that, after

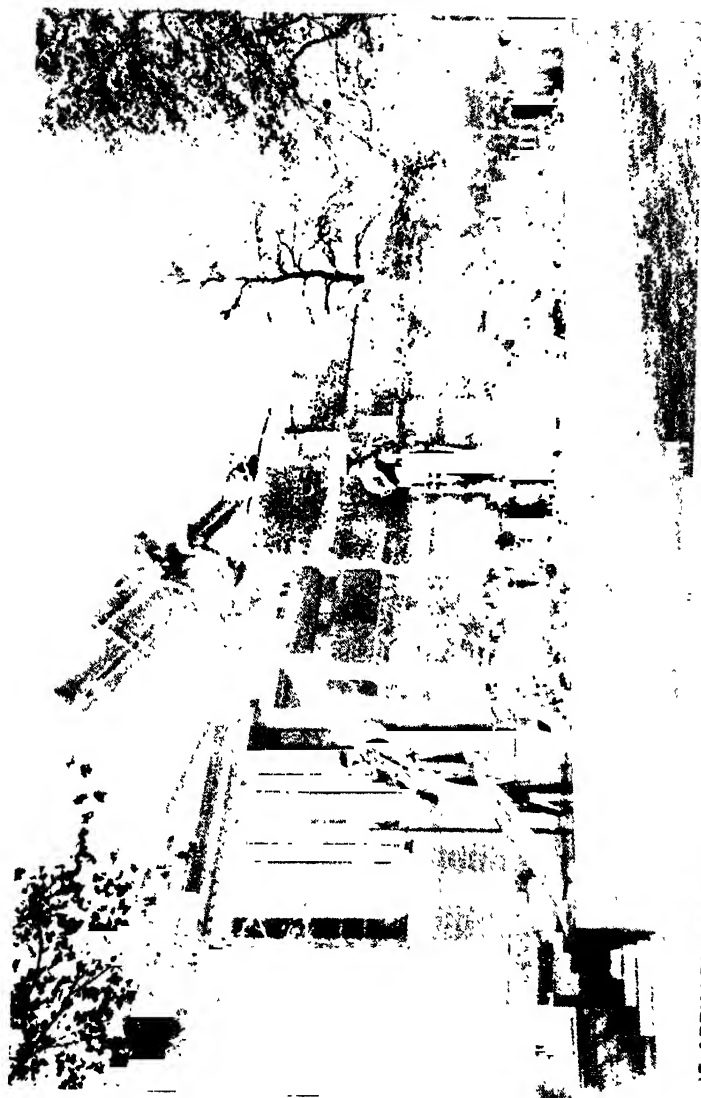
## RECORDS OF THE REGIMENTS (IV)

a feint made on the Turkish position, "the Royal Welch Fusiliers and the South Wales Borderers carried the enemy's right centre in dashing style on a front of 700 yards and extended their success by bombing to a depth of 500 yards on a frontage of 1,000 yards, taking many prisoners."

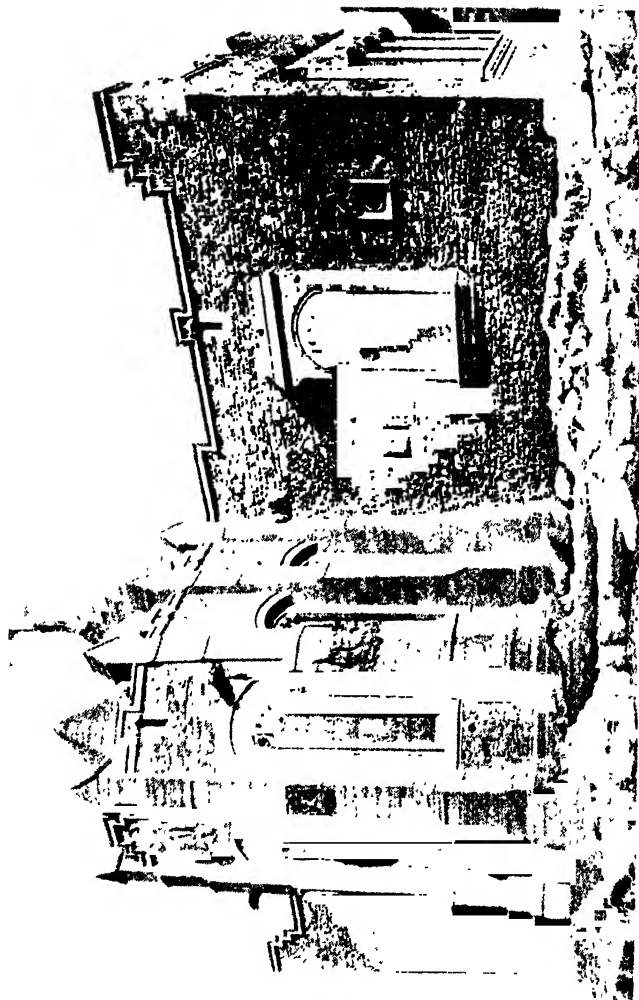
The invasion of Palestine began early in 1917. The advancing force contained some Welsh battalions, formed into a division of territorials, numbered the 53rd, and it fought on March 26 in the battle of Gaza. Its brigades stormed most of a formidable position known as Ali Muntar and held it against obstinate assaults throughout the next day; but for some reason or other it was soon abandoned. Three weeks later the Welshmen fought in the second battle of Gaza. They were then on the left of the line, and after severe fighting took Samson Ridge.

After this there was a pause; but in the autumn General Allenby, who had been sent out to take command, moved swiftly forward. The information which came through about this campaign referred not infrequently to the doings of Welsh troops, evidently the 53rd division. On October 27 they came up just in time to succour some outnumbered yeomen, and as soon as Beersheba was occupied they pushed out to the north; then in a fight on November 6 they won positions on the way to Jerusalem.

It only remains now to say a few words about the Welshmen in the last stages of the war, which began with the British retreat, one incident of which was the defence of Bligny by the 9th battalion Welch Regiment, in the 19th division. The Welsh division, the 38th, was not so severely engaged in the spring battles, but it was one of those that took part in the forward movement that began in August. On the 21st it was fighting north of Albert, and on the night of the 23rd the men waded through the flooded waters of the Ancre, and as dawn was breaking stormed the German positions overlooking that river. Ovillers was taken, but only after hard fighting, as were La Boisselle and Pozières. Next day Contalmaison fell to it, and then came another hard spell around Longueval and Delville Wood. On September 2 the division seized Sailly-Saillisel, and finally at the beginning of November it pushed far into the Forest of Mormal.



**THE ARTILLERY MEMORIAL.** Nearly 50,000 men and officers of the Royal Artillery gave up their lives, and the memorial and forceful monument which Mr. Lionel Pearson, the architect, and Mr. C. S. Jagger, the sculptor, have combined to produce in their honour at Hyde Park Corner, London, is no more than a fitting tribute to their sacrifice. The photograph shows the memorial, looking towards St. George's Hospital.



**SCOTLAND'S NATIONAL MEMORIAL.** On the north side of Edinburgh Castle has been built of rubble and stone, in the fashion of the castle itself, the shrine of Scotland's great memorial. The photograph is taken from the north-west, and shows the natural rock at the foot of the buttressed pile, rugged yet softened by a thin layer of green turf. In the interior of the shrine is a casket in which is the foil of honour containing 100,000 names.

*English*

## CHAPTER 25

### The Saving of Civilization

**O**F all the allied powers that took the field in August, 1914, only Great Britain, France, Belgium, and Serbia fought to the end; and Great Britain alone in the closing months was able to exert undiminished effort both on land and on the sea. It had long been doubted whether a democratic country would be able to withstand an assault by one of the great European military powers, but in the great war the British nation proved itself able to stand up to autocratic powers which for half a century had set themselves to create an irresistible military machine. It had been alleged, too, that the British people had lost some of their old spirit of courage and adventure; yet, in the world war, half the British male population of military age was placed in the field and acquitted itself with a bravery hardly equalled and never excelled in the long history of these islands. British armies in France beat back the German hordes; other British forces waged war in Italy, at Salonica, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, in the Caucasus, on the Caspian, in Transcaspia, in Northern Persia, in Southern Persia, in East Africa, in Siberia, at Archangel, and on the Murman coast, while the British navy guarded the sea and the Merchant Service defied the submarines.

Two factors to which the highest officers of the German Staff and Ludendorff ascribed the German defeat were both the result of British effort and brains. The first was the blockade, which by crippling enemy production hastened the end. This was the work of the British navy, aided by French warships at the outset, and by the Italian and American fleets when these latter countries entered the war. The second was the tank, the invention of Great Britain alone; the idea was British; its working out was British; the tactics devised for the use of this new weapon were British; and the British armies used the tank on a large scale with the most conspicuous success. The use of the tank, and particularly of the heavy and powerful type which fought in the closing months of the war, demoralised the German infantry.

## THE SAVING OF CIVILIZATION

No one who lived through the few first months of the war can ever forget the rush to arms—the enlistment of two million volunteers, or the messages of encouragement and comradeship which came from every Dominion. When the need was felt for a more systematic supply of recruits than volunteering could give, the greatest surprise of the war took place. Great Britain, who had never, even in the Napoleonic conflict, adopted compulsory service, now accepted it. The people saw the need; they cheerfully faced the burden, and by degrees it consented to the raising of the age limit to a point over fifty.

Owing to unpreparedness the task of training and arming the new armies was one of peculiar difficulty. All the available stocks of military clothing were speedily exhausted. No boots could be obtained. The supply of weapons was inadequate, and the country was without the machinery to manufacture them. The total of rifles was only 800,000 in August, 1914, and of these many were of old pattern or slightly defective; only 150,000 remained after the Expeditionary Force had been armed. In March, 1915, the first of the new armies was still incompletely armed. As regards artillery, the conditions were even worse. In March, 1915, many divisions of the 1st New army had only two guns, instead of six, per battery.

There was at the same time a great lack of trained officers. During 1915 about 1,000,000 men were undergoing training in Great Britain. Only nine months after embodiment the 1st New army was sent into the field, and was followed quickly by the 2nd and 3rd, and some selected divisions of the 4th and 5th armies. These troops lacked experience and skill, yet all of them behaved well on the battlefield. "The secret of this great triumph over difficulties," said the official account, "lay chiefly in the magnificent spirit of all ranks." The new armies were engaged in the long and terrible struggle on the Somme, when it was noted during their attacks that "there were no stragglers." This is the supreme test of morale in troops. They endured fearful losses in the mud; they were prodigal of their lives; even if it was to certain death they went forward.

The losses of the British troops and their bitter trials were aggravated by shortage of ammunition and the lack of equipment. So early as Le Cateau, one of the first battles of the war, battery commanders were warned to be "careful of ammunition," when abundance of ammunition would have saved

## THE SHELL SHORTAGE

life. The want of shells became so grave as to compel the restriction of operations to those sections of the front where the Germans were attacking, paralysing the British and French troops elsewhere, and preventing them from relieving the pressure at critical points by a general offensive. To some extent the shortage of shells was felt by the Germans, but their plants were so much larger and their output so much greater that their supply in the earlier months of the war was always far in excess of both the British and French combined.

The feat of the British infantry in holding the salient at Ypres was the more wonderful when it is remembered that the British guns were short of shells, and often could not support the men in the trenches. During the first battle of Ypres, when the fate of the Allies hung in the balance, it was necessary to issue an order restricting expenditure to twenty rounds per gun daily—less than one shot per hour—and to announce “that a further restriction to ten rounds would be necessary if the supply did not improve.” This was a terrifying situation, and it persisted with little improvement until after the battle of Loos in September, 1915. Battle after battle resulted in the repulse of the British troops because they had not enough shells.

Thus at Neuve Chapelle “the battle had to be broken off after three days’ fighting because we were brought to a standstill through want of ammunition.” In March, 1915, orders had to be issued limiting to two rounds per day the 3-pounders, forbidding 15-pounders to fire at all, allotting only three rounds per day to the 18-pounders, the normal field gun, and directing the heavy 9.2 in. and 15 in. howitzers to remain silent. It was not only in ammunition and machine guns that the British troops were handicapped in their struggle with the Germans. Their want of heavy artillery was hardly less serious. The French to some extent remedied their want of heavy guns by taking weapons from their old warships. The British could not do this because the navy could not be weakened.

In May, 1915, Sir John French stated that the British army at that time only possessed 71 guns of over 5 in. calibre to 1,416 of smaller size, whereas the French had one heavy gun to every 2.3 smaller guns, and the Germans were firing more shells of 5.9 in. calibre and upwards than small shells. Not until 1916 did the British artillery situation, in Sir Douglas Haig’s words, “become even approximately adequate to the

## THE SAVING OF CIVILIZATION

conduct of major operations." The want of ammunition still continued, and in 1917 the wear of the guns was such as to cause great uneasiness. In the closing year of the war, 1918, at last it became possible "to conduct artillery operations independently of any limiting condition other than transport." Gradually the difficulties were overcome; despite enormous demands from almost every field—and the British army was fighting on every front and had to meet claims which were not experienced by the French and American armies—the total of British guns on the western front had risen from 486 in August, 1914, to 6,437, and the total on all fronts to about 10,000 guns, a large proportion of which were of the heaviest pattern.

In the same period the proportion of machine guns had risen from 1 to every 500 infantry to 1 to every 20. The British supplies of artillery and machine guns were sufficient to assist in equipping the American army, and to save it from the terrible experiences which had befallen the British infantry in the early years of the war. As with artillery and machine guns so with aircraft. The development of the British air forces proceeded on such a scale in the later period of the war that the Royal Air Force at the armistice counted 25,000 machines (against a grand total for army and navy of 160 at the outset).

It is a fact that at the outbreak of war the German air service was superior, not in fighting quality, but in numbers. "Their supremacy in this respect," states Major Becke, "was due to their superior preparedness." One of the greatest British triumphs of the war was the complete defeat of the Zeppelin, which was accomplished by British airmen with British devices. Even the night-raiding aeroplane—a far more terrible and dangerous antagonist—was in a fair way to be defeated when the war ended. Methods had been worked out for its attack, and raiding had been made too dangerous to be profitable. All the artillery appliances for dealing with it had been transformed, again by British skill and British ingenuity.

At the beginning of the war, from 10 to 15 minutes were required to make the calculations and set the sights of powerful guns when attacking fast-moving aircraft. This rendered it almost useless to fire at them, except so far as the mere noise and concussion of the firing affected the airmen's nerve. By the end of the war devices had been introduced which made the setting of the sights practically instantaneous and enabled the

## THE TANKS IN ACTION

guns to attack with great effect. They were only gradually applied because of the great burden of work which was imposed on British factories and munition establishments, but their influence was beginning to be felt in the last air raid on London (that of May, 1918), which resulted in disastrous losses to the Germans. At the end of the war the British air force was uncontestedly first—first in strength, first in numbers, first in organization, first in excellence of its designs—though in the early days it had not always the best available machines.

The first suggestion for the use of tanks was made in the winter of 1914, and was welcomed by Sir John French, though not by Lord Kitchener. The design was worked out and improved in great secrecy, but there still were manifest imperfections when the new engine was first employed in September, 1916, during the battle of the Somme. It was brought into the field prematurely, against the wishes and even the entreaties of its inventors, and consequently its effect, though marked, was nothing like that which would undoubtedly have been produced had it been employed at the outset in large numbers to deal some great stroke at the German front or carry out a breakthrough in decisive force. The Germans were thus given time to devise means of meeting it and to test defensive appliances of all kinds, including anti-tank guns, mines, and traps, stockades of reinforced concrete, and hardened steel bullets.

But the demoralising influence of the weapon on the German infantry could not be destroyed. It grew with time and with the rapid improvement of the tanks. The Mark V. machines, which broke the Hindenburg line in the great battle of September 27, 1918, were terrible engines, and scarcely less terrible were the "whippets," or small fast tanks, which appeared in ever increasing number. "Above all," said a German staff officer, Major Bussche, "two facts have been decisive in forcing the issue of peace. First, the tanks. The enemy has employed them in unexpectedly large numbers. Where, after a very liberal clouding of our positions with artificial mist, they effected a surprise, our men's nerves were often unequal to them. They broke through our front line, opened a way for their infantry, appeared in the rear, created panics, and threw the control of the battle into confusion. When they had once been identified, our tank-defence weapons and our artillery quickly settled with them. Then, however, the mischief had been done,

## THE SAVING OF CIVILIZATION

and only the success of the tanks can explain the large number of prisoners which so painfully reduced our strength and brought about a more rapid consumption of reserves than we had hitherto been accustomed to. We were not in a position to oppose to the enemy equal masses of German tanks. Their construction would have exceeded the resources of our industry, which was strained to the uttermost." Behind this failure of the German tanks lay the crippling effect of the blockade, which slowly paralysed German industry and deprived it of essential new materials, necessary for tank construction, but also something which the German staff officer did not admit—the failure of the German staff to understand the potency of the new weapon. The British mind was quicker to invent, and quicker to realize the importance of its invention. When the Germans tried to imitate the tank they neglected some of the devices to which that weapon owed much of its value.

Earlier in the war, artillery preponderance had enabled the German staff to attack at any point without special concentration and preparation of its artillery. The tanks, moving in advance of infantry, could break down the wire and make smooth the path for the infantry. They needed an exact and careful artillery co-operation, but by 1918 the British artillery had attained the required degree of skill to come into action on a grand scale without any long preliminary process of registering, which warned the enemy. Here, again, the British artillery adopted and introduced new methods. The most important artillery device of the war, the creeping barrage, was introduced by a British general. It was immediately borrowed by every other allied army and by the Germans. It involved a very high degree of co-operation between the guns and tanks and infantry, and, if it was to be used to the greatest profit, a remarkable development of the means of communication between them. But this again was achieved. In the great British attack of August 8, 1918, one of the most brilliant and successful of the whole war, 2,000 guns took part, supporting a great array of tanks, and all of them opened fire for the first time on the actual morning of the assault.

As in the air so in the tank, the courage and determination of the British race asserted themselves. Those who have been in a tank in peace conditions know the immense discomfort, heat, concussion, and uproar. But in battle the tank officer had first

## MACHINE GUN POSTS

to move up to the front with the greatest possible secrecy, the advance being usually covered by an intermittent fire to drown the roar and rattle of the engines—along roads which were almost invariably searched by the German artillery. A direct hit meant disaster. The tank commander usually piloted his tank in the darkness on foot, moving ahead of the great engine, which thundered along close behind him, and there was always risk that it might overrun him. Then, when the "jumping off" point had been reached, he had to lay out tapes in the dark, showing the best route of advance on the hostile position, and this was not the least perilous part of his mission.

Finally, when zero came, he led the advance, now plunging as his engine reached trenches and dived into them, so that the sensation was that of a volplane in an aeroplane; now rising, as the runners caught the yielding ground and clawed a way up. As the grey side or snout of his tank came into view through the cloud of the smoke, or mist-screen, the German fire opened on him with peculiar fury, yet he knew that so long as he kept in steady movement he and his crew were fairly safe. It was death to stop, for then the German artillery picked up the range. As the trenches were crossed, there was a scurry from them of German infantry, who were swept down with blasts of fire from the machine guns or with case from the 6-pounders.

Then came one of the hardest tasks—the hunting of the German machine gun posts under a perpetual rattle of bullets. Sometimes the anti-tank bullets came through, and there was an end of the tank; sometimes they struck fire as they smote the hardened steel of the side; within, in the earlier tanks, there was a rain of splinters, so that the gunners were supposed to wear visors on their helmets. The crew worked in almost complete darkness when the flaps over the apertures were closed down. They had to trust to periscopes, which usually were shot away early in the fight, and then to tiny eye-holes. The Germans fired assiduously at the position of the commander, which they knew from their captured tanks. Not infrequently the petrol container caught fire from incendiary bullets; sometimes German infantrymen ran up behind and slipped bombs under the petrol, with terrible effect. But if the tank drove through, as soon as it approached the German machine gun nests, the men in them surrendered. They had learnt in the later stages of the war their certain fate if they did not. To achieve that result

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the Tank Corps had to suffer cruelly. As an example, one battalion which took the field in August, 1918, with 60 tanks, had at the armistice only six left fit for service.

In other directions British ingenuity made an enormous contribution to the final victory. The British Admiralty solved the problem of building torpedo-proof ships by constructing the so-called "blister vessels," not one of which was sunk by a submarine. This fact was not generally known during the war, but the device was gradually applied to all the latest British battleships. The devices with which the submarine was combated and finally defeated were almost exclusively of British invention. The paravane, the depth charge, the hydrophone, the floating barrage of nets and wires—all these were the product of British brains or were worked out and given practical form by British engineers. In short, in this period there was no demand to which British ingenuity was unequal.

All mechanical appliances depend ultimately on the skill and courage of the men who use them. There was no want of skill or courage in the men, though in most cases a prolonged training was necessary to get the best service out of the new weapons, a fact which explains the suddenness of the victory that came in every direction and in every field when the skill had been acquired. Yet while the increasing use of machinery in war economises the human material and makes it go farther, an ample supply of men is one of the first necessities of national war. The large forces which the British Empire raised during the struggle were employed piecemeal and in many directions. But their very numbers brought all the German calculations to the ground.

The total white enlistments for the army in the British Empire were 7,130,280, of whom 5,704,416 were drawn from the United Kingdom and 1,425,864 from the Empire outside it. In addition, 1,524,187 coloured troops were raised, 1,401,350 by India, and the rest in South Africa, the West Indies, and in various Colonies. The total strength of men thus provided reached 8,654,467; to which had to be added the men raised for the navy, who numbered about 500,000, and 300,000 required by the merchant service; so that the grand total for the British Empire was over 9,450,000. Were the men included who were taken for various forms of service auxiliary to the army, navy, and air force, the total raised becomes well over 10,000,000. a

## ENLISTMENT PERCENTAGES

larger figure than is shown by any of the Allies, and almost as large as the German total. This, too, though Great Britain was the principal workshop that the Allies possessed in Europe, so that she had at one and the same time to provide shells, guns, rifles, aircraft, steel, warships, including all the vast quantity of special plant and craft for the defeat of the submarines, and merchant shipping, on which she and her Allies depended for their very existence.

In addition, Great Britain had to carry out in her shipyards constant repairs to her warships. No other ally in Europe had to maintain a great navy, and the United States, from its geographical position, after it entered the war, had largely to rely on the protection which the British fleet gave it. Its naval construction in the critical period was relatively small; the main burden of naval defence always rested on the shoulders of Great Britain. The British Empire also raised large numbers of women for auxiliary military and naval service, and such corps totalled over 250,000 women. Many of them faced terrible danger in the British hospitals and hospital ships, and hundreds of them earned decorations by their signal gallantry and devotion.

The percentage of enlistments for the army alone, excluding the navy and merchant service, stood higher for England and for the United Kingdom than for any other part of the Empire. In England, 24.02 per cent. of the whole male population (including children) were enlisted from August, 1914, to the end of the war. The Welsh percentage of the male population was 21.52; the Scottish, 23.71; and the Irish only 6.14. For the United Kingdom, excluding Ireland, the total enlisted, including the troops already serving on the outbreak of war, but not those raised by the navy and merchant service, was 27.28 per cent. of the males; in Canada it was 13.48; in Australia, 13.43; in New Zealand, 19.35; and in South Africa, 11.12. These are figures of which the English, Scottish, and Welsh peoples, with the Dominions, have abundant reason to be proud. And they explain why it was that, towards the close of the war, British units were not always of such good physique as Dominion units.

The troops from the British Dominions were uniformly good, and rendered superb service to the cause. The record of the Canadian Corps was one long series of victories, after its troops had passed their first apprenticeship in arms. They excelled in the attack as in the defence, as was seen in their superlative

## THE SAVING OF CIVILIZATION

fighting at Vimy Ridge; in their storming of the Drocourt-Quéant line, when they surpassed what men had thought possible, and in the long and deadly fight which raged about Cambrai. "It is impossible to serve with the Canadians and not to love them," said an Englishman who accompanied them in the field. The Australians won the praise of Foch,\* who described them as "the best shock troops in the world." Their performance during the long series of battles which marked the German offensive of 1918 and the allied counter-offensive was one of singular and unbroken glory. If their discipline behind the fighting-line was lax, their behaviour in it endeared them to all their comrades.

The New Zealanders were also famous troops, with an iron discipline which made them, if possible, more terrible to the enemy than were the Australians. The South Africans were few but fit, hard fighters whose conquest of South-West Africa was a brilliant achievement, admirably carried through. The Newfoundlanders, in the terrible struggle about Beaumont-Hamel in July, 1916, particularly distinguished themselves; and they also provided many seamen for the royal navy. The total of men raised by Canada was 628,000; by Australia, 416,000; by New Zealand, 220,000. Thus these Dominions alone provided more than 1,250,000 of the finest troops.

From the date when the full strength of the British armies was engaged their losses were heavier than those of any of their Allies. Of the British losses, by far the largest part was incurred in France, where the casualties were over 2,700,000. Then came the deplorable Dardanelles expedition, with casualties of 119,000; Mesopotamia, with nearly 100,000; Egypt and Palestine, with 59,000; Salonica, with 28,000; East Africa, with 17,000; Italy, with 6,900; and various other theatres, with over 3,000. One last fact in this connexion is of importance as showing the high quality of the British troops. An excessive loss of officers is a sure sign that the men hang back. In the British regular and territorial army there was no such excessive loss. The proportion of officers to rank and file in France was 1 to 21.4; the proportion of officer casualties (excluding the Royal Air Force, where the dangerous work was practically done by officers alone), 1 to 21. In addition there were the naval casualties, which were especially heavy in 1916, the result of the battle of Jutland. The total casualties will never be exactly known, but several

## CASUALTIES

estimates have been made. In May, 1921, an authoritative statement made to the House of Commons gave these figures :

### BRITISH EMPIRE.

	DEAD	WOUNDED
Great Britain .. .. .	743,702	1,693,262
Canada .. .. .	56,625	149,732
Australia .. .. .	59,330	152,171
New Zealand .. .. .	16,136	40,729
South Africa, Newfoundland and other Colonies .. .. .	8,832	15,153
India .. .. .	61,398	70,859
	946,023	2,121,906

### ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED COUNTRIES.

	DEAD	WOUNDED
France .. .. .	1,385,300	No record
Belgium .. .. .	38,172	44,686
Italy .. .. .	460,000	947,000
Portugal .. .. .	7,222	13,751
Rumania .. .. .	335,706	No record
Serbia .. .. .	127,535	133,148
U.S.A. .. .. .	115,660	205,690

### ENEMY COUNTRIES

	DEAD	WOUNDED
Germany .. .. .	2,050,466	4,202,028
Austria-Hungary .. .. .	1,200,000	3,620,000
Bulgaria .. .. .	101,224	152,400
Turkey .. .. .	300,000	570,000

At the close of the war the British army was by far the strongest, best trained and equipped in the field. Its mobilised strength on November 11, 1918, was 5,680,247; while the corresponding figure for France was 5,075,000; for the United States, with a far larger white population, 3,707,132; for Italy, 3,420,000; for Germany, 4,500,000; for Austria-Hungary (on the eve of the great Italian offensive), 2,230,000; for Bulgaria (before the allied offensive), 500,000; for Turkey, at the time of her

## THE SAVING OF CIVILIZATION

armistice 400,000. Once more the British effort on land stands out transcending everything that was accomplished in other countries, because it was accompanied by a similar naval effort, and by the effort of the British mercantile marine. And it deserves the verdict which Foch has rendered. "In every respect," he said, "the British army has been superb. There was no branch of all its manifold departments in which it was not fully up to its work. This—for a nation with no obligatory military service and no military tradition behind it—is a marvellous accomplishment."

The great part which the British merchant service performed in the conflict has already been noticed. It is sufficient to say here that its conduct was incomparable. But the strain was terrible, and the losses in tonnage were extraordinarily heavy. Because she did not husband her ships, but placed them at the disposal of the Allies and employed them in waters where the submarine was most dangerous, because she devoted her naval forces to the task of convoying the American troops rather than to that of protecting her own vessels, because she abandoned her old routes and markets, she opened the door, after the war and during it, to a formidable competition by neutrals and belligerents, who had not made her sacrifices. But for the example which the British merchant service set, and but for the skill with which the British navy worked the convoy system during the closing weeks of 1917 and the opening weeks of 1918, the United States would not have been able to send two million men to France, and Foch would not have had the reserves which he needed to deal the final crushing blows. The price which the British paid was a fearful one—9,031,000 tons sacrificed.

Nor was the financial effort of Great Britain less than her effort in men and in ships. She raised during the war for war purposes down to March, 1919, £2,600,000,000 by taxation at home, and £4,600,000,000 by internal loans. She contracted a floating debt at home of £1,100,000,000 in addition to the above amounts, and she borrowed £1,300,000,000 abroad. Her total monetary contribution was £9,600,000,000, which enormously exceeded that of any other State. These figures do not include a large part of the sums raised in the Dominions, and so do not tell the full tale of British effort. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Newfoundland raised by loans £656,000,000, and India also made a great contribution, both by gifts and by loans. Moreover, not only did Great Britain finance herself,

## THE RAILWAY SYSTEM

providing the lenders in the United States with valuable British-owned securities against their advances, she also lent enormous sums to Russia, and she aided France, Italy, Belgium, and Serbia.

Great Britain not only sacrificed her finances, her manhood, her merchant service, and her industrial machinery, she also threw her railway system, on which the whole life of a modern State depends, into confusion. Enormous demands had to be made upon it to meet the requirements of her immense armies. Two thousand miles of permanent way were torn up in Great Britain and bodily removed to France, together with more than a thousand locomotives and many thousands of trucks. The total of engines in France imported by the British army in 1918 was 1,200, and of trucks 52,600, most of them drawn from the United Kingdom. In 1918 alone the British railway services in France built or reconstructed 2,340 miles of standard-gauge and 1,348 miles of narrow-gauge line. The weekly traffic of these lines was 530,000 tons.

But never was the stubborn devotion of the British race better shown than in the terrible weeks of March and April, 1918, when everything trembled in the balance, and when the German offensives on land and the action of the German submarines menaced Great Britain with the gravest peril which she had ever known. Among the many German miscalculations of the war, perhaps the greatest was their conclusion that the German offensives of those two months had destroyed the fighting power of the British army.

In May, the Kaiser William II declared boastfully at Aix-la-Chapelle, "600,000 British have now been put out of action, and 1,600 guns taken." Yet, as was abundantly proved, neither the nation nor the army lost heart. "During the fight" (of April, 1918), says a British officer, "I had to take back 2,000 men to stop the breach. I marched those 2,000 men through one of our southern ports on a Sunday morning. The people were standing in the streets, there were thousands of them there; but I marched silent men through silent streets. The men were going to die, and they knew it, and others knew it. The women standing there fluttered their black-edged handkerchiefs, which told their own story. Men marching in silence through spectators in silence—we drank the cup of bitterness then to the dregs." It was the agony of Britain, but in that hour she did not fail. Through the early weeks of the summer of 1918

## THE SAVING OF CIVILIZATION

processions of boys, and men well beyond middle age, marched through the London streets to the recruiting stations. The last British soldiers were in the fighting-line; Palestine, Mesopotamia, the home defence army, all had been stripped of white troops for France.

The British offensive of 1918 came as a staggering surprise to the Germans, and startled the Allies, and even men in the British Empire, by its swift and dazzling success. In all history there is no such succession of victories as was won by Sir Douglas Haig and his troops in the three months of continual battle which marked that offensive. Without rest or intermission the Germans were battered and pressed, blow following on blow. Of all the operations of that fateful autumn the most critical, the most fruitful in result, was the British storming of the Hindenburg line. It was of peculiar importance, because the German staff had constantly repeated and had, indeed, half convinced the world that during its earlier defeats it was merely carrying out its principle of the "elastic front," and retiring "according to plan," after inflicting enormous losses, to an impregnable fortress. There it meant to stop while arranging for a "negotiated peace." Admiral Hintze, the German foreign minister, declared on September 24 to the Reichstag: "Our wall of bronze on the western front will not be broken."

Everything, therefore, was at stake on that September 27 when the British troops with two American divisions advanced on this gigantic fortress. A repulse would have encouraged the Germans and have correspondingly discouraged the Allies. The British had already taken the Hindenburg advanced system known as the Wotan line and some portions of the main Hindenburg line. But they had still to attack the main line at its strongest points. How the tanks crossed the Canal du Nord, and how they went over the steep and deep Hindenburg trenches, has been told elsewhere. It was one of the most gallant and glorious feats of the whole war.

The great achievements of the British armies in France were repeated by other British armies in Italy, at Salonica, in Palestine, and in Mesopotamia. In the first two theatres they made a great contribution to the victories gained there. In Palestine and Mesopotamia by their unaided efforts they brought Turkey down with a crash. One of the crowning triumphs of the war was Sir Edmund Allenby's victory in Palestine. Most of his

## A PULSE LIKE A CANNON

troops were new Indian levies. If they bore themselves like veterans it was because of the confidence which such leadership imparted and the care with which he laid his plans. The secrecy with which he prepared his thunder-stroke was worthy of Napoleon. In the rush and tumult of tremendous events this campaign passed without its proper meed of praise, but its full value and importance was understood in Germany. It showed the high efficiency of the British staff and proved that Great Britain had great strategists in her army.

"In the storm of battle and calamity she has a secret vigour and a pulse like a cannon," said Emerson, more than half a century ago of England. It was true. Amidst all the dangers and discomforts of war, Britain persisted from first to last with growing strength. Her industries were dislocated from top to bottom. The machinery which had been provided in peace, or acquired in war with so much difficulty and expense, was worn out in munition working, so that at the close of the war most of it was verging on the unserviceable by reason of the strain.

Her merchant service—the shipping which was as her very life-blood—was grievously depleted and reduced by losses which threatened her existence. The submarine campaign struck directly at the sustenance of every man, woman, and child. The air raids, week after week, racked the nerve of her people. There was hardly a home in Great Britain that did not mourn its dead or tremble in daily apprehension for its living. The British nation submitted to the curtailment of its liberties. It faced privations, which grew steadily, making of them a jest. In Great Britain alone, of all European countries, were the food rationing orders strictly enforced and obeyed. Her people had to endure a crushing load of taxation.

For whole years, in which each week was as a year of all earlier wars, to many sober and prudent observers victory had seemed beyond possibility and hope; yet through those times of stress and agony the British nation was borne, as it appeared, on the wings of an exaltation which no material force could destroy and no suffering daunt. The German Empire waxed and seemed to increase its power. It overshadowed all Europe; it held Belgium and northern France in an iron grasp; it had gained a firm grip on the vast resources of Russia; it had broken up the unity of the Allies by the Bolshevik defection, at the very moment when the Allies stood on the verge of complete

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victory; it penetrated to far-off Persia and Afghanistan; it dominated the Baltic and the Black Sea.'

Yet always Great Britain stood erect. Civilized life, it has been said, is only good so far as it presupposes and reveals such great fundamental virtues as love and courage and self-sacrifice, and here they were all shown in the highest degree and on the most tremendous scale. No tragedy was ever mounted on such a stage; everything else in human life seems trivial commonplace compared with the history of this war. One after another her noblest and her best were taken—men who were the hope of the rising generation.

Attack and defence on both sides were conducted with the utmost bravery and resolution, but the will of the British and their cause prevailed. No praise is too high, no human praise can adequately crown the magnificent behaviour of the British troops covering the retreats, whose mission it was to die fighting and inflicting on the enemy the heaviest possible loss. They were well aware that their deeds might be for ever lost; as the telephones were cut and they were left engulfed in a sea of assailants who came on in overwhelming strength, night closed down upon them, and nothing more is known except from the German reports, though these show that they did something more than their duty. They were faithful to Sir Douglas Haig's famous order: "Victory belongs to the side which holds out longest. Every position must be held to the last man."

The British peoples fought for two great ends. They sought in the first instance to crush wrong, and to liberate Belgium and the smitten minor states. That object they completely accomplished with the aid of their Allies. They sought in the second instance what Pitt had sought a century before, security—"Security against a danger the greatest that ever threatened the world; security against a danger which never existed in any past period of society; security against a danger which in degree and extent was never equalled, against a danger which threatened all the nations of the earth." That security, so far as it was granted to human foresight to discern, they attained. The interminable military cemeteries show the price. Over hundreds of acres stretches the array of graves, a silent witness to the valour and steadfastness of the British race which only the slow hand of time can efface.

## CHAPTER 26

# War Memorials

**N**O more fitting subject for the concluding chapter of this history of the Great War can be conceived than one giving some account of the way in which the glorious heroism and noble sacrifice of its participants is commemorated. War memorials have been erected throughout Great Britain and on the site of most of the noted battlefields abroad. These are to the fallen and the missing, but they also stand for the bravery of their comrades who survived the terrible ordeal of battle. For long years to come these memorials will continue to call to mind the world's greatest conflict, and at the same time stimulate the living to high ideals of self-sacrifice in all causes that are noble and just. Not every memorial is mentioned, but of those that are the subject of description and comment each is worthy of its inclusion here, and the following survey may be regarded as eminently representative. In dealing with such a vast mass of material it has been found advisable to divide the memorials into sections—those in London, the cities, towns, and villages, and the memorials abroad, together with a brief account of the organization responsible for the last-mentioned.

### THE LONDON AREA

Until the Crimean campaign a war memorial was a thing unknown in Western Europe, unless one can describe as war memorials such structures as Blenheim Palace, which was a gift conferred by a grateful country upon a victorious commander. The Blenheim Palace tradition has survived to this day, in that one or two of Britain's most popular memorials of the Great War take the form of an inhabitable building, but a building dedicated to an important public service rather than to the gratification of an individual, however important. Memorials of this kind will be noticed here and there in the present chapter; the greater part of it must necessarily be concerned with memorials serving no purpose other than the suitable commemoration by the survivors of those who fell.

## WAR MEMORIALS

With only one or two very special exceptions of importance, these memorials are collective, that, is to say, that they are put up by one group of people to another group of people. It is in this that their newness lies. The idea of commemorating with a work of monumental art the death, even the death in battle, of hundreds of ordinary men, often united by no stronger bond than a common place of residence, would have been inconceivable before the birth of modern democracy. Addison, in his Campaign, was one of the first to wax eloquent over the deeds of the private soldier:

How can I see the gay, the brave, the young,  
Fall in the cloud of war, and lye unsung!

But even he is moved to far loftier language at the thought of the general who had not yet been brought down to the level of a superior civil servant, but

pleased th' Almighty's orders to perform,  
Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm.

To-day this position has been reversed, and the Nelson Column is one of the last monuments (other than effigies pure and simple) put up by those who were chiefly interested in the individual.

Even after the Great War, however, enough was left of the hero-worshipping spirit of yesterday to prompt the erection of a few really important memorials to great persons. In the Royal Hospital Chapel, Greenwich, is a stained glass window designed by Mr C. E. Kempe in memory of the three admirals who fell in action, Rear-Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock, killed at Coronel, and Rear-Admirals Sir Robert Arbuthnot and the Hon. Horace Hood, killed in the battle of Jutland. Such a memorial is in the good old heroic tradition, for though it is flanked on either side by windows in memory of the naval chaplains and the masters and old boys of the Royal Hospital School who died in the war, the smallness and distinction of the group of persons it commemorates give it a definitely personal character.

Another memorial of this kind is that dedicated to Nurse Edith Cavell, which stands at the junction of St. Martin's Lane with Charing Cross Road, London, a little way north of the porch of S. Martin-in-the-Fields. Designed by Sir George Frampton, R.A. this monument has incurred a great deal of criticism, part of which was directed against the alien artistic tendencies that single it out from among all other public monuments in London.

## THE UNKNOWN WARRIOR

A life-size portrait statue of Nurse Cavell in uniform, sculptured in white marble, is placed against a granite pylon terminating in a cross, the upper arm of which is formed by a seated female figure shielding an infant. On the four sides are carved the words Humanity, Sacrifice, Fortitude, Devotion.

All other personal memorials, however, are completely put in the shade by the Memorial Chapel in S. Paul's Cathedral, London, dedicated to the memory of Earl Kitchener, the one outstanding personality of the war who was killed, not in a military action. The chapel, designed by Sir John Burnet and Partners, architects, and sculptured by Mr. W. Reid Dick, A.R.A., is known as the All Souls Chapel, and is situated in the north-west corner of the nave. The stone figure of Earl Kitchener in field-marshal's uniform lies on a low stone bier in the centre of the chapel, facing the altar.

By common consent of the English people the most important individual killed in the Great War was not a leader so conspicuous even as Lord Kitchener; it was the average man, whose body is laid in the Unknown Warrior's grave in Westminster Abbey. The grave is in the centre of the nave, just inside the great west doors, between the second and third pair of columns. On a black marble slab is an inscription, inlaid in letters of brass, stating that:

Beneath this stone rests the body OF A BRITISH WARRIOR unknown by name or rank, brought from France to lie among the most illustrious of the land and buried here on Armistice Day in November, 1920, in the presence of HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE V, HIS MINISTERS OF STATE, THE CHIEFS OF HIS FORCES, and a vast concourse of the nation.

The Unknown Warrior's grave commemorates the average of the men who died; the Cenotaph in Whitehall commemorates the whole of those men. If the Cenotaph had been ugly or dull in its design it would still hold the first place in the affections of the British people, for it is a permanent copy of the monument saluted by detachments of the allied armies at the peace celebrations in 1919. But it is impossible that it should be dull or ugly, for the simple reason that if it had not at first given the deepest satisfaction to all who saw it, this monument would never have been duplicated in stone. The Cenotaph of Sir Edwin Lutyens has come into being in the one manner above all others favourable to the production of first-rate architecture.

## WAR MEMORIALS

In many of the best buildings in the world one constantly sees features whose outline betrays the fact that they were originally designed in some temporary material. Their translation into stone is proof of their popularity and often enough of their excellence also, just as a man who buys a book for himself after having read a borrowed copy shows in this act how great a value he sets upon the book. The Cenotaph was not put up as a model for a structure designed to remain. Models of this kind have been used elsewhere, and have helped considerably to produce a good design and to place this design in a good position. The Cenotaph was put up as a piece of temporary decoration, and at once took such a place in the people's affections that they decided they could not possibly part with it again. Most permanent architecture of the first order has its origin deep down in the affections of men who decided that it must not be allowed to go out of their lives.

It is easy to overrate the qualities of the Cenotaph as a work of art, great though these undoubtedly are; it is next to impossible to overrate its qualities as an utterance of communal feeling. A work of art to be really great must say a great deal; few people would claim that the Cenotaph says a great deal. Its brevity, however, is only less noticeable than its fitness. The little it says is so much to the point, so true for the greater majority of us, so pure in its feeling, so modest in its implications, that it has come to be regarded as the emblem of those ideas and emotions that all men share with one another and for that very reason so seldom express. The principal part of the Cenotaph is, as its name tells us, an empty coffin of a size and shape suitable for the reception of a human body.

These two memorials, common to the nation, are a pair unique among all memorials, and their counterpart is not to be found outside London. Next in importance are the monuments put up by the great army divisions. It cannot be said that these are proper to the London area; the Royal Engineers, for example, have their obelisk at Chatham; but London certainly contains the majority of them.

The most ambitious, and also the most interesting, is undoubtedly the Artillery memorial at Hyde Park Corner, the joint work of Mr. Lionel Pearson, the architect, and Mr. C. S. Jagger, the sculptor. Its spirit is the exact opposite of the Cenotaph. It speaks in tones as loud as those of the Cenotaph

## THE ARTILLERY MEMORIAL

are subdued, in a language as extravagant as that of the Cenotaph is simple and restricted. Its position, never a good one, became even more uncongenial when the island on which it stands was made the centre of London's most hazardous roundabout for wheeled traffic. It has no setting of any sort; but, then, it is not the kind of monument that would fall in with an ordinary urban setting.

On a pylon or pedestal developed in the form of a cross is reared a replica in stone of a 9.2 howitzer pointing southwards. Three life-size bronze figures stand against the masonry face on three sides of the giant pedestal; on the west a driver, on the east a gunner and on the south a first-lieutenant. At the north end the bronze figure is of a gunner, lying dead upon a stone bearing an inscription that the roll of honour lies buried beneath it, and concluding with the words: "They will return nevermore but their glory will abide forever." At the foot of the pedestal runs the inscription "Here was a royal fellowship of death." On the east and west sides of the stone pylon are sculptures in low relief showing the regiment in action, and the dedication: "In proud remembrance of the forty-nine thousand and seventy-six of all ranks of the royal regiment of Artillery who gave their lives for king and country in the Great War, 1914-1918."

Only a few yards away from the Artillery memorial is that of the Machine Gun Corps. Surrounded on either side by machine guns crowned with laurels stands the heroic figure of David, modelled by the late F. Derwent Wood, R.A., with the right hand on his hip and holding Goliath's sword in the left. The attitude of this figure is full of grace and breathes a refined serenity. A brief history of the machine gun corps, describing its origin and giving the number of killed and wounded, is carved on the back of the pedestal, while on one face is the quotation, "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his tens of thousands," the aptest of its kind on any London memorial, and one without which the relevance of the David statue cannot, of course, be properly understood.

The next most ambitious army memorial is in strong contrast with these two in that it enjoys the finest position of any memorial in London. As one emerges from the arched passage through the Horse Guards from Whitehall the sight of the great tapering pylon of stone against the background of greenery is one that impresses itself deeply on the memory. Its effect is all

## WAR MEMORIALS

the stronger because London is so remarkably poor in monument sites of this kind; and the monument itself, though it cannot possibly be compared with the Cenotaph and lacks the singular descriptive interest of the Artillery sculpture, is worthy of its great dignity of position. The architect was Mr. H. Chalton Bradshaw, and the sculptor Mr. Gilbert Ledward. It is one of the few monuments provided with a really satisfactory base, ample but by no means excessive, and finely buttressed at each of its four corners. The pylon of Portland stone has panels in relief showing field and machine guns in action; against the face of the pylon are five figures of uniformed men in bronze, emblems of the five great regiments in the Brigade of Guards, in various attitudes of marching, with their respective badges carved on the stone base below.

On the pylon itself are carved the names of battles in which the Guards took part. The arrangement of these names on the great expanse of stone has been contrived with great skill, but what is even more distinguishing is the fact of their being there at all. There is surely no other pylon, obelisk, column or other abstract monumental structure in London the whole surface of which has been utilised as it is here. Mr. Bradshaw has proved that good lettering can be a decoration in itself, and that good decoration may be carried to greater length than people usually think safe. Next to the Guards memorial must be placed the Royal Air Force memorial on the Victoria Embankment. Designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield, R.A., it rises in the form of a stone obelisk surmounted by a gilt globe from which an eagle seems to be taking flight across the Thames. The sculptor was Mr. W. Reid Dick, A.R.A.

Three other memorials stand in close proximity to the Air Force obelisk. The first, known as the "Belgian" memorial, is the work of the same architect, with sculpture by the Belgian artist Victor Rousseau. The memorial is dedicated "To the British nation from the grateful people of Belgium, 1914-1918"; few dedicatory inscriptions are as brief and to the point. The central bronze figure is a mournful one clad in flowing draperies and accompanied by a naked youth and child. Justice and Honour are represented on either side. This memorial stands opposite Cleopatra's Needle; the other, the Submarine memorial, some distance farther east. It takes the form of a tablet let into the Embankment wall. Lastly, in the Victoria Embankment

## THE NAVAL DIVISION

Gardens is the memorial of the Imperial Camel Corps, the work of Major Cecil Brown. It represents a mounted private.

The Cavalry memorial, just inside the Hyde Park railings opposite the junction of Stanhope Street with Park Lane, London, is the last of the series of outstanding military memorials conceived in the grand manner. Its sculptor was Mr. Adrian Jones, author of the famous quadriga of horses on the top of Constitution Arch. On a stone screen which stands with its back to the Park Lane pavement are the names of the cavalry regiments of all parts of the Empire; between these columns of names are those of the great leaders, French, Haig, Allenby and Robertson, each surmounted by a field marshal's baton. The screen contains pairs of Doric columns in Portland stone which relate the whole memorial most adequately to the adjoining gate-lodges. In front of the screen is an equestrian statue of S. George with his sword raised up and the dead dragon coiled beneath his horse.

Among the less important memorials there is none to rival that of the Royal Naval Division. It is doubtful whether a more delightful form of memorial exists than that of a fountain. Perhaps the reason for there being only one such in the whole of the London area is to be found in London's atmosphere, which is not often such as to make a jet of water the grateful sight it ought to be. Nor can it be said that this one fountain, erected to the members of the Royal Naval Division, has been placed in the most favourable surroundings available. The bleak and windy corner of the Admiralty Buildings where it abuts on Horse Guards Parade is hardly the best spot that could have been chosen. The design of the fountain itself, which is by Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A., is, however, pleasing enough, though it suffers from the lack of an adequate base, and gives the appearance of being balanced on the edge of the parapet surrounding the Admiralty block.

Two other military memorials of not quite the same artistic merit, but equally important, are the Rifle Brigade memorial in Grosvenor Place, facing the junction of Hobart Place and Grosvenor Gardens, and the Royal Fusiliers memorial in Holborn, near Gray's Inn Road, London. The first of these, the work of Mr. John Tweed, the sculptor, consists of a stone screen forming a hollow quadrant of a circle. Raised on a pedestal in the centre of the screen is a private of the brigade in full modern kit; below, on the right, is an officer in uniform of the 1800

## WAR MEMORIALS

period; on the left, a private of 1806. The bronze statue of an infantryman which surmounts the Royal Fusiliers memorial is by Albert Toft. This is a London memorial, and commemorates the 22,000 men of the City of London Regiment who fell.

The other great metropolitan memorial is that erected to all London troops which stands in front of the Royal Exchange steps. A square column of stone bears an heraldic lion grasping a shield; on either side is a life-sized bronze statue of a private in uniform. The architect was Sir Aston Webb, P.R.A., and the sculptor Alfred Drury, R.A. The monument was clearly designed in such a manner as to cause the least possible interference both with passenger traffic near the Exchange and with the view of the columns of the portico. The striking memorial to the men of the mercantile marine and the fishing fleets is on Tower Hill, London, and was unveiled in 1928.

The Royal Army Medical Corps, in addition to making a much-needed gift of £10,000 to the Westminster Abbey restoration fund, has placed in the nave of the Abbey a stained glass window and a memorial tablet, and in the Chapter House a Golden Book containing the names of 743 officers and 6,130 men who fell. The tablet was designed by Mr. J. N. Comper. The countries in which the R.A.M.C. saw service are given at the foot of it.

About two hundred yards from the Abbey, in Queen Alexandra's Military Hospital, is the Roll of Honour, inscribed on an alabaster panel, of the English nurses who gave their lives in the war. The members of the military nursing service are also commemorated in the figure of S. George in the Kitchener Chapel in S. Paul's Cathedral. One more military memorial must be mentioned before this brief summary comes to a close. Near the boathouse in Battersea Park stands a group of three infantrymen on a circular pedestal. This fine piece of sculpture, the work of Mr. Eric Kennington, who himself gave the memorial, is dedicated to the men of the 24th Division.

A great part of the responsibility for commemorating the fallen has, of course, fallen upon the local government bodies of all parts of the kingdom. It cannot be said that those in the London area have given a greater proportion of notable works of art than most. The memorials they have erected excel rather in another direction. The function of the city and borough councils in the national body has been compared to that of women in the home; a not inconsiderable part of it is to minister

## HOSPITAL MEMORIALS

to the physical comfort and well-being of their people. Now, among the various ministrations of this kind, few have more dignity and beauty about them than the care of the sick. And so, among the memorials for which the local councils have been responsible none are more admirable than those connected with hospitals and nursing institutions. Of these a number take the form of admirable new buildings.

• The residents of populous Islington chose to commemorate the 1,337 men who fell in the war by presenting to the Royal Northern Hospital a casualty block and a nurses' home, both of which buildings had long been greatly needed. Other new hospital buildings were erected as war memorials by the boroughs of Woolwich, Ilford, and Walthamstow. The borough of Bermondsey, not content to serve the sick in a structure already existing, vested in the Charity Commissioners a special fund for the maintenance of a children's ward in Guy's Hospital. The hospital also contains a memorial to Guy's men in the form of an arch and screen, designed by Mr. W. J. Walford, which links up the two buildings of the hospital. In this screen are incorporated a number of pillars which belonged to the anatomical museum of Guy's Hospital, erected in 1828.

One more hospital memorial must be mentioned: it is that which stands in the grounds of the Metropolitan and City Police Orphanage at Strawberry Hill, Twickenham. It commemorates the 386 officers of the police force who fell in the war. Apart from this one example, all the hospital memorial buildings are due to the enterprise of various municipal authorities. Now, a hospital is a utility building, pure and simple, and were it not for the tablets and special memorials affixed to them, few people would recognize their special character.

There is another kind of building which, though it usually serves a very useful purpose apart from its existence as a memorial, yet strikes the beholder at once as having been put up for some special reason, to serve an unseen, spiritual purpose in addition to that of every day. This is the building that enhances and elaborates the entrance to another existing building. It may be merely a gateway or portico set up in the open air, or it may be a vestibule or lobby incorporated with the larger and older fabric. Such a lobby was put up by the borough of Stoke Newington adjoining its public library, whose readers all pass in front of the tablet bearing the names of the fallen,

## WAR MEMORIALS

claimed to be the most nearly complete of all lists compiled by the London boroughs. The lobby is built of brick, with doorways of Portland stone; its architect was Mr. Arthur G. Porri. Its two doors are glazed, and as the light within is kept burning all night, the tablet is always visible to passers-by.

Two of the great traffic undertakings whose headquarters are in London have erected memorials of a similar kind. The vestibule in the building at St. James's Park Station, London, is dedicated to the memory of the 1,450 employees of the Underground Railways, the L.G.O.C., and the associated tramways and equipment companies who fell in the war. In this vestibule, the work of Messrs. Richardson and Gill, architects, is a gilt bronze statue of S. George by Mr. P. G. Bentham, holding sword and shield at rest.

The memorial to the men of the Southern Railway is incorporated in the northern entrance to Waterloo Station, and is known as the Victory Arch. The arch is decorated with sculptured pylons flanking the gateway. On the left is Bellona, the goddess of war; on the right is a figure of Peace. On the cornice above the archway is a seated figure of Britannia with torch and trident. Under the arch are bronze tablets recording the names of 585 fallen employees. The arch is the work of Mr. J. R. Scott, chief architectural assistant to the railway.

Yet another memorial of a similar kind is that erected by Mill Hill School, London. The school Gate of Honour stands between the school house and the high road; it was designed by Mr. Stanley Hamp. A Corinthian arch of excellent proportions, it has a coffered ceiling of cedar wood enriched with colour. Six panels record the names of the 196 old boys who fell in the war. The memorial to the members of the British Medical Association takes the form of a pair of wrought iron gates designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A., the architect of the Association's building in Tavistock Place, to the forecourt of which the Gates of Honour give access.

Of the statues and street monuments erected by local government bodies it is impossible to speak at any length. Mention can only be made of the cenotaph at the junction of Jamaica Road and Union Road, Bermondsey; the cross in Sloane Square, Chelsea; the bronze Victory opposite the Metropolitan Water Board offices in Rosebery Avenue, Clerkenwell; the winged Victory at the eastern end of Shepherd's Bush Green, Hammer-

## KENSINGTON

smith; the clock tower facing the tube station at Golder's Green; the figure of Freedom in the Moat Garden, Fulham Palace Road; the obelisk in front of Jack Straw's Castle, Hampstead Heath; the cross at S. Mark's Church, Kennington Gate; the obelisk and lamps of remembrance in High Street, Lewisham; the bronze Christ in Limehouse Church garden, East India Dock Road; the bronze soldier in the Borough High Street, Southwark; and, lastly, the clock tower in Clapham Road, Stockwell.

In addition to their memorial at the junction of Church Street and Kensington High Street, designed by Major H. C. Corlette, and containing a fine female figure by Mr. F. W. Pomeroy, R.A., the royal borough of Kensington acquired a considerable area of land in North Kensington, which is now known as the Kensington War Memorial Recreation Ground. Included in the Camberwell Cemetery, in Forest Hill Road, is a portion known as the Soldiers' Corner, where a large number of soldiers and sailors lie buried. Here a Portland stone screen wall has been erected by the Imperial War Graves Commission. The Borough memorial is situated in the Soldiers' Corner, and takes the place of a stone cenotaph; a short distance away is the tablet to the twenty-two victims of German raids, including one during which one of the largest bombs dropped on London claimed a dozen victims. Other air raid memorials are to be found in the Poplar Recreation Ground, East India Dock Road, dedicated to eighteen children killed in an L.C.C. school, and on the façade of the Bedford Hotel in Southampton Row, Bloomsbury.

Of the monuments erected by large commercial undertakings perhaps the most interesting are those of the great railway companies, some of whose memorials in another manner have already been noticed. In the approach to Euston Station stands an obelisk designed by Mr. R. Wynn Owen, and dedicated to the memory of 3,719 employees of the London Midland and Scottish Railway. The obelisk is surrounded by four bronze figures representing the various branches of the forces: Navy, Infantry, Artillery, and Flying Corps. No individuals are named.

The Great Western memorial takes the form of a bronze statue by Mr. C. S. Jagger, the sculptor of the Artillery memorial, which is seen silhouetted against a stone screen on the main platform of Paddington Station. Most of the insurance companies have similarly distinguished themselves. The Pearl Assurance Company has a statue of S. George, by Sir George

## WAR MEMORIALS

Frampton, in its courtyard in High Holborn; the Commercial Union in Cornhill a bronze group by Mr. C. L. Hartwell, A.R.A., forming part of a whole designed by Sir John Simpson, the architect; the Prudential a winged group, by Mr. F. V. Blundstone, R.B.S., under the archway in Holborn Bars; the Eagle, Star and British Dominions a bronze tablet in their Threadneedle Street entrance hall. A happy inspiration has caused the Phoenix Assurance Company to put up two memorials side by side, one dedicated to the men who fell and the other to the survivors.

We have already glanced at a kind of memorial of which most people will wish there had been a good many more in London and elsewhere, the special embellishment of a room in an existing building. Few things could be, at the same time, more effective as memorials and more sensible and pleasing in themselves than these works which consist in the ennobling of something that is already with us, and is perhaps indispensable anyhow. Professor A. R. Richardson, who, with his partner, Mr. C. Lovett Gill, designed the Underground memorial vestibule, is responsible for another of such size and importance that it almost deserves to rank as a new building. This is the Great Hall of University College, which is a memorial both to members of that college and to members of University College Hospital Medical School. The shell of the building, which stands in Gordon Square, is that of the old church of All Saints, erected in 1846 from the design of Professor Donaldson, who was the first professor of architecture in the college.

A gallery has been inserted and a coffered ceiling of unpolished cedar wood applied to the old roof beams; these and every lesser detail of the new internal finishings are as delicately adjusted as anything of the kind in London. From the outside of the building the bell-turret and one or two adjuncts equally ecclesiastical were taken away, and the Arms of the University were inserted in the pediment over the entrance.

Another distinguished interior memorial is the oak screen and stained glass windows designed for Westminster School by Sir Robert Lorimer, the architect of the Scottish war memorial at Edinburgh. The screen, which occupies the whole of the lower part of the wall at the south end of the school, is pierced by two doorways in which new oak doors have been substituted for the old ones, and which are surmounted by trophy panels composed of gas masks, Lewis guns and other emblems. Each of the four

## ERIC GILL'S WORK

pairs of pilasters embraces a long panel carrying its due share of the 225 names of fallen Westminsters. In the three windows, the work of Mr. Douglas Strachan, who was also associated with Sir Robert Lorimer at Edinburgh, the royal arms and the arms of Westminster are flanked by the arms of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, Christ Church and Trinity, with which Westminster School is particularly connected.

. Of the many hundred mural tablets scattered about London only a very few can be referred to here. Many of them are well designed and bear inscriptions incomparably better than they could have been at the opening of the century, before the modern movement in lettering and calligraphy had achieved any noticeable result. Mr. Eric Gill is responsible for at least three of the most meritorious. In conjunction with Mr. Charles Holden, the architect, he designed the beautiful tablet, surmounted by an ever-burning lamp in a bronze casket, in the forecourt of the building of the Overseas League in Park Place, behind Piccadilly.

Mr. Gill also, with his own hand, carved on a pilaster in the portico of the British Museum the names of eleven members of the British Museum who gave their lives, and below these a wreath and the following beautiful lines by Mr. Laurence Binyon, who is an officer of the Museum :

They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old  
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn ;  
At the going down of the sun and in the morning  
We will remember them.

The same artist carved the tablet at the Victoria and Albert Museum. His brother, Mr. Macdonald Gill, is responsible for the stone panel in the entrance of the banking offices of Baring Brothers in Bishopsgate. Amongst the names on this panel is that of a managing director of the bank, Mr. Patrick Houston Shaw-Stewart, a brilliant scholar who became a fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.

Another admirably executed panel is that put up to the design of Mr. Laurence Turner in the Lombard Street head office of Barclays Bank. This panel is in three sections, the two lateral ones bearing the names of men employed by two banks incorporated with Barclays towards the end of the war. Mr. Henry Rushbury, A.R.A., is responsible for the tablet in ebony and ivory put up by Lloyds Bank in the Lombard Street office, and Mr. T. B. Whinney, the architect, for that at the Midland Bank

## WAR MEMORIALS

in Threadneedle Street. Professor Beresford Pite designed the marble slab in the entrance to the Board of Education offices; Mr. W. Reid Dick, R.A., sculptor of the Kitchener memorial in S. Paul's, the tablet surmounted by a figure of Icarus in the offices of Rolls-Royce, Ltd.

Finally, mention must be made of the memorial tablet, designed by Mr. F. Arnold Wright, in the Public Trustee Office, Kingsway. On this tablet, which is surmounted by a bronze statuette, is inscribed Valiant-for-Truth's farewell speech from Pilgrim's Progress.

Then said he My 'Sword I give to him that shall succeed me in my Pilgrimage and my Courage and Skill to him that can get it. My Marks and Scars I carry with me to be a witness for me that I have fought His Battles Who now will be my Rewarder. . . . So he passed over. and all the Trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

These fine sentences from Bunyan's great allegory sum up the aspirations of most of the memorials of the Great War that are found in London and the neighbourhood.

### THE LARGE CITIES AND TOWNS

The outstanding fact about the war memorials set up by the big towns is that no one of them is exactly like another. This is remarkable, because the different forms available are really very few in number. The cenotaph, the memorial hall, the obelisk, arch, colonnade and cross about exhaust the list. Yet in the treatment of these forms so vast a variety and ingenuity has been shown that one could wander from town to town and find in each a wholly individual monument.

To a large extent this is due to the unstinted care and forethought lavished on the preparation of these memorials. In some cases the preparatory planning occupied years. In a few cases it has not yet come to full fruition. It was not merely a matter of collecting public subscriptions and devising a suitable monument. In several cases where the funds allowed or the generosity of a wealthy citizen supplemented them, the actual memorial was only a part of a scheme of civic improvement necessitated by the neglect suffered during the war years. Every town had to face its post-war problems; some found at least a partial solution of them in the memorial scheme.

## NORWICH AND COLCHESTER

Thus at Norwich, where a total between £150,000 and £160,000 was subscribed, the cost of the monument itself was about £3,000. The balance was handed to the Norfolk and Norwich and the Jenny Lind Hospitals. At Ipswich the practical part of the war memorial is a new wing that has been added on the old military barracks land to the East Suffolk and Ipswich Hospital. This new building has a unique feature in its isolation block on the cubicle principle, intended for those cases which occur in a general hospital and require isolation.

For some time after the armistice very great distress, arising from unemployment and heavy taxation, was experienced at Wolverhampton, and it was decided to allocate 10 per cent. of the total subscription to the relief of necessitous widows and other dependents of Wolverhampton men who had died for their country, and the balance—excluding the money for the memorial (an obelisk) itself—to a general charitable fund and the provision of children's playing fields. At West Hartlepool the considerable balance left over from the splendid and impressive obelisk went to the erection of sixteen houses and a reading room in Ryehill Gardens. These are known as The Hartlepoons War Memorial Homes and the Crosby Homes and are available for natives of the two Hartlepoons. The cenotaph in Rickerby Park, Carlisle, makes one memorial with the park itself (90 acres of fine pasture and trees) and a handsome new footbridge built across the river Eden and giving access to the park from the centre of the city.

At Colchester improved social amenities have been made possible and an unequalled site for the memorial itself secured by the munificence of the late Viscount Cowdray, who gave the historic Colchester Castle and its lands to the town. The construction of the new Cowdray Crescent off the High Street has not only provided an excellent setting for the monument, but has furnished a dignified approach to the park and castle. A third part of the Colchester scheme consists of a new memorial block at the Essex County Hospital.

It can be said that Worcester's main memorial is wholly of a utilitarian character. It consists of twelve houses erected in Gheluvelt Park for disabled soldiers and sailors. But there are tablets in cases at the Guildhall containing the names of all the Worcester citizens who served abroad. Turning now to actual monuments, attention must first be directed to those erected for Scotland and Wales.

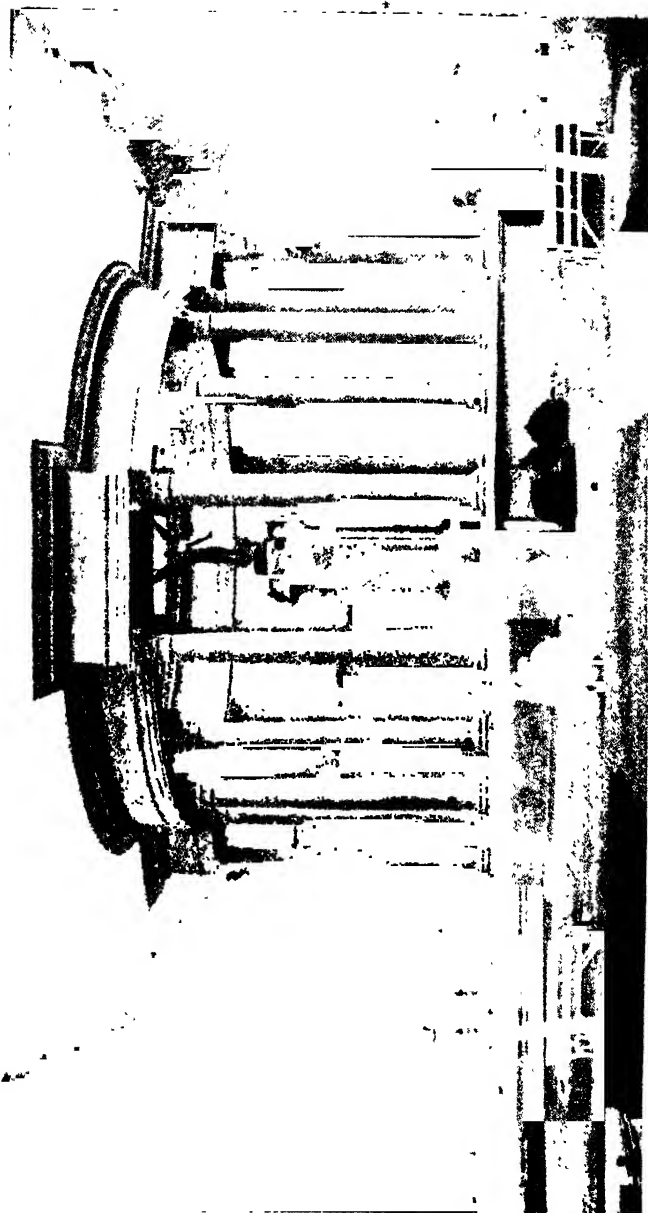
## WAR MEMORIALS

The genesis of the great Scottish national war memorial is unusually interesting. Nearly a year before the armistice the government intimated that after the war only a comparatively small part of Edinburgh Castle would be needed as barracks for troops. It was then decided to utilise the vacant portion partly for the purpose of a national war memorial. This has involved not merely the building of a shrine, but the complete transformation of the old barracks and the elimination of various mean and unsightly buildings that stood to the north of these. The rectangular block of barracks has become a Gallery of Honour, and the shrine itself has been built out from its north side.

All about the base of the north-west side of the building clusters the rugged, uneven surface of the living rock, and it is noteworthy that the granite floor of the shrine itself has been broken to allow of the same element peeping through. The demolitions have uncovered a stretch of rocky ground to the edge of the peak on this side, but north and east of the shrine there is a semicircle of green turf which relieves the austerity.

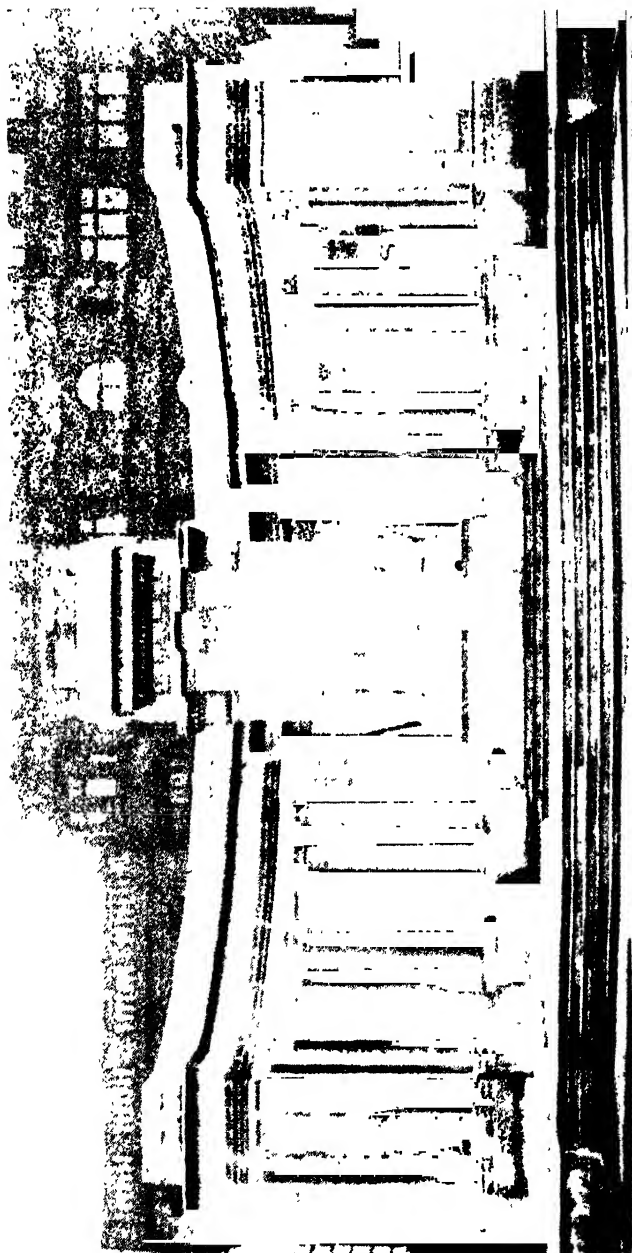
The memorial was designed and carried out by Sir Robert Lorimer, the famous Scottish architect, in what is called the Scottish baronial style. The walls of the shrine, between their tall and handsome buttresses, are built of red and brown rubble stones, roughly fashioned in harmony with the old stones of the existing building. The architectural ornament is particularly simple and bold. Within the building the same characteristics are preserved in the solid construction and round arches; but the interior is enriched by a wealth of historical and symbolic detail in stone, bronze, wood and glass—the work of Pilkington Jackson, Mrs. Meredith Williams, Douglas Strachan, and others.

The Hall of Honour is entered from the south through a noble porch; the shrine on the farther side being reached by way of a lofty arch with a very beautiful wrought-iron gate and impressive sculptures in the recesses of its sides. The shrine has seven tall stained-glass windows illustrating the birth of War (the killing of Abel), its overthrow, and its replacement by Peace and Praise. Below each window is a bronze bas-relief, and these panels are continuous all round the interior and illustrate the various types of Scottish soldiers and sailors who fought in the war. This bronze record is amazingly comprehensive. Not only are all the Scottish regiments here, but also other units in which Scotsmen served, the women's services, and even animals and pigeons.

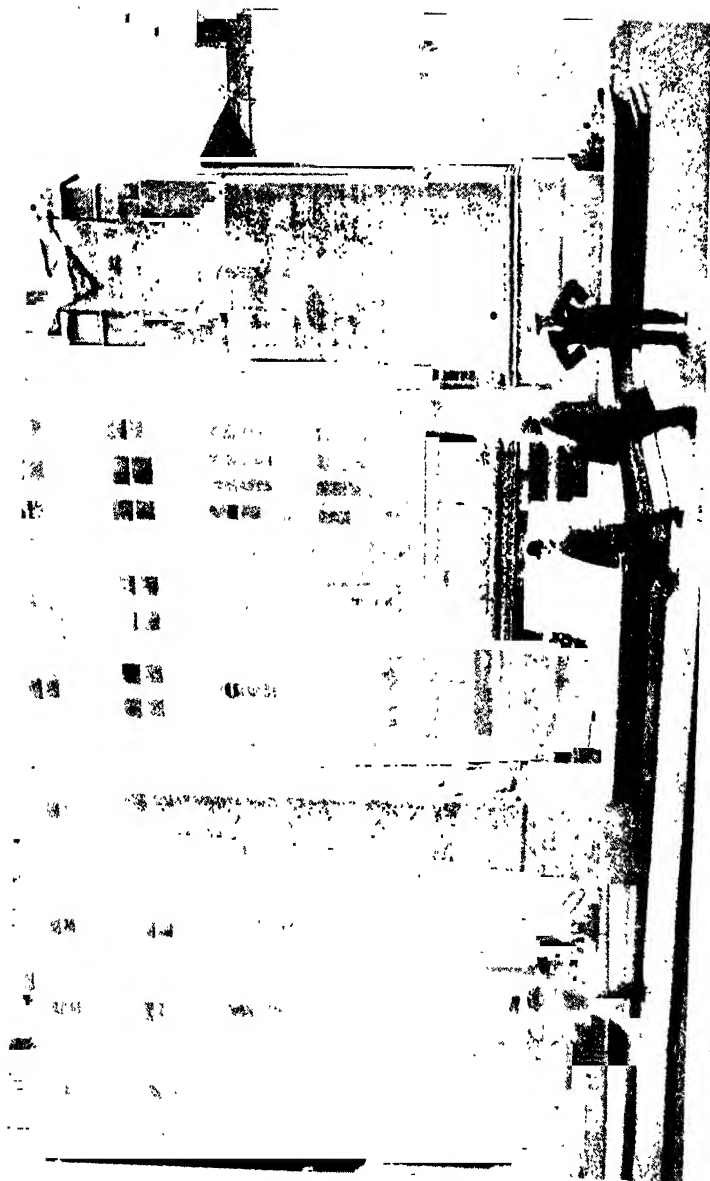


**TO THE SONS OF WALES.** The Welsh national memorial at Cardiff stands in a beautiful sylvan setting, where the grace and poetry of its design can be appreciated by the thousands of Cardiff's citizens. On the summit of the centre-piece a great bronze Messenger of Victory lifts his sword; the three porches projecting from the circular colonnade stand for the three ways by which victory was accomplished—the sea, the land, and the air.

*IRON-SCULPTURE*

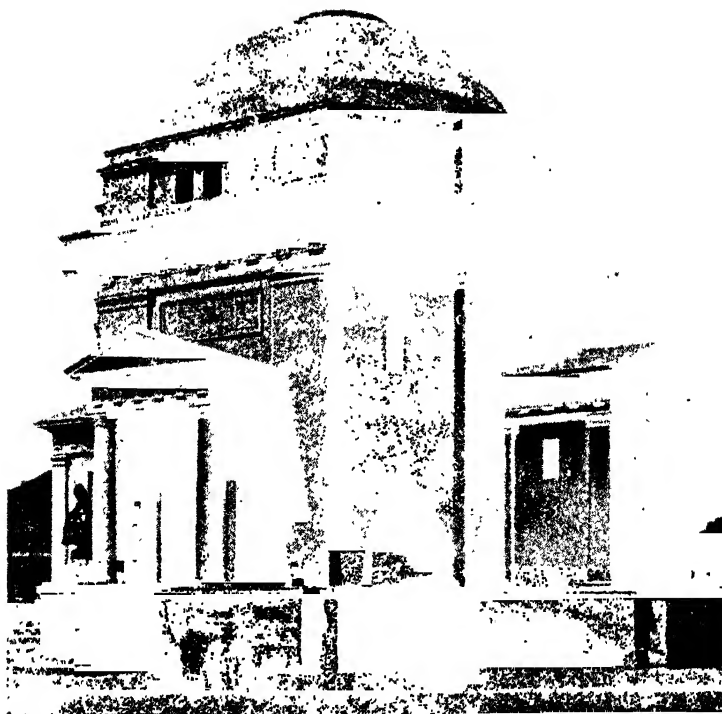


**THE GREAT TRIBUTE OF BELFAST CITY.** This noble memorial, standing on the west side of the City Hall commemorates 16,000 Belfast men who went forth to battle. In all, 40,000 Irishmen, northerners and southerners, gave up their lives in the war. Dublin has its own Cenotaph, and Trinity College in that city has its Memorial Hall. *H. A. G. Baird*



MANCHESTER'S FINE PYLON IN ST. PETER'S SQUARE WITH STONE OF REMEMBRANCE

*Dixon-Scott*



**BIRMINGHAM'S HALL OF MEMORY.** The great city of the Midlands sent more than 150,000 men and women to the war, of whom 12,320 sacrificed their lives. The war memorial is a Hall of Memory, in the Roman-Doric style, facing Broad Street. Fine statues at the corners symbolise navy, army, air force and women's services. The summit is a dome lighted by a yellow and white glass window.

## THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL

From the heavily ribbed vault is suspended a great and impressive figure of the archangel Michael, the judge and witness of the triumph of righteousness over wrong. On the floor of the shrine below this figure is a steel casket on a solid rectangular pedestal, in which lie written the hundred thousand names of those who gave up their lives. This casket was given by the king and queen, and is embellished with figures of S. Margaret and S. Andrew modelled in iron, together with angels on the sides. The Hall of Honour is divided into pillared arcades, in every arch of which is a memorial to a Scottish regiment; the navy and air force being represented at the two ends.

The eight windows are of pale glass, enabling one to read the many inscriptions on the walls and the records of the dead on the bronze lecterns in the regimental bays. The air force inscription is striking: "I bare you on eagle's wings, and brought you unto myself." Some of the window designs are partly military in character; others symbolise the Four Seasons. Every regiment commemorated in the bays was encouraged to indicate any feature in its story it wished emphasised, and this wish was carried out as far as was consistent with the unity of the whole scheme. Thus the Royal Scots have been able to record a strength of no fewer than 35 battalions and a roll of honour containing the names of 583 officers and 10,630 other ranks. The memorial has been described as "a great act of reverence and of love that will hearten generations to come."

The Welsh national war memorial stands in the central grass plot of the Alexandra Gardens at Cardiff. The monument itself consists of a fountain surrounded by a circular colonnade. The whole is enclosed by a court with a pedestal wall, the floor being sunk 2 feet 3½ inches below the ground level, and approached by five steps. This allows for stone seats for the convenience of visitors who desire to contemplate the memorial in privacy.

The name given to the selected design was "Triodos," a Greek word signifying the meeting of three ways; in this case, the sea, the land, and the air, by which victory was won. In accordance with this conception there are three porches in the colonnade, projecting 8 feet 3 inches beyond it, inscribed as follows: For the sailor, "Dros For de Droes I Farw (Over the sea went he to die)"; for the soldier, "Ger y Ffor yn Gorffwyso (Nigh the trench-resting)"; and for the airman, "Yn y Nwyfre yn Hofran (Grappling in the central blue)." Against the drum

## WAR MEMORIALS

of the fountain and opposite each porch are corresponding figures in bronze, each 6 feet 6 inches high; and on the summit above these a great bronze messenger of victory lifting the hilt of his sword. The latter is in the form of a cross. On the entablature below the figure is inscribed the promise, "In hoc signo vinces (In this sign thou shalt conquer)." At the base of the Victory are three bronze dolphins, and at the bases of the warrior figures three lions' heads, from the mouths of which the fountain plays into three separate basins forming a trefoil, the lowest basin being 20 feet in diameter and one foot below the floor level of the enclosed court.

Externally, the entablature of the colonnade between the porches is inscribed in bold, incised lettering, "I Feibion Cymru A Roddes Eu Bywyd Dros Eu Gwlad Yn Rhyfel, 1914-1918 (To the sons of Wales who gave their lives for their Country in the War, 1914-1918)"; and the unbroken cornice within bears an impressive inscription composed by Sir Henry Newbolt: "Remember here in Peace those who in Tumult of War by Sea, on Land, in Air, for Us and for Our Victory Endured unto Death."

The outside diameter of the colonnade is 45 feet 9 inches, and its height is 36 feet 3½ inches from the enclosed court. Its plain circular columns are crowned by Corinthian capitals, and the whole is built of Portland stone, the dim whiteness of which enhances the simplicity and classic beauty of a temple to the dead that is likewise a place of remembrance and meditation for the living. The designer was Mr. J. N. Compton, while Mr. A. Bertram Pegram was responsible for the bronzes and Mr. W. D. Gough for the stonework.

The list of local, as opposed to national, memorials is headed, so far as architectural importance is concerned, by the striking examples of those at Birmingham and Loughborough. The city of Birmingham sent more than 150,000 of its men and women to the war. Thirty-five thousand were wounded. Twelve thousand three hundred and twenty sacrificed their lives. The Birmingham Hall of Memory has been set up as "a temple of tender memory" of those who are gone. It is an octagonal shrine in the Roman-Doric style, 35 feet wide, with a main entrance of outer and inner bronze doors, facing Broad Street. Built of Portland stone upon a deep Cornish granite base, the main structure rises from a podium or platform, at the four corners of which are four statues in bronze, larger than life size,

## THE LOUGHBOROUGH CARILLON

symbolising the navy, the army, the air force, and the women's services. The summit is a dome lighted by a yellow and white glass window.

Within, the flooring is of vari-tinted marble. In the centre stands a sarcophagus-shaped shrine (of Siena marble), upon which rests a glass and bronze casket containing a long illuminated roll of honour. The latter was designed and painted by Mr. Sidney H. Meteyard, and its finely decorated title page bears this touching inscription in letters of gold: "There was None that gave Them an ill word, for They feared God greatly. . . . So They passed over, and all the Trumpets sounded for Them on the Other Side." The whole building and lay-out was designed and supervised by Messrs. S. N. Cooke and W. Norman Twist, and the cost was met entirely by voluntary contributions.

The tower and carillon at Loughborough is in several respects the most unique war monument in England. By the carillon it is directly associated with Belgium, the historic home of bell music; indeed, the Chevalier Jef Denyn, the famous *carillonneur* of Malines, was the first to play the Loughborough carillon after the opening of the tower in 1923, and in 1924 several recitals were given by another Belgian expert, M. Anton Brees, of Antwerp; while the present Loughborough *carillonneurs* were trained at the Malines Carillon School. Secondly, the craft of bell-founding has been peculiarly the local industry of Loughborough since the middle of last century, when the town succeeded Leicester as the bell-founding centre of the county. Great Paul, at S. Paul's, London, the largest in England, weighing 16½ tons, was cast at the Loughborough foundry in 1881.

The building of the tower was almost entirely the work of local firms with local materials. It stands in the Queen's Park, and on two sides is an open square of grass that accommodates thousands of people at the memorial services and carillon recitals. It is built on a deep concrete foundation, the base, of Portland stone, being 26 feet square and 16 feet high, and the full height of the tower from the ground to the top of the cross at the summit being 151 feet. From the entrance floor the main gallery is reached by a spiral staircase of concrete. The great steel frame containing the 47 bells of the carillon is half in the main gallery and half in the chamber below, and the clavier or keyboard from which the carillon is played is just beneath. In the main gallery, where two tiers of the smaller bells are housed,

## WAR MEMORIALS

there are openings through which their sound passes direct to the outer air; whereas the other two tiers of larger and more powerful bells are more closely enclosed, this arrangement being designed to equalise the effect of the instrument as a whole and prevent the larger bells from overwhelming the smaller. Built to the design of Mr. Walter Tapper, F.R.I.B.A., this memorial cost £20,000, a considerable portion of which amount was raised by organized weekly collections in the works and factories.

At Aberdeen the memorial court has been incorporated with the long-desired extension of the Art Gallery, and forms part of that building. It is an octagonal structure in the Renaissance style, of the native granite, and is crowned by a lofty dome supported by four arches. Within, the floor, architraves and dado are of Italian marble. On the north side is a recessed marble shrine, where a bronze casket contains the Roll of Honour, printed on vellum. Nearly £80,000 was expended upon these extensions, a large proportion of the cost being borne by the late Viscount Cowdray, who made himself responsible for the hall and art museum abutting on Blackfriars Street. The hall itself is named after him. The architects were Messrs. A. M. and A. G. Mackenzie.

A very large number of the principal towns possess memorials that were inspired by the famous Cenotaph in Whitehall. Manchester and Liverpool claim first attention in this group. Sir Edwin Lutyens himself designed the Manchester Memorial (of Portland stone), which stands on the site of the foundations of old S. Peter's Church, in S. Peter's Square. The central feature is a rectangular pylon, 32 feet in height, crowned by a sculptured bier containing the figure of a fighting man with his kit at the sides and feet and a great-coat over the whole. On each of the long sides just below this is carved the arms of Manchester.

This memorial is one of the few in the kingdom that have included the device of the Great War Stone—the Stone of Remembrance which is an almost universal feature of the British cemeteries throughout the fighting area. Here the splendid one-piece stone, 12 feet in length, is placed on a slightly raised platform just eastward of the base of the pylon, which in turn rests upon a surround of three steps. On the stone is cut the famous motto "Their Name Liveth for Evermore."

A memorial to the men of the 7th battalion of the Manchester Regiment was unveiled in Whitworth Park, Manchester, on

## LIVERPOOL AND GLASGOW

October 7, 1933. A remarkable fact is that it is the second memorial to the men; for one had been erected in their drill hall some ten years before, but the War Office sold the building, and the memorial could not be removed.

The Liverpool cenotaph has a length of 35 feet, width 7 feet 6 inches, and height 11 feet, and it rests on a low platform with terminal blocks at each corner and steps between the blocks at the short ends of the platform. Slightly recessed in the long faces of the cenotaph are two bronze relief panels, one on each face; soldiers and sailors in movement in the one, and a course of mourners in the other. "A Great Company and a Mighty Army" and "And the Victory that day was turned into Mourning unto all the People"—so run the respective inscriptions. The end elevations of the monument are plain except for circular shields bearing the arms of Liverpool, with festoons of immortelles and the dates 1914-1919 inscribed.

In the array of cenotaphs there is nothing finer than that provided by the great commercial centre of Glasgow. It has been placed in a small court, 57 feet by 30 feet, with low walls, immediately opposite to the imposing official entrance to the Municipal Buildings, facing west. On the east side, breaking the wall at the back, the cenotaph rises to a height of 32 feet. Immediately in front of it is the Great War Stone, and beyond that the centre of the court is covered by a great slab of granite inscribed with a palm leaf and the word "Peace." The west ends of the court wall are finished with monumental lions—symbols of empire on guard. The court is raised on the north and south sides, and the seats which are set against the walls on these sides are approached by three shallow steps. Messrs. John Burnet, Son and Dick, of Glasgow, were the architects. Mr. Ernest Gillick and William Morris and Co., both of London, were responsible respectively for the sculpture and bronze work. The total cost was about £21,000. At Southampton, Portsmouth and Bradford the names of the dead are on the monument.

The Great War stone, rather than the actual cenotaph, is the central feature of Sir Edwin Lutyens's memorial at Norwich. Within this is deposited a copper case containing the names of the fallen. Of the Ipswich memorial—very finely displayed in Christchurch Park—the most distinctive feature is the large bronze trophy at the foot of the cenotaph. The very impressive monument in Rickerby Park, Carlisle, was designed by Sir Robert

## WAR MEMORIALS

Lorimer, and commemorates the sacrifice of 10,000 officers and men from the city and from the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland. At Dundee the pyramidal cenotaph on the hill known as the Law is a landmark for miles around. It is of Cornish granite, with a bronze brazier.

Two capitals decided in favour of an Arch of Remembrance. At Nottingham the memorial stands on a site in the rock garden and recreation grounds, and consists of a triple gateway of Portland stone flanked on either side by terrace colonnades overlooking the river Trent and the rock garden.

Sir Edwin Lutyens's arch in Victoria Park, Leicester, possesses much of the simplicity of the London Cenotaph, and—from the nature of its setting—a reverential solitariness. It stands at the summit of the approach from Lancaster Road—the monument has been called Lancaster Gate.

The flat arch of the Guildford war memorial forms a new and effective entrance to the castle grounds. At Canterbury, York, Chester, Hereford and Winchester the Cross is the adopted form of memorial. There are two such monuments at Canterbury: the City war memorial on the site of the old Butter Market, opposite the Christ Church Gate, and the Kent County Memorial, on the Bowling Green within the cathedral precincts. Near by, in a bastion of the city wall, stands a cenotaph accompanied by a tablet to the fallen. At York is a cross of victory designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens. But more notable than this, in a way, is the women's memorial to Women's war service. This is the famous Five Sisters window in the minster. A sculptured emblem of Victory is the main feature of the memorials at Leeds, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Exeter and Colchester.

Exeter possesses both town and county memorials. The bronze Victory in Queen Street—trampling on the Dragon of Tyranny and Wrong—represents the town memorial, and the county memorial is a Dartmoor granite Cross erected on the green opposite the west front of the cathedral.

Newcastle has a plethora of war monuments. The "Victory" feature occurs in the city war memorial in Eldon Square—an equestrian group in bronze of S. George slaying the Dragon. S. George, one should mention, is the patron saint of the Northumberland Fusiliers. Another S. George group has been erected at Barras Bridge in honour of the 6th (City) Battalion of the same regiment; and a window in the cathedral has been dedicated

## LINCOLN AND BEDFORD

to the 1st and 2nd battalions. In the cathedral, too, is a memorial to Brigadier-General J. F. Riddell, who was killed at Ypres in 1915, and a tablet to fallen members of the Durham and Newcastle diocesan association of change ringers. Finally, there is a fine monument at Barras Bridge, presented by Sir George Renwick, Bt., of which the feature is a group of Tyneside workers flocking to the colours.

• There remain a few memorials that hardly fall within any of the above classifications. At Lincoln is a striking piece of work in the form of a late Gothic monument, of hard white Ancaster stone, built to the design of Mr. Montague Hall. Derby's memorial is unique in concentrating on the sacrifice of the mothers. It represents a British mother and her child, against a cruciform background, and is the conception of Mr. Charles Thompson, of Derby; the sculpture having been carried out by Mr. A. G. Walker. A feature of the Dover memorial is the six bronze urns that are sunk into the granite for the reception of flowers.

• At Bedford the choice has fallen on a statue of Justice in white marble—the work of Mr. C. S. Jagger—and Brighton's memorial consists of a colonnade of Portland stone with pergola wings, in the northern enclosure of Old Steine Gardens. The Plymouth memorial stands on the outskirts of the Hoe and is a semi-circular enclosure built of grey Cornish granite, with a granite pylon and bronze female figure as its central figure. The ground plan at Salisbury is also semicircular, but with a wider sweep. The memorial faces the Blue Boar Row and at the back are the Herbert statue and the council rooms. Its central feature is a bronze group, on a pediment, representing war and victory.

## TOWNS AND VILLAGES

The war shrines and memorials erected in towns and villages throughout Britain are more intimate than those amid the hurly-burly of the great cities. They rise more often on holy ground, are more often adapted for quiet meditation; and for many Nature has afforded an unsurpassably beautiful setting. Their variety is as striking as their number, from the simple niche in the sequestered church porch to the elaborate symbolical group set amid stately trees, with green garths, and pools that mirror the surrounding scene.

## WAR MEMORIALS

In one Highland glen is a rough block of granite with the figures 1914-1918 as sufficient inscription. There are Celtic, Gothic and Eleanor crosses, calvaries that recall the wayside shrines of Brittany, obelisks, columns, cenotaphs modelled on that in Whitehall, pylons, towers, avenues and circles of trees, roads of remembrance, rest gardens, bells, at least one bridge, parks, churches, chapels, libraries, lych gates, college cloisters, and little temples reminiscent of the choragic monument of Lysicrates in ancient Athens.

Many are dedicated specifically to units of the three Services. Numerous also are those in memory of old boys of our public schools. Actors, hill-climbers, cyclists, rowing-men, cricketers, printers have special memorials; and in industrial centres are many erected by great business firms. One of the memorials to railwaymen carries its message through the heart of the countryside, the L.N.E.R. engine Valour.

Sometimes the monument, a clock tower, for example, bears witness to the loss of a dearly loved son; sometimes it is a clan that is commemorated. As proving that gratitude is greater than granite, and in anticipation of the Haig Memorial Homes, are cottages and clubs for ex-Service men; Papworth village settlement, near Cambridge; the British Legion village at Preston Hall, near Maidstone, and other refuges for the disabled; memorial hospitals and hospital wards; convalescent homes and scholarships for the sons and daughters of the fallen.

Many a little village has its printed roll of honour, usually prepared by the pastor, simple in form but as reverently produced and carefully treasured as that great tome of vellum with its 40,000 names which is enshrined in Liverpool Cathedral, or the noble memorial volumes of Eton and Harrow, Rugby and Winchester, and others of our public schools, whose collective service is commemorated by Mr. C. F. Kernot. One memorial volume is devoted to a patriotic Dorset family, the Popes of Wrackelford, and for this Thomas Hardy wrote a foreword.

In Kent, whose associations are so closely knit with historical episodes in our island story, is the memorial of the Royal Engineers at Chatham. An obelisk to the Dover Patrol overlooks the Channel from St. Margaret's Bay. The road from the promenade to the harbour at Folkestone, along which so many thousands passed to their unknown graves, is flanked with bushes of rosemary. At Ditton Corner, on the Maidstone Road, is a tall

## SUSSEX AND SURREY

archway of brick enclosing below its tiled roof a crucifix which is silhouetted against the sky with deep effect, especially in twilight. In the hilltop village of Loose, near Maidstone, is a Boy Scouts' memorial. At the base of a beautiful cross at Chislehurst, designed by Sir R. Blomfield, R.A., are the words: "'Tis not the whole of Life to live, Nor all of Death to die."

Tonbridge School has a Gate of Remembrance through which the boys pass daily in silence. In addition to the cross under the shadow of Christ's Church, Shooter's Hill, on the old Dover Road, a curious memorial is an ancient milestone, the eighth from London. Broken by a steam-roller, its pieces were rescued by the Rev. Dr. T. B. Willson, and in its restored form it bears the legend: "130 miles to Ypres; in defending the salient our casualties were 90,000 killed; 70,500 missing; 410,000 wounded." In St. George's Garrison Church, Woolwich, is a memorial in coloured marble to the Old Contemptibles.

Of the Sussex villages, Balcombe has a Victory Hall with frescoes of War and Peace. Perhaps the most striking in the county is the Indian memorial on the South Downs near Patcham. It bears this inscription in English and Hindustani:

To the memory of the Indian soldiers who gave their lives in the service of their King-Emperor in the Great War this monument, erected on the site of the funeral pyre where the Indians and Sikhs who died in hospital at Brighton passed through the fire, is in grateful admiration and brotherly affection dedicated.

Specially typical of the village memorials of Surrey are the Celtic cross at Frimley and the Early English sandstone cross and memorial church window at Shere, the cross designed by Mr. Spencer Munt. Charterhouse, near Godalming, has a beautiful Gothic memorial chapel, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A. At Reigate, in memory of the men of Reigate and Redhill, is a fine bronze group symbolical of the struggle of mankind against the manifold difficulties of life. The sculptor is Mr. Richard R. Goulden. At Limpsfield the printers have a memorial at the Caxton Convalescent Home. Of Purley's two memorials one is at Upper Woodcote. It is a road, a third of a mile long, named Promenade de Verdun. For it ten tons of soil came from a sacred spot near Armentières, and from this soil two sacks of shrapnel and pieces of bullets were sifted before it

## WAR MEMORIALS

was laid down. Each tree in the road is growing in a commingling of British and French earth. At the far end of the road, about 400 feet above sea-level, rises a white obelisk of Cornish granite inscribed "Aux soldats de France morts glorieusement pendant la Grande Guerre." At Woking the boys of the Gordon Boys' Home have built a memorial workshop.

Nothing more serenely beautiful has been designed than the cloisters in memory of the old boys of Winchester School. The long and nobly-worded inscription, in letters of solid stone, set in knapped flints, has this sacred exordium :

Thou, therefore, for whom they died, seek not thine own,  
but serve as they served, and in peace or in war bear thyself  
as Christ's soldier, gentle in all things, valiant in action,  
steadfast in adversity.

Like the memorial gate at Tonbridge, the Wykehamist cloisters are a place of silence and of inspiration rather than of gloom. The green, open garth is fringed with flowers. The cloisters were designed by Mr. Herbert Baker, A.R.A. In the memorial chapel of Christchurch Priory are the lines: •

Ye who live on in English pastures green  
Remember us, and think what might have been.

Notable in both character and setting are the wayside cross on Hazeley Down, near Winchester, the memorial at the Hampshire village of Blackmore, near Selborne, and the Forster memorial tower and chapel at Exbury in the New Forest.

In the new Presbyterian church of S. Andrew, Aldershot, designed by Sir Robert Lorimer, A.R.A., is a tablet to the memory of the soldiers of the Church of Scotland and kindred churches throughout the Empire. Cricketers have a special memorial at Hambleden. Romsey has a memorial park. Basingstoke has acquired Goldings House and gardens as a memorial park and adorned it with a fine gateway and a beautiful monument of Portland stone surmounted by a bronze figure of Victory. The memorial stones at Odiham to two Frenchmen who died as prisoners during the Napoleonic wars are still kept in repair, and may be mentioned in connexion with the gateway at Princeton, on Dartmoor, in memory of American prisoners of war who died there in 1813-1815. Newport, Isle of Wight, has a cross in St. Thomas's Square. On the face of the hills of Fovant, near Salisbury, in Wiltshire, troops from all over the Empire carved a remarkable series of regimental badges.

## DORSET AND OXFORD

In the old-world village of Corfe Castle, Dorset, is a war memorial arch, designed by Professor F. H. Newbery, with this inscription, one of the few examples of the use of dialect: "Do'set men don't sheame their kind." For the village of Mells, in Somerset, Sir E. Lutyens has designed a striking symbolical column. In the same county Downside School, near Bath, has a beautiful cross facing the main school against a background of trees. In Gloucestershire, Cheltenham College memorial is in the form of cloisters linking the chapel and school buildings. In Worcestershire, Dudley's memorial clock tower, which was opened by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, October 16, 1928, is notable for the inscription specially written by Thomas Hardy:

If you think, have a kindly thought ;  
If you speak, speak generously  
Of those who as heroes fought  
And died to keep you free.

A beautiful inscription is on the sundial set up at Youlbury, in Oxfordshire, by Sir Arthur Evans in "loving memory of a youthful band who played as children among these woods and heaths." At Henley the Phyllis Court Club has a memorial of which two pairs of gates and seven lamps from Grosvenor House form part. The colleges at Oxford and Cambridge have remembered their fallen; these memorials take various forms and in some cases include scholarships. The fine library at Trinity College, Oxford, may be mentioned.

The Royal Military College at Sandhurst, Berkshire, has renovated its memorial chapel. University College, Reading, has a clock tower designed by Mr. H. Maryon. Wellington College has built a memorial chapel. At Beaumont College, Old Windsor, is a cenotaph designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., which is both beautiful in itself and in a beautiful setting. The memorial archway at Radley College on the Thames is the work of Sir T. G. Jackson.

In Buckinghamshire we come again under the spell of a great public school, Eton, where four beautiful tapestries, designed by Mrs. Akers-Douglas, woven at the Morris works at Merton Abbey, and representing the life and sacrifice of S. George, have been placed on the walls of the chapel as part of the war memorial to old Etonians. High Wycombe has a memorial hospital, Lane End a village hall, and Aylesbury a cross of sacrifice. Harrow

## WAR MEMORIALS

School has new memorial buildings with a shrine. Harrow town memorial is a gracefully sculptured cross designed by Mr. W. D. Caroe. In Hertfordshire there are notable school memorials at Berkhamsted and Bishop's Stortford, the fifteenth century wall fountain from Florence at Little Gadsden, and Watford's peace memorial hospital with three symbolical figures designed by Mrs. Mary Pownell Bromet. Of the memorials in Essex, special mention must be made of the beautiful group at Clacton, Sir E. Lutyens's obelisk at Southend, and the wayside cross at Weeley, with its legend: "Pass, friends; all's well. To our comrades, from those who came back."

What is probably the tallest column memorial in England is that designed by Mr. Clyde Young and set up, by the generosity of the first earl of Iveagh, in memory of the fallen of the villages of Elvedon, Eriswell and Icklingham, in Suffolk. It is Corinthian in design, and its panels are so arranged that each of three villages has its panel within its own boundary.

In Warwickshire, where another great school, Rugby, commemorates the service and sacrifice of its sons in the Great War, one finds, at Meriden Green, on a spot regarded as the centre of England, a plain obelisk to the lasting memory of the cyclists who served and died. In the lovely memorial park at Coventry is a fine tower, 100 feet high, at its summit an electric lamp, at its base a Chamber of Silence. For the actors' memorial in the grand old church at Stratford-on-Avon Mr. Rudyard Kipling wrote the inscription:

We counterfeited once for your disport  
Men's joys and sorrows, but our day has passed.  
We pray you pardon all where we fell short,  
Seeing we were your servants to this last.

Of the Shropshire memorials that at the Quarry, Shrewsbury, is in the form of a classic temple surrounded by Ionic columns supporting a dome. Within it is a life-size figure of S. Michael holding a lance in the left hand, while the right hand is extended in benediction. At night the figure can be illuminated. There is also a memorial at Shrewsbury School, while Ellesmere College has a memorial chapel. The Denstone College memorial, in Staffordshire, was designed by Sir Aston Webb. For that in the little village of Hints a local farmer with classical leanings prompted this apt inscription from Thucydides: "These men

## SHROPSHIRE AND CHESHIRE

dared beyond their strength; they hazarded beyond their judgement; and in the utmost extremity they were of an unconquerable hope." Wolverhampton has a very impressive cenotaph; and the memorial organ and shrine in West Bromwich School, the shrine designed by Mr. Stanley M. Foster, are specially worthy of note, as is the Nicholson clock tower at Leek.

The exquisitely wooded cliffs which extend for about a mile along the Trent from Radcliffe, in Nottinghamshire, presented to this village by Mr. Lisle Rockley, whose only son was killed at Ypres, form a war memorial of unique impressiveness. There is a thirty-six-foot promenade along the top of the cliffs, and behind them are two small parks where the elderly may rest and children play. In memory of 11,409 men of the Sherwood Foresters who fell, and of the 140,000 of their comrades who served, the people of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire have re-erected the old beacon at Crich Stand. The beacon, 62 feet high, stands on a picturesque eminence, 920 feet above sea-level, near the borders of the two counties. The dome of the beacon rests on an entablature supported by Doric columns. Within, 58 steps lead to a platform whence on a clear day the view extends over five counties. The beacon, which can be illuminated, was designed by the late Lieut.-Colonel A. W. Brewill, and its completion was carried out under the supervision of his son.

In the centre of Port Sunlight, in Cheshire, the model town occupied by the workers of the great firm of Unilever, Ltd., there has been erected a beautiful memorial to the 500 of the employees who fell, and the 4,000 who served. The stone cross on its raised platform is flanked by symbolical figures, and is well worthy of the hand, that of Sir William Goscombe John, R.A., which designed the noble monument to Lady Lever in the porch of Christ Church, near by. Another big firm, that of Brunner, Mond and Co., had erected memorials at Lostock Gralam, Middlewich, Sandbach and Winnington; and one must also mention the L.M.S. memorial, designed by Mr. Walter Gilbert, at Crewe.

Among the Lancashire memorials are a sculptured pylon at Ashton-under-Lyne, by Mr. J. Ashton-Floyd; Professor C. H. Reilly's Greek obelisk at Accrington; the pylon of the local Hematite Steel Company at Barrow-in-Furness, which bears Mr. Laurence Binyon's oft-quoted lines, "They shall not grow old"; the bronze and granite group at Crompton; the pylon at

## WAR MEMORIALS

Farnworth; the Hall of Memory and granite pylon at Bolton; the splendid cenotaph in the market square at Preston, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., with sculptures by Mr. Henry Pegram, R.A.; the cenotaph at Rochdale, by Sir Edwin Lutyens, R.A.; the group at St. Anne's-on-Sea presented by Lord Ashton and expressing sympathy for human suffering; Mr. Tyson Smith's obelisk at Southport, with its beautiful colonnades and shrines, lawns and pools, and the fine symbolical group at Shaw. An Old English garden commemorates the 105 sons of Kirkham who fell. In the centre is a cenotaph and around are 105 trees.

Blackburn, in addition to a new wing to the Royal Infirmary built at a cost of £100,000, has a monument set in a Garden of Remembrance designed by Sir Bertram Mackennal, R.A. Another lovely Garden of Remembrance is at Todmorden; it is largely the work of Mr. Gilbert Bayes and Mr. Norman Thorp. To Chorley Mr. Reginald Arthur Tetton generously gave Astley Park, with its Hall. The memorial in the park, which is entered by a memorial gate, is a replica of Chorley market cross.

Near the bronze-panelled Eleanor cross at Sledmere, in Yorkshire, to the memory of the men of the 5th Yorkshire regiment, is the sculptured memorial to the battalion of Yorkshire wagoners raised by the late Sir Mark Sykes, with stirring verses in local dialect. Mirfield has a beautiful Maltese cross surrounded by flower beds and footpaths as well as memorial recreation grounds commanding views of the picturesque Hopton Hills and the woods to the south. At Otley, the gift of Messrs. William Ackroyd and Duncan, Barraclough and Co., is Grove Hill Memorial Park, with an impressive group in stone and bronze. In Armley Park is a memorial cross. At Knottingley is a fine bronze figure of the Angel of Peace on a tall column of Cornish granite. The war memorial at Sedbergh School takes the form of cloisters.

At Horsforth is an avenue of 212 trees, each bearing the name of a fallen soldier; and at Holme-on-Spalding Moor is a beautiful lych gate by Professor F. C. B. Darwent. The memorial at Saddleworth rises 1,400 feet above sea-level. As we approach the Scottish Border we reach, in Cumberland, one of the most wonderful of all our war memorials, the 3,000 acres of mountain heights secured to the nation by the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the Lake District, with the tablet to the memory of its fallen members on the towering peak of Great Gable—"An

## WALES AND SCOTLAND

eternal monument among the everlasting hills.' Prudhoe, in Northumberland, has built a nursing home, and the village of Burradon a cottage for the district nurse.

Among the more notable of the memorials in Wales, apart from the National war memorial at Cardiff, is that in memory of the men of Llandaff and of the old boys of the Cathedral School. The designer is Sir W. Goscombe John. Of the bronze and granite memorial at Port Talbot, which finely symbolises the Spirit of Peace, the central figure and panels are the work of Mr. L. F. Rosslyn, who also designed the cenotaph at Holyhead. There is a memorial gateway to the Castle public park at Pant. The handsome entrance gates to the memory of Lieutenant Edward H. J. Wynne, Grenadier Guards, the heir to the Coed Coch estate, near Colwyn Bay, also call for note. These gates were erected by the tenants and presented to the late heir's mother, the Hon. Mrs. Laurence Brodrick. Dyffryn, near Barmouth, is typical of "gallant little Wales," for one is reminded by its war memorial that of a total population of 500, seventeen gave their lives.

In Scotland, outside the great cities of Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, one may specially note the restoration by Sir Robert Lorimer of the ancient church of S. John the Baptist at Perth, and the construction in it of a shrine for a Golden Book of Remembrance. Also in Perthshire are the beautiful memorial at Blairgowrie and the typical village memorial at Comrie, where the Bridgend hotel has been converted into an institute and a Celtic cross erected in the grounds. St. Fillan has a fine obelisk and drinking fountain. At Gala-shiels, in Selkirkshire is a vigorous representation in bronze of a mounted Border warrior. At Paisley, in Renfrewshire, the cenotaph was designed by Sir R. Lorimer and the sculpture is the work of Mrs. Meredith Williams. Renfrew itself has a beautiful octagonal mercat cross of freestone. Very impressive is the temple-crowned monument to the men of Helensburgh, in Dumbartonshire. Lanark has a Hall of Memory. Sir R. Lorimer is represented again in the memorial at Alloa, while another Clackmannanshire memorial is the wayside cross at Alva.

At Spiers School, Beith, in Ayrshire, below the figure of an angel holding a flickering torch, are the words: "To you, with failing hands, we throw the torch; Be yours to hold it high." The memorial at Arbroath, in Forfarshire, symbolises in stone

## WAR MEMORIALS

and bronze the strength, simplicity, constancy and repose of its 786 citizens who did not return. Mr. G. W. Browne was the architect. Carnoustie has a beautiful rest garden. At Peterhead, in Aberdeenshire, the memorial obelisk has an inscription from Bunyan: "So they passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for them on the other side."

At Cnoc-a-Clachan, Kintail, in Ross and Cromarty, amid a scene of sublime natural beauty, is a memorial to the 3,624 men of the clan who answered the call and the 423 who laid down, their lives. A Highlander in service kit stands on a granite cairn facing the Five Sisters of Kintail. Beneath is Clachan Duich, the burial place of the clan. The services of the MacRaes are further commemorated in a volume by Mrs. Ella Macrae-Gilstrap. And far away in the Orkneys is that tower of grim but grateful memories at Marwick Head which commemorates the tragic death of Lord Kitchener.

The memorials described in this chapter, although numerous, do not by any means cover the whole of Great Britain. They do, however, serve to show how every town and every little village was anxious to honour its sons who made the great sacrifice. Many and beautiful are the thoughts expressed upon these edifices, thoughts which do honour to those who have passed on and render immortal the gratitude of a great nation.

## MEMORIALS ABROAD

On May 21, 1917, the Imperial War Graves Commission was constituted, and empowered by royal charter to care for and maintain the graves of those fallen in the war, to acquire land for the purpose of cemeteries, and to erect permanent memorials in the cemeteries and elsewhere. This imperial organization was the outcome of deliberations at the Imperial War Conference in the spring of 1917, when it was proposed that the national committee for the care of soldiers' graves should be raised to the status of a permanent body. As early as 1915 the directorate of graves registration and enquiries had been formed to register the graves of the soldiers who fell in the different theatres of war, to keep them in order, and to mark them with temporary wooden crosses. A great expansion and development of the work subsequently occurred, since the registration and care of the graves of Dominion and Indian soldiers as well as of British troops came within the scope of the committee.

## THE GRAVES COMMISSION

The Commission consists of nine official members, including representatives of all the Dominions, and eight unofficial members appointed by royal warrant. One of its principal duties was the acquisition of land in perpetuity. The members of the Commission first decided on the form of memorial to be placed on the known and registered graves: each regiment was to have its own badge on the standard headstone, upon which were to be carved the rank, name, regiment, and date of death of the man buried beneath it, to which the relatives might be allowed to add at their own cost a short inscription selected by themselves. There remained to commemorate, however, those who fell in the war and were never buried, have no grave, and consequently no individual monument.\* It was at first intended to honour these men by a memorial placed in the cemetery nearest to the spot where the soldier was believed to have lost his life, but in the end some 12 sites in France and Belgium, and others elsewhere, were chosen, some of which were in cemeteries, while others were independent monuments. In what follows, memorials to the missing dead are mainly under consideration, as distinguished from cemeteries in which lie the actual bodies of the soldiers.

The first proposal of the Commission was to allot a site in the appropriate area to each of the 85 battles or similarly important incidents which took place on the Western front for the commemoration of the missing of that engagement; but this was found impracticable, and the proposed number of memorials on the Western front was provisionally reduced in 1923 to Nieuport, Ypres, Armentières, Béthune, Arras, Pozières, Amiens, St Quentin, Cambrai, La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, Soissons, and Neuve Chapelle. It was planned to erect memorials to the missing in Italy, Salonica, Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine, and elsewhere.

The participating governments represented in the Imperial War Graves Commission commemorated the missing in different ways. New Zealand was represented in the war by a compact force which remained together, so that her records enabled her to commemorate them in the cemetery near where they fell. Newfoundland commemorated all her missing sailors, soldiers, and merchant seamen on a national memorial at Beaumont-Hamel, in France, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India followed sometimes jointly, and at other times separately, a common system which is illustrated by the

## WAR MEMORIALS

following examples taken from the fifth annual report of the Imperial War Graves Commission (1923;24):

All ships passing in the future in or out of the Dardanelles will sight on the highest ground above Cape Helles a monument rising 100 feet against the sky. On this will be inscribed the names of all the ships and military units which took part in the Gallipoli campaign; on walls around the base are carved the names of 12,000 men of Great Britain and Ireland who fell on the Peninsula and of 200 Australians killed in the Helles area (the rest are commemorated on the Lone Pine Memorial), all of whom have no known graves. The missing of the Indian army will also be commemorated on this memorial. The site has so been selected that this monument to our missing dead will be for all time a mark for ships sailing these seas. It is the same height as was the Colossus of Rhodes.

At Port Tewfik, at the south entrance to the Suez Canal, is being built a monument to the Indian troops, the religion of many of whom has dictated a different form of burial from that represented by our graves. Sir John Burnet's design is a square obelisk, 65 feet in height, set on a large stone platform with flanking walls for the inscriptions, terminating with groups of sculpture by Mr. Jagger, each depicting a crouching tiger on guard defending the monument, the one from approach from the canal, the other from approach from the sea.

In Macedonia, the Memorial to the missing of the Salonica force has for some time been finished. It forms part of the memorial to this force, the cost of this having been furnished by a fund subscribed by the troops themselves. The whole has been designed by Sir Robert Lorimer and built by the Commission. It is situated on Colonial Hill, overlooking Lake Doiran, near one of our largest cemeteries. In France and Belgium similar memorials will be erected. The sites have already been selected, and that at the Menin Gate, Ypres, is now building. On this will be inscribed in stone the names of 60,000 missing Englishmen, Scots, Welsh, Irish, Canadians, Australians, South Africans, Indians, and Colonials who fell in the Ypres salient, but have no known graves. The memorial designed by Sir Reginald Blomfield occupies a position at the town end of the causeway, across the moat leading to the Menin road, over which passed, never to return, those who will be commemorated here. It is in the form of an arch or gateway; the main hall is about 70 feet span by 50 feet in height, and 130 feet in length from end to end. Looking at the arch from outside the old ramparts of which it forms a part, the main structure rises in three great steps, and is surmounted in the centre by the figure of a lion in repose; beneath the lion above the soffit of the arch is this inscription:

## THIEPVAL

" To the armies of the British Empire who stood here from 1914-18, and to those of their dead who have no known grave."

In the same position at the other end of the arch is the inscription :

" Here are recorded names of officers and men who fell in the Ypres salient, but to whom the fortune of war denied the known and honoured burial given to their comrades in death."

Other memorials which may be classed with these are those to the dead of the native East African troops, designed by Mr. F. A. Stevenson, and the plaques designed by Lt.-Col. H. P. L. Cart de Lafontaine, which were erected in the cathedrals in French and Belgian towns where British troops fought or were quartered. They are made of gesso, gilded and coloured, and are all similar in design. A plaque in Notre Dame, Paris, unveiled by the Prince of Wales in July, 1923, bears the arms of the United Kingdom surrounded by those of the other Dominions, and a simple but impressive inscription: " To the glory of God and to the memory of one million dead of the British Empire who fell in the Great War, 1914-1918, and of whom the greater part rest in France." One memorial of which special mention should be made is the monument at Arras to the air services on the Western front.

The Somme Memorial at Thiepval, unveiled by the Prince of Wales in 1932, closed that circle, stretching round the world, by which the Commission have commemorated in stone, either by monuments to the missing or by headstones marking the graves, the 1,100,000 dead who came from the British Empire. The monuments and cemeteries stretch across France and Belgium in a chain from the English Channel to the Vosges, across Italy, Macedonia, the Balkans, and the Greek islands, down the Gallipoli peninsula to Smyrna, through Syria and Palestine, passing over the Mount of Olives, then branching off south through Egypt into East Africa and eastward to Iraq. The chain then extends north of India to China, Australia, and New Zealand, across Canada, and back to Britain. Of the memorials to the missing Sir Fabian Ware writes :

They are also, as far as the United Kingdom is concerned, the only national battlefield monuments of the Great War. That they should have been designed for this two-fold purpose, that, indeed, public opinion in this country should have determined that it was a fitting expression of the nation's sentiment that these memorials, bearing the names of thousands of

## WAR MEMORIALS

dead who have no known graves, should also commemorate the long struggle for victory, will not be without significance for posterity. The mere recital of their names and of the number of missing dead which each records in itself, a brief and eloquent history of the War. From the long list [of memorials] not only can those be picked out which mark the better-known battle-fronts, but others will be noticed revealing, perhaps, for the first time to some readers, the astounding extent of the Empire's military commitments during the Great War.

Below is given a list of memorials to the missing outside the United Kingdom:

	NUMBER COMMEMORATED
<b>France</b>	
Atras Memorial .. .. .	35,925
Beaumont-Hamel (Newfoundland) Memorial ..	820
Caterpillar Valley (New Zealand) Memorial ..	1,273
Cambrai Memorial, Louverval .. .. .	7,036
Cité Bonjean (New Zealand) Memorial ..	48
Delville Wood Memorial (on behalf of the South African Memorial Committee) .. .. .	..
Grévillers (New Zealand) Memorial .. .. .	455
La Ferté-sous-Jouarre Memorial .. .. .	3,888
Le Touret Memorial .. .. .	13,480
Loos Memorial .. .. .	20,633
Marfaux (New Zealand) Memorial .. .. .	10
Neuve Chapelle (Indian) Memorial .. .. .	4,847
Pozières Memorial .. .. .	14,668
Noyelles-sur-Mer (Chinese) Memorial .. .. .	46
"Salta" Memorial, Ste. Marie Cemetery, Le Havre .. .. .	144
Soissons Memorial .. .. .	3,987
South African Native Labour Corps Memorial (Arques-la-Bataille) .. .. .	..
Somme Memorial, Thiepval .. .. .	73,357
Fronelles Memorial, V.C. Corner, Australian Cemetery .. .. .	1,299
Vis-en-Artois Memorial .. .. .	9,868
<b>Belgium</b>	
Buttes (New Zealand) Memorial .. .. .	383
Menin Gate Memorial, Ypres .. .. .	54,896
Messines Ridge (New Zealand) Memorial ..	830
Nieuport Memorial .. .. .	566
Ploegsteert Memorial .. .. .	11,447
Tyne Cot Memorial, Passchendaele .. .. .	34,957
Zeebrugge Memorial .. .. .	4
<b>Br. Honduras</b>	
Belize Memorial .. .. .	42
<b>Italy</b>	
Giavera Memorial .. .. .	154
Savona Memorial .. .. .	271

## LOCALITIES OVERSEAS

<b>Germany</b>						
Cologne Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	25
<b>Gibraltar</b>						
Gibraltar Memorial, North Front Cemetery	..					7
<b>Poland</b>						
Posen Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	5
<b>Russia</b>						
Archangel Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	191
<b>Greece</b>						
Doiran Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	2,213
Mikra Memorial, Salonica	..	..	..	..	..	478
Monastir Road (Indian) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	163
<b>Turkey</b>						
Haidar Pasha Memorial, Constantinople	..					30
<b>Gallipoli</b>						
Chanak Bair (New Zealand) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	856
Helles Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	20,752
Hill 60 (New Zealand) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	183
Lone Pine Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	4,939
Twelve Tree Copse (New Zealand) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	181
<b>Egypt</b>						
Chatby Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	983
Gizeh Memorial, Cairo	..	..	..	..	..	...
Kantara Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	16
Port Tewfik (Indian) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	4,928
<b>Gold Coast</b>						
Accra Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	64
<b>Palestine</b>						
Jerusalem Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	3,382
<b>Iraq</b>						
Basra Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	41,048
<b>Persia</b>						
Reshire British Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	219
Reshire (Indian) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	3,380
<b>Arabia</b>						
Aden Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	627
<b>India</b>						
Bombay Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	2,223
Delhi Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	13,516
Shillong Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	95
<b>China</b>						
Hong Kong Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	947
<b>E. Africa</b>						
Dar es Salaam (British & Indian) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	1,573
Dar es Salaam Native Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	...
Mombasa (British) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	86
Mombasa Native Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	...
Nairobi British & Indian Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	1,248
Nairobi Native Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	...
Tanga (Jasin) Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	62
Tanga Memorial	..	..	..	..	..	394

## WAR MEMORIALS

<b>Nigeria</b>					
Lagos Memorial	..	..	..	..	952
Lagos Colonial Church Memorial	..	..	..	..	39
<b>Canada</b>					
Halifax Memorial, Nova Scotia	..	..	..	..	415
Victoria Memorial, Br. Columbia	..	..	..	..	41
<b>N. Rhodesia</b>					
Abercorn (Native) Memorial	..	..	..	..	1,467
<b>Gambia</b>					
Bathurst Memorial	..	..	..	..	37
<b>Sierra Leone</b>					
Freetown (Native) Memorial	..	..	..	..	1,136
<b>Somaland</b>					
Berbera Memorial	..	..	..	..	109
<b>New Zealand</b>					
Canterbury Memorial	..	..	..	..	33
Auckland Memorial	..	..	..	..	40
Wellington Memorial	..	..	..	..	65
Otago Memorial	..	..	..	..	31
<b>Seychelles</b>					
Mont-Fleuri, Victoria	..	..	..	..	289
<b>Siberia</b>					
Churkin Naval Memorial, Vladivostok	..	..	..	..	13

### IN COURSE OF ERECTION OR CONTEMPLATED :

<b>France</b>					
Villers-Bretonneux (Australian) Memorial	..	..	..	..	18,557
Vimy Memorial	..	..	..	..	11,285

The words used by the Prince of Wales when, on August 1, 1932, he unveiled the Somme memorial may end the chapter.

Never before in history have nations shown so tender and tenacious a determination as France and the British Empire to honour the memory of each one of their dead soldiers. We have shown this not merely by spoken words, which so often take flight and are forgotten, but by giving material expression to that determination as enduring as human hands and human art can make it. I have with me to-day representatives of those sister nations which form the British Empire; in the same generous spirit in which they fought side by side, they have joined together, in free partnership, in this duty. It is the first, and, I often think, an invaluable example of the way in which free nations under a common Crown may co-operate for a common object. I am proud of the result—probably the biggest single piece of constructive work we have accomplished since the war.

## *PERSONALIA OF THE WAR*

**I**N each volume we provide concise and authoritative biographical information concerning the outstanding personalities of the war. For clearness and ready reference they are grouped according to nationality. The most suitable volume in which to include these biographies is that wherein the subjects figure most prominently.



## BRITISH

### Sir Reginald Hall

**S**IR WILLIAM REGINALD HALL was born June 28, 1870. He entered the navy in 1883, and became a specialist in gunnery. He was senior staff officer of the Excellent in 1898, in which year he was promoted commander. Inspecting captain of mechanical training establishments, 1906-7, he was naval assistant to the controller of the navy, 1911-13. In October, 1914, he was appointed director of the intelligence service of the war staff at the Admiralty. He was created K.C.M.G. in 1918. He resigned from the Admiralty on January 15, 1919. He was principal agent of the Unionist Party, 1923-24, and M.P. for the West Derby division of Liverpool, 1919-23, and for Eastbourne, 1925-29. He was made admiral in 1926.

### Sir John Asser

**S**IR JOSEPH JOHN ASSER was born August 31, 1867. He entered the Dorset regiment in 1887. Attached to the Egyptian army, he first saw active service in the expeditions down the Nile in 1897, '98, and '99. In 1907 he was made adjutant-general of the Egyptian army, and had just retired from that position when the Great War broke out. Recalled from the reserve of officers, he was employed as a commandant on the lines of communication from August, 1914, to July, 1915, and from then until December, 1916, as a commandant at the base. Later he was promoted to supervise the departments behind the lines, and as Sir Douglas Haig said, "under his command a vast organization with a numerous staff" was built up on the lines of communication. He was general officer commanding the British troops in France and Flanders in 1919. In 1917 he was knighted, and in 1919 was made a lieutenant-general. He was governor and commander-in-chief in Bermuda, 1922-27.

### Sir Charles Harington

**S**IR CHARLES HARINGTON HARINGTON was born at Chichester on May 31, 1872. He served on the staff in the South African War, where he won the D.S.O. During the Great War he was brigadier-general, 1915-16, and later became chief of staff to Sir Herbert Plumer. He was appointed deputy chief of the Imperial General Staff, War Office in April, 1918. In September, 1920, Harington was appointed G.O.C. the army of the Black Sea, and in that capacity became prominent by his skilful

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

handling of the delicate situation created by the Turks' march to the Dardanelles, negotiating the armistice of Mudania in October, 1922. In 1923 he was appointed to the Northern command, and the Western command, India, 1927. From 1930-33 he was general officer, commanding-in-chief, Aldershot command, and in the latter year was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of Gibraltar. Knighted in January, 1919, he was promoted general in 1927.

### Sir Ernest Swinton

**S**IR ERNEST DUNLOP SWINTON was born October 21, 1868. He entered the army in 1888, served in the South African War, 1899-1902, and in the Great War, 1914-17. He was the official Eye-Witness in the early stages of the war, helped to invent, and commanded, the first unit of tanks. He was promoted major-general in 1919. He was knighted in 1923, and was appointed Chichele professor of military history at Oxford in 1925. His writings include *The Study of War*, 1926, *Eye Witness*, 1932, and under the pseudonym of Ole-Luk-Oie, the successful novel, *The Green Curve*.

### Sir Frederick Sykes

**S**IR FREDERICK HUGH SYKES was born July 23, 1877. He entered the army in 1901. Qualifying as a pilot in 1911, he was then appointed commander R.F.C., military wing, which he raised. During the Great War he served with it in France, 1914-15, and commanded the R.N.A.S. in the East Mediterranean, 1915-16. In 1917-18 he was a member of the supreme war council at Versailles. Appointed controller-general of civil aviation, February, 1919, he was chief of the air section at the Paris peace conference in that year. Major-general in 1918, he received the K.C.B. and G.B.E. in 1919. From 1928-33 he was governor of Bombay.

### Sir Alfred Keogh

**S**IR ALFRED KEOGH, was born July 3, 1857, and entered the army medical service in 1880. He served in the South African War 1899-1901. Director-general medical services in 1904, he retired in 1910 to become general executive officer to the Imperial College of Science and Technology, from which post he retired in 1922. He was knighted in 1906 and in 1914 returned to his former post of director-general A.M.S. In 1918 he was created G.C.V.O. for his services in the Great War, when his intimate knowledge of all matters connected with the army medical service raised it to a pitch of great efficiency.

## BRITISH

### Sir Arthur Sloggett

**S**IR ARTHUR THOMAS SLOGGETT was born November 24, 1857. He entered the R.A.M.C., 1881, became colonel, 1903, surgeon-general 1908, and director-general of the army medical services in France, 1914. One of the most successful organizers of army medical services, a reputation he enhanced during the Great War, Sir Arthur Sloggett served in many campaigns, including the Dongola Expedition, 1896, as senior medical officer, Sudan Campaign, 1897-98, when he was dangerously wounded; and the war in South Africa. He was knighted in 1914, and made K.C.B., 1915. He died November 27, 1929.

### Andrew Bonar Law

**A**NDREW BONAR LAW was born in New Brunswick, September 16, 1858, the son of James Law, a Presbyterian minister. His early years were passed there, but his education was completed at the High School, Glasgow. He started in business in that city, where his mother's relatives, the Kidstons, were in the iron trade, and in a few years was a partner in both W. Kidston & Sons and W. Jacks & Co., and a leading figure in the industrial life of Glasgow. Having acquired a competency, Law turned his attention to politics, and in 1900 was returned to the House of Commons as Unionist M.P. for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow.

Law soon made a reputation as a speaker, especially on business matters, and in 1902 was appointed parliamentary secretary to the board of trade. He left office with his party in 1905, and in 1906 lost his seat at Glasgow. However, one was found for him at Dulwich, and in opposition the tariff reform section of the Unionists looked to him more and more for leadership, especially after Chamberlain's health gave way. He showed his devotion to the cause in 1910 when he forsook his safe seat at Dulwich to fight N.W. Manchester, a free trade stronghold. Defeated there, he was soon after returned for Bootle, and in 1918 was again returned as one of the members for Glasgow.

In 1911 A. J. Balfour resigned his position as leader of the Unionist party, and Bonar Law was chosen to succeed him. He discharged the duties of leader of the opposition in the Commons with satisfaction, and it fell to him, with Lord Lansdowne, to assure Asquith on August 2, 1914, of the support of the Unionist party in the event of war.

For nearly a year Law and his party gave that support, and when a coalition ministry became essential in May, 1915, he had a voice in its composition. He himself took the post of colonial secretary, which he held until December, 1916, when there was another crisis. The Cabinet was

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

divided, and when Asquith resigned, Law threw in his lot with Lloyd George. He was invited by the king to become premier, but declined, and it was then announced that he would assist Lloyd George by becoming leader of the House of Commons, holding also the post of chancellor of the exchequer. He was, too, a member of the war cabinet.

At the election of 1918, Bonar Law and Lloyd George appeared as the leaders of the coalition, which was returned to power. The former exchanged the chancellorship for the lighter office of lord privy seal, but retained the position of leader of the House. He was one of the British representatives at the peace conference. In March, 1921 his resignation was suddenly announced, due to a breakdown in health. Recovering he took part in overthrowing the coalition ministry in the autumn of 1922, and on October 23 himself became prime minister, but further ill-health caused his resignation, May 19, 1923. He retained his seat in the House of Commons until his death, October 30, 1923.

### Sir Robert Horne

**S**IR ROBERT STEVENSON HORNE was born February 28, 1871, the son of a minister of the Church of Scotland. He was educated at George Watson's College, Edinburgh, and Glasgow University. After a brilliant university career, in 1895, he became lecturer in philosophy at University College, Bangor, but, having decided to adopt a legal career, he was called to the Scottish bar in 1896. During the next twenty years Horne quietly made his way in his profession, only emerging as Conservative candidate for Stirlingshire at the two elections of 1910.

In 1917 Horne was made inspector general of transportation under the war office. His success there led to the Admiralty, where he was director of the materials and priority department, director of the labour department, and finally third civil lord. In 1918 he was knighted. In 1918 he was elected M.P. for the Hillhead division of Glasgow, and was made minister of labour. In May, 1920, he became president of the board of trade, and he was chancellor of the exchequer in the coalition ministry, 1921-22. He retained his seat in the House of Commons at subsequent elections, but did not again take political offices instead accepting important positions in the business world.

### George N. Barnes

**G**EORGE NICOLL BARNES was born at Lochie, in Scotland. He worked as an engineer and then became, in 1892, assistant secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. From 1896-1906 he was its general secretary. He accompanied the Moseley Commission to the U.S.A., and in 1906, by defeating Mr. Bonar Law, he became Labour M.P. for the

## BRITISH

Blackfriars division of Glasgow, being again returned in 1910 and 1918. In 1916 he joined Lloyd George's ministry as Pensions Minister, which position he resigned in August, 1917, to enter the War Cabinet as Labour's representative in succession to Arthur Henderson, resigning in January, 1920. He was a British representative at the Peace Conference in Paris, and went afterwards to Washington for an international labour conference. He took an active part in the co-operative movement. His writings include: *From Workshop to War Cabinet*, 1923; *The History of the International Labour Organization*, 1926.

### Arthur Henderson

**A**RTHUR HENDERSON was born in Glasgow, September 13, 1863. He was apprenticed as a moulder at Newcastle.

Here he came in touch with the trade union movement, and was soon made an official of his society. Having left his engineering work, he devoted all his time to his duties as a trade union official. In 1903 he was elected Labour M.P. for Barnard Castle. In 1908 he was chosen chairman of the parliamentary labour party, a post he filled between 1914-17.

In May, 1915, Henderson joined the Coalition ministry as president of the board of education, and in December, 1916, he entered Lloyd George's ministry as Labour's representative, being minister without portfolio. In 1917 he visited Russia, and on his return differences of opinion arose between him and Lloyd George, mainly over the question of attendance at the international Socialist conference at Stockholm, the result being Henderson's resignation in August. In 1915 he was made a privy councillor. In 1918, at the general election, Henderson lost his seat, but in September, 1919, he was elected M.P. for Widnes. He was M.P. for Newcastle East in 1923, and in 1924 was returned for Burnley. In 1921 he was chosen chief labour whip, and as a party organizer he won a high reputation. Home Secretary in the first Labour government, 1924, and Foreign Secretary in the second, 1929-31, he declined to join the National Government in the latter year. In the general election in 1931 Henderson was defeated at Burnley; but he was elected for Clay Cross, 1933. In 1932-33 he was chairman of the Disarmament Conference held under the auspices of the League of Nations.

### Sir Robert Borden

**S**IR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN was born at Grand Pré, Nova Scotia, June 26, 1854. He was educated at Horton, and became a barrister in 1878. In 1896 he entered the Canadian House of Commons as Conservative member for Halifax. In 1901 Borden was chosen as leader of his party in the Commons. Although he had never held ministerial office before,

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

he became premier in 1911, the general election of that year giving a majority to the Conservatives, who had been out of power since 1896. As a result of the general election in December, 1917, he remained in power with a large majority, and brought the Liberals into his cabinet for the purpose of carrying on the Great War. He was admitted to the privy council in 1912, and made G.C.M.G. in 1914. Sir Robert was the first minister from the Oversea Dominions who attended a meeting of the Cabinet in London (July, 1915). He represented Canada in the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, 1917-18, and attended the meetings of the Peace Conference in Paris, January-April, 1919. He resigned the premiership July, 1920. He was delegate for Canada at the Washington conference, 1921-22, and represented Canada on the Council of the League of Nations.

### Sir Joseph Cook

**S**IR JOSEPH COOK, was born in England, in 1860. In 1885, he emigrated to Australia and soon became a leading member of the Labour party in New South Wales. In 1895 he was elected to the legislature of the state; in 1894 he took office as postmaster-general, and in 1898 was transferred to the post of minister for mines and agriculture. He resigned in 1899. Cook in 1901, on the formation of the Commonwealth, entered the Federal House of Representatives as member for Parramatta. In 1909 he joined Alfred Deakin and was minister of defence, 1909-10. After the fall of the ministry, Cook led the opposition, and in 1913 he secured a narrow victory at the general election. Thereupon he became prime minister, but he found it impossible to carry on, and in September, 1914 he resigned. In 1917, he joined the coalition government as minister for the navy. In 1918 he was knighted. In 1919 he was one of Australia's representatives at the peace conference. In 1921 Cook became high commissioner for Australia in London, a post he held until 1927.

### Sir Joseph Ward

**S**IR JOSEPH GEORGE WARD was born April 26, 1857. He entered politics and became minister of railways, commerce, finance, postmaster-general, minister of defence and of lands. He was prime minister, 1906-12, and represented New Zealand at the Imperial Conferences in London, 1907, 1909, and 1911. A warm supporter of imperial unity, he was a member of the imperial war cabinet, 1917-18, and one of New Zealand's representatives at the peace conference, 1919. He was created a baronet in 1911. In December 1928 he again became prime minister of the Dominion, but he retired in May, 1930. He died July 7, 1930.

## BRITISH

### W. F. Massey

**W**ILLIAM FERGUSON MASSEY was born at Limavady, county Derry, Ireland, March 26, 1856. He was educated at Londonderry and in 1870 went to New Zealand, where he took up farming. He was elected to parliament in 1894, becoming chief opposition whip the following year, and leader of the opposition in 1903. In 1912 he became prime minister and minister of lands and labour. He was a member of the Imperial war cabinet, 1917-18, represented New Zealand at the peace conference in Paris, 1919, and attended the Empire conference in London, June 1921. He remained prime minister until his death which occurred on May 10, 1925.

### Lord Morris

**E**DWARD PATRICK MORRIS, 1st baron Morris, was born at St. John's, Newfoundland, May 8, 1858. He was educated at S. Bonaventure's college there and at Ottawa University. Admitted as a lawyer he began to practise at St. John's, but gave much time to politics, and in 1885 was chosen M.P. for St. John's in the Newfoundland legislature. In 1889 he entered the Liberal cabinet, and from 1890-95 was attorney-general. In 1897, as a result of the controversy over the railway contract given to Sir R. G. Reid, Morris left his party and became the leader of the independent liberals. In 1900 he entered Bond's cabinet, being minister of justice, 1903-7. In 1908 he became leader of the people's party, and from 1909-18 was premier of Newfoundland. He was a member of the British War Cabinet, 1916-17, and represented Newfoundland at the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In 1918 he was made a baron, and made his home in London.

### Lord Sinha

**S**ATYENDRA PRASANNA SINHA, 1st baron Sinha, was born, 1864, son of Siti Kantha Sinha. He was educated at Birbhum Zilla and at Presidency College, Calcutta. Entering Lincoln's Inn, 1881, he was called to the bar, 1886. He was advocate-general of Bengal, 1907-17, was knighted in 1915, and was the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He represented India at the Special War Conferences, 1917 and 1918, and at the Peace Conference, 1919. Under-secretary of state for India, 1919-20, he was governor of the province of Bihar and Orissa, India, 1920-21, having been created Baron Sinha of Raipur in 1919, the first Indian to sit as a peer in the House of Lords. He died March 6, 1928.

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

### Lord Weir

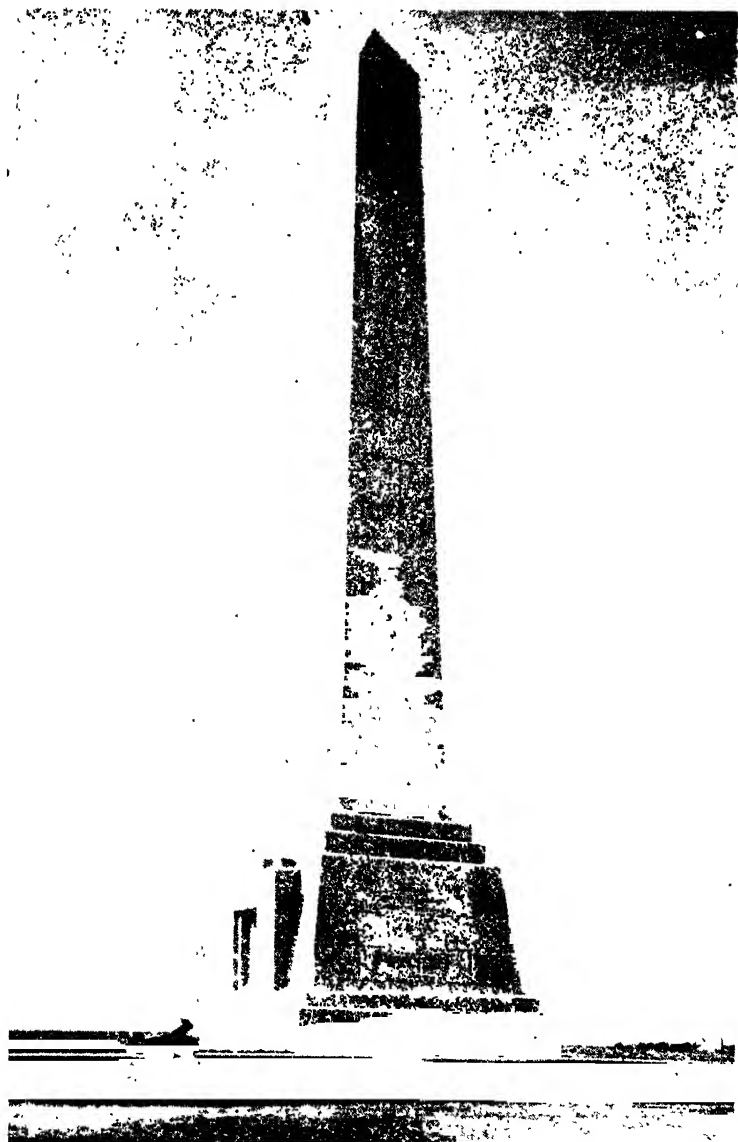
**W**ILLIAM WEIR, 1st baron Weir, was born May 12, 1877, a son of James Weir. He entered business life and became managing director of G. & J. Weir, engineers, of Glasgow. In 1915 he became director of munitions for Scotland, in 1917 director of aeronautical supplies, and in 1918 director-general of aircraft production. In 1918, Weir joined the government as secretary of state for the air. In 1917 he was knighted, and in 1918 was made a baron. He was chairman of the advisory committee on civil aviation, 1919. During the shortage of houses following the war his firm of G. & J. Weir erected steel houses.

### Lord Inverforth

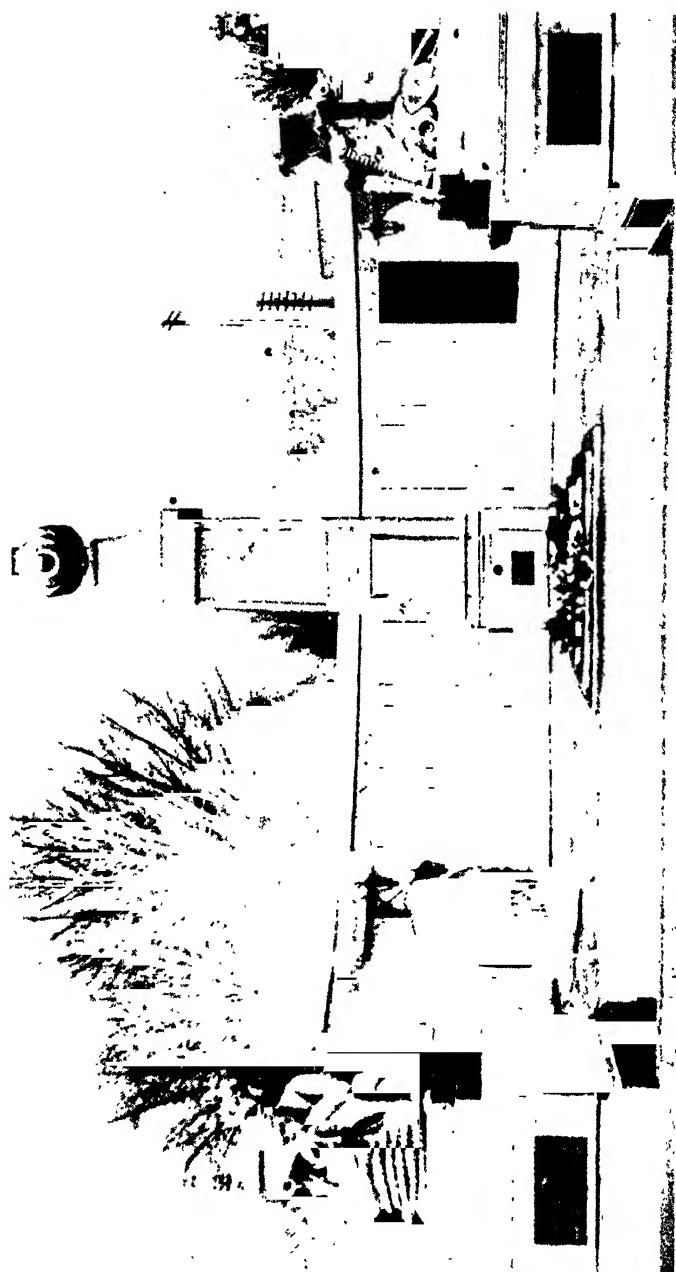
**A**NDREW WEIR, 1st baron Inverforth, was born April 24, 1865. He began life in a shipping firm in Glasgow, and after a time established the business of Andrew Weir & Co., shipowners and merchants. He made a large fortune, and entered public life in 1917 as surveyor general of supply at the War Office, from which post he was promoted to be minister of munitions in January, 1919. In 1919 he was made a baron and a privy councillor. He resigned from the ministry in 1921. He was the chairman of the liquidation and disposals commission until May, 1921.

### Lord Moulton

**J**OHN FLETCHER MOULTON, baron Moulton, was born at Madeley, November 18; 1844, the son of the Rev. J. E. Moulton, a Wesleyan minister, and was educated at Kingswood School, Bath, and St. John's College, Cambridge, becoming senior wrangler in 1868, and fellow of Christ's College. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1874, Moulton soon became known as an authority on patent law, and was made a Q.C. in 1885. He was Liberal M.P. for Clapham in 1885-86, but did not again secure a seat until 1894, when returned for South Hackney. From 1898-1906 he was M.P. for the Launceston division of Cornwall, retiring on being made a judge of the court of appeal. In 1912 he was made a lord of appeal, becoming also a life peer. During the Great War Lord Moulton devoted his technical knowledge to the production of explosives, being chairman of the committee on high explosives, and afterwards director-general of explosive supplies for the ministry of munitions. In 1919 he became chairman of the British Dyestuffs Corporation. He died March 9, 1921.



**TO THE MEN WHO KEPT THE CHANNEL.** The memorial to the *Frith* Patrol stands on the cliffs above St. Margaret's Bay, a perpetual reminder of that section of the navy that kept the Straits safe for transport. Theirs was the exploit of Zeebrugge in 1918, and theirs the guns that supported the army's left flank.



**DISTINCTIVE MEMORIAL AT PORTSMOUTH.** The names of more than 6,000 men are inscribed on the panels. The central pylon and the grimly realistic figures on their pedestals at the terminals of the enclosure give distinction to this design.



**EASTBOURNE'S WINGED VICTORY.** This fine memorial shows a winged statue of victory mounted on a pedestal that has almost the proportions of a cenotaph. It stands in the centre of a spacious thoroughfare at the corner of Cornfield Road.



Plate 56



PRINTERS' MEMORIAL AT CAXTON CONVALESCENT HOME, LIMPSFIELD, AND THE CROSS OF VICTORY AT YORK

## BRITISH

### Lord Maclay

**J**OSEPH PATON MACLAY, 1st baron Maclay, was born September 6, 1857, and was educated at Glasgow. He entered the shipping industry, ultimately becoming head of Maclay and MacIntyre, shipowners of Glasgow. In 1916 he was appointed shipping controller, and occupied this post until the abolition of the control in 1921. He was a member of the war cabinet in 1918. Maclay was created a baronet in 1914, and in 1922 was made a baron. His son, Joseph Paton Maclay, was elected as a liberal M.P. for Paisley in 1931.

### Sir Arthur Yapp

**S**IR ARTHUR KEYSALL YAPP, was born at Orleton, Herefordshire, March 12, 1869. He was educated at Hereford, and trained in business in Leominster, of whose Y.M.C.A. he became hon. sec. in 1890. Secretary of the National Council for Lancashire, 1897, he was general secretary of the Manchester Y.M.C.A., 1907-12, when he became secretary of the National Y.M.C.A. council. At the outbreak of the Great War Yapp manifested great organizing ability in establishing Y.M.C.A. centres for the troops. Director of Food Economy, September 1, 1917, to February, 1918, he was created K.B.E. in 1917. In 1929 he became deputy president of the Y.M.C.A. He wrote *Romance of the Red Triangle* and other works of a like nature.

### Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan

**H**ELEN CHARLOTTE ISABELLA GWYNNE-VAUGHAN was born January 21, 1879, a daughter of Captain Hon. A. H. D. Fraser. She was educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College, and King's College, London. In 1903-5 she was temporary assistant in the department of Botany, British Museum. Her other appointments included lecturer in Botany, University College, Nottingham, 1907-9, and head of department of botany, Birkbeck College, London, 1909-17. In the Great War, on the formation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in February, 1917, she became its Chief Controller in France, occupying that post until September, 1918, by which time the official title had become Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps. From that date until December, 1919, she was Chief Controller of the Women's Royal Air Force. In January, 1920, she resumed her post at London University. She contested North Camberwell in the Unionist interest in 1922-23-24. She was created C.B.E. in 1918, D.B.E. 1919, and G.B.E. 1929. In 1911 she married Professor D. T. Gwynne-Vaughan.

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

### Mrs. Chalmers Watson

**A**LEXANDRA MARY CHALMERS WATSON was born in India, 1873, daughter of Auckland Geddes, C.I.E., and sister of Sir Eric and Sir Auckland Geddes. Educated at St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh University, where she was the first graduate in medicine, she became physician at the Edinburgh Hospital for Women and Children. During the Great War she was the first Controller-in-chief of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (the Waacs) 1917-18. She was president of the Women's United Services Club, first president of the Scottish Women's Hockey Association, and hon. secretary, Queen's Institute of District Nursing Scottish Central Council. For her war services she was awarded the C.B.E. in 1917. She married in 1898 Dr. Chalmers Watson, senior physician, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh.

### Dame Florence Leach

**F**LORENCE EDITH VICTORIA LEACH was born October 9, 1874, being a daughter of Colonel W. FitzAlan Way. She was an outstanding figure in connexion with women's work in the war. In 1915-17 she was commandant, cookery section, Women's Legion, and she was Controller of Inspection, W.A.A.C., 1917-18, and controller-in-chief, Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, 1918-1920. In 1895 she married Colonel H. E. Burleigh Leach, and in 1922 Edward Percy Simpson. She was made a dame of the order of the British Empire in 1919.

### \* Dame Alfred Lyttelton

**E**DITH SOPHY LYTTELTON, a daughter of Archibald Ballour, married in 1892, as his second wife, Alfred Lyttelton (1857-1913), the politician and athlete. During the war she was prominent in the women's work dealing with the Belgian refugees. This important undertaking was organized by her in conjunction with Lady Lugard, Viscountess Gladstone, and many more. She was also a member of the Central Committee on Women's Employment, and deputy-director of Women's Branch of Ministry of Agriculture, 1917-19, which organized the Women's Land Army. In addition to much public service at home she was a delegate to the League of Nations Assembly from 1923 onwards. Among her published works were a biography of Alfred Lyttelton, 1917, and *Our Superconscious Mind*, 1931. For her war and other public services she was made a dame of the order of the British Empire in 1917, and was promoted G.B.E. in 1929.

## BRITISH

### Lady Askwith

**E**LLLEN LADY ASKWITH, second daughter of Archibald Peel of Broxbourne, rendered notable services in the war. She was a member of both the great organizations initiated by Queen Mary for women's welfare soon after the outbreak of war. She worked as one of the Y.M.C.A. Lady Presidents, ran five canteens in the docks and one hostel. She was responsible for starting the National Kitchens, which were taken over by the Government. For these services she received the C.B.E. in 1918. In addition she was prominent in general public work, serving on a number of Government committees. The widow of Major Henry Graham, she married in 1908 George Rankin Askwith, created K.C.B. 1911, and raised to the peerage in 1919.

### Dame Ethel Becher

**E**THHEL HOPE BECHER, daughter of Colonel Arthur Becher, of the Bengal Staff Corps, was educated privately, and entering the nursing profession, was trained at the London Hospital, 1893-99. She served in the South African War, being awarded the R.R.C. From 1903-10 she was principal matron of Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Service, Headquarters, War Office, and Matron-in-chief, 1910-19. Known as the "Kitchener of Army nursing," she was about to retire when the Great War broke out, but the authorities persuaded her to reconsider her decision. For her splendid services in the war she was awarded the G.B.E.

### Mary MacArthur

**M**ARY MACARTHUR was the maiden name of Mrs. W. C. Anderson, a champion of the cause of women workers. Born at Ayr, August 13, 1880, she was educated at Glasgow and in Germany. After serving as a clerk in her father's business she became an organizer of shop assistants, was secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, and formed the National Federation of Women Workers. Under the conditions created by the Trade Boards Act, 1909, she organized the chain workers of Cradley Heath, thereby improving the condition of women workers in the Black Country. She championed the cause of the women hollow-ware workers, brickmakers, and lace finishers. At the invitation of the Queen she became hon. secretary of the Central Committee of Women's Unemployment during the Great War, and had a share in promoting the Wages (Temporary Regulation) Act. In 1911 she married W. C. Anderson, M.P. for the Attercliffe

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

division of Shethfield, who died in 1919. She unsuccessfully contested Stourbridge in 1918, and died at Golder's Green, January 1, 1921. On July 28, 1924, Queen Mary opened the Memorial Home at Ongar, which bears Mary MacArthur's name.

## AMERICAN

### Colonel House

**E**DWARD MANDELL HOUSE was born at Houston, Texas, July 26, 1858. He was educated at New Haven, Connecticut, and Cornell University. He exercised remarkable influence in the political affairs of Texas, but his wider career was due to his friendship with President Wilson. In 1914 the president sent him to Europe to gather information about affairs in the belligerent countries. With the entrance of the U.S.A. into the Great War, House was equally prominent, first as American representative at the various conferences in Paris, and on the war council at Versailles, and then at the Peace Conference in Paris, in 1919. He was a member of the commission charged to draft the covenant of the League of Nations, and of the commission on mandates which met in London in 1919. He published *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* in 1926.

### General Bliss

**T**ASKER HOWARD BLISS was born at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, December 31, 1853. He graduated at the U.S. military academy, and in 1875 became an artillery officer. Professor at the Naval War College, 1885-8, he was afterwards military attaché at Madrid. He was chief of the staff at Porto Rico during the Spanish-American War, and in 1902 he helped to arrange the treaty between the U.S.A. and Cuba, and from 1903-17 was commandant of the Army War College, general in the Philippines and on the Mexican border, and commander of military districts at home. He was chief military representative of the U.S.A. at the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919. In 1920-27 he was governor of the United States Soldiers' Home.

## FRENCH

### Georges Clemenceau

**G**EORGES EUGENE BENJAMIN CLEMENCEAU was born at Château de l'Aubraie, Fesle, in La Vendée, September 28, 1841. Son of a doctor and pronounced Republican, he was educated at Nantes and in Paris. He took his doctor's

## FRENCH

degree in 1865 with a thesis on The Generation of Atomic Elements. Between 1866-70 he studied social conditions in England and the U.S.A., spending about four years in America, where he taught French in a girls' school, and married an American lady, Mary Plummer. Mayor of Montmartre, September, 1870, he was elected (January, 1871) to the National Assembly at Bordeaux and voted against peace preliminaries with Prussia. He nearly lost his life during the Commune.

Elected, July, 1871, to the municipal council of Paris, Clemenceau became its secretary, vice-president, and president; and in February, 1876, was returned to the French Chamber, where he won the nickname of The Tiger by overthrowing ministry after ministry the policy of which he did not approve. Rejected by the electorate in August, 1893, on a fabricated charge of complicity in the Panama scandal, he spent more than five years in journalistic and literary work, gaining prominence by his resolute efforts to secure a fair trial for Alfred Dreyfus.

In 1903 he became a senator for the department of the Var, joined the cabinet of M. Sarrien, March, 1906, as minister of the Interior, and, succeeding him on October, 23, was premier until the summer of 1909. He created a ministry of labour, accomplished the separation of Church and State, inaugurated a scheme of social reform, and incurred the enmity of socialists by his drastic methods in settling the miners' dispute in the north and the wine-growers' disaffection in the south. He came victoriously out of the dispute with Germany in 1903, and established the Franco-British entente. He resigned July 20, 1909, after a memorable debate with Delcassé which led to the rejection of a vote of confidence. In 1910 he lectured in South America, and on his return to France resumed his place in opposition, overthrowing Caillaux in 1912, and Briand in 1913. He was a keen critic of successive governments during the war period until November, 1917, when he again became premier.

Frequently at the front, where he became affectionately regarded as the "Father of Victory," he induced the Allies to accept Marshal Foch—shortly after he had been retired—as generalissimo; and never once wavered in his faith in the ultimate triumph. In December, 1918, he shared with Foch a tumultuous welcome in London, and even his enemies condemned the crime by which a lunatic named Emile Cottin attempted to kill him with a Browning revolver as he was leaving his house in the Rue Franklin on February 19, 1919. In the peace negotiations at Paris, over which he presided, he demanded guarantees that France should have security against any future aggression on the part of her inhuman neighbour. He declared that it remained for the living to complete the magnificent work of the dead.

Clemenceau was elected to the French Academy, and in the French Senate, November, 1918, a bill was passed providing that

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

in every mairie in France there should be engraved on the walls a statement that, together with the armies of France and Marshal Foch, "citizen Georges Clemenceau had deserved well of his country." Resigning office in January, 1920, he was succeeded by M. Millerand; was nominated for the presidency in succession to M. Poincaré, but withdrew his candidature, and left for a prolonged holiday in Egypt, after which he gave himself to literary work. He died November 24, 1929.

As speaker and writer M. Clemenceau was a foremost figure in French politics from 1870 to his death. He foresaw the Great War, and tried to warn his countrymen as well as the British Foreign Office of the coming storm.

As a journalist Clemenceau was no less conspicuous than as politician. He founded *La Justice*, which was published from 1888 to 1900; *Le Bloc*, 1900-2; *L'Aurore*, 1903-7; and *L'Homme Libre*, for some time during the war called *L'Homme Enchaîné*; and contributed to *Le Temps*, *Le Journal*, *Le Figaro*, *L'Echo de Paris*, *La Dépêche* (of Toulouse), and the *Observer* (of London). An excellent swordsman and a good shot, he fought several duels, notably with Paul Déroulède and with Paul Deschanel (elected president of the French Republic in 1920), and was Floquet's second in the Floquet-Boulanger encounter.

His works include *La Mêlée Sociale*, 1894; *Le Grand Pan*, 1895; *L'Iniquité*, 1899; *Vers la Réparation*, 1899; *Au fil des Jours*, 1900; *Aux Embuscades de la Vie*, 1903; *L'Eglise, la République et la Liberté*, 1903; *Dans les Champs du Pouvoir*, 1914; *La France devant l'Allemagne*, 1916. His novel *Les Plus Forts* (1898) was translated into English as *The Strongest*, 1920. In 1926 was published his book on Demosthenes and in 1927, a work in two volumes, embodying his life convictions, *Au Soir de la Pensée*.

## Andre Tardieu

**A**NDRE PIERRE GABRIEL AMEDEV TARDIEU, was born at Paris, September 22, 1876. He entered the diplomatic service, becoming attaché at Berlin in 1897. In 1898 he returned to the foreign office in Paris, and from 1899-1902 was secretary to the council of ministers. During the Great War he was employed on diplomatic missions, being high commissioner of France to the U.S.A., 1917-19. A close collaborator with Clemenceau, in 1919 he was one of the French representatives at the peace conference; minister of liberated regions, 1919-20; he became editor of *Le National*, 1921. He was successively minister of public works, minister of the interior, and prime minister (1929-30). He was again prime minister for a short period in 1932. He wrote *The Truth About the Treaty*, 1921.

## ~~FRENCH~~—BELGIAN

### Stephen Pichon

**S**TEPHEN JEAN MARIE PICHON was born August 10, 1857, at Arnay-le-Duc, in the Côte d'Or department. He came to Paris in 1878 and was on the staff of Clemenceau's paper *La Justice*, 1880-93. In 1885, he entered the Chamber of Deputies, of which he was secretary, 1889-90. He was then successively minister plenipotentiary at Port au Prince, San Domingo, Rio de Janeiro, and Peking, 1897-1901, before being resident-general in Tunis, 1901-5. During the Boxer troubles he acted as plenipotentiary in the negotiations between the powers and China after the allied troops had entered Peking. On January 7, 1906, he was elected senator for the Jura department, and in October became minister of foreign affairs in Clemenceau's first cabinet. He held the same office in the second Clemenceau cabinet, November 16, 1917-January, 1920. Pichon participated in the conference at Versailles and in the deliberations of the Peace Conference. After the resignation of the Clemenceau cabinet in 1920, he resumed the political editorship of *Le Petit Journal*.

## BELGIAN

### Emile Vandervelde

**E**MILE VANDERVELDE was born in a suburb of Brussels in 1866. He studied law at the university there. He early joined the socialist movement, was a conspicuous member of the International, and entered the Belgian Chamber in 1894, soon becoming chairman of the socialist group in parliament. Along with his party he took up a patriotic attitude in the Great War, going into exile with the parliament during 1914-18. He was a representative of Belgium at the Peace Conference in Paris, 1919, and in 1920 entered the de Wiart ministry as minister of justice. He was a prolific writer on social and industrial subjects. He was minister of foreign affairs, 1925-27. His writings include: *Is Marxism a Failure?* 1928.

### Paul Hymans

**P**AUL HYMANS was born in 1865 and educated at Brussels. He became a barrister in 1885. Five years later he was elected for Brussels to the chamber of representatives. In 1915 he was appointed Belgian minister in London, where he remained till 1917, when he proceeded to Havre, the temporary seat of his government, to set up the ministry of economics. Early in 1918 he became minister of foreign affairs, and represented Belgium at the Peace Conference,

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

1919, but in 1920 resigned his portfolio owing to cabinet disagreements regarding the Polish question. He was elected first president of the League of Nations in November, 1920. He was president of the Extraordinary Assembly of the League for China and Japan, 1932, and President of the commission of conciliation and arbitration between Finland and Norway, and between Switzerland and Rumania. His writings include: *A parliamentary history of Belgium*.

## CZECHO-SLOVAK

### Éduard Benes

**E**DUARD BENES was born at Kozlany, Bohemia on May 28, 1884, and educated at the Universities of Prague and Paris. He was a student under T. G. Masaryk, later President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. He became Professor of Economics at the University of Commerce, Prague, and Professor of Sociology at Prague University. In 1915 he went to Paris to work as a journalist and diplomat for the cause of Czecho-Slovak freedom. In 1917 he became general secretary of the Czecho-Slovak national council in Paris. When the Czecho-Slovak Republic was formed in 1918 he became minister for foreign affairs. He was a member of the Czecho-Slovak delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris. After being premier, 1921-22, he assumed the office of foreign minister. A member of the council of the League of Nations, 1923-27, he was one of the drafters of the Geneva protocol, 1924. He was a signatory of the Locarno pact, and was mainly responsible for the formation of the Little Entente between Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, and Yugo-Slavia. His works include *The Bohemian Case for Independence*, 1917; *The Problem of Small Nations after the World War*, 1925; *My War Memoirs*, 1928.

## POLISH

### Ignace Paderewski

**I**GNACE JAN PADEREWSKI was born at Kurylowka, Podolia, November 6, 1859. He showed extraordinary talent on the piano when a child. He studied in Warsaw and Berlin, was a teacher until 1884, and, after studying for three years in Vienna, appeared as a performer. He played first in London in May, 1890, and his tours in Europe and America placed him in the front rank of living pianists. He also won distinction as a

## POLISH—GERMAN

composer, his works including the opera *Manru*. In 1900 he founded the Paderewski fund with £2,000 to reward compositions by American musicians. He became prime minister of Poland in January, 1919, but resigned in December of the same year. He was a member of the peace conference at Paris, and a delegate to the council of ambassadors and to the League of Nations.

## SERBIAN

### Nicholas Pashitch

**N**ICHOLAS PETER PASHITCH, son of Peter Pashitch, was born at Zaitchar in 1843. He qualified as an engineer at the university of Zürich, and became a member of the Skupshtina in 1876. In 1883 he headed the "Revolution of Zaitchar" against Milan, king of Serbia, was made prisoner and condemned to death, but succeeded in escaping, and in 1888 he was prime minister of Serbia. On the accession of King Peter in 1903 he was again prime minister, and continued to hold that position till 1918. He was head of the Serbian delegation at the Peace Conference at Paris, 1919, and premier of Yugo-Slavia, 1921. He died December 10, 1926.

## JAPANESE

### Prince Saionji

**P**RINCE SAIONJI was born 1849. Of noble birth, he was connected with the revolution of 1868, and later went to Paris, where he lived until 1880. He entered the diplomatic service, and was minister plenipotentiary to Vienna, 1885, and to Berlin, 1887. Vice-president of the Japanese house of peers in 1893, he was minister of education, 1894-96 and in 1898, and premier in 1905 and from 1910-12. In 1919 he was appointed chief of the peace delegation to Versailles.

## GERMAN

### Count Brockdorff-Rantzau

**U**LRICH KARL CHRISTIAN VON BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU was born in Slesvig, May 29, 1869, and he was educated at the university of Jena. After serving in the German army he entered the diplomatic service. In 1909 he was made consul-general at Budapest, and in 1912 minister at The Hague. In December, 1918, he was foreign secretary, and in 1919 headed the delegation to Paris to receive the terms of the peace treaty.

## PERSONALIA OF THE WAR

Refusing to sign the treaty, he returned to Germany and resigned. In November, 1922 he became German ambassador in Moscow, where he remained for some years.

### TURKISH

#### Mustapha Kemal

**M**USTAPHA GHAZI KEMAL was born at Salonica in 1880, and was educated at the military and staff college at Istanbul (Constantinople). He entered the Turkish army, and fought in the Tripoli and Balkan wars. In 1915 he was commander of the Turkish army in Gallipoli, and after the armistice of 1918 he was inspector-general in Asia Minor. There he gathered around him a band of followers, and in April, 1920 was the chief instrument in setting up the Grand National Assembly of Turkey at Angora, which in November, 1922, abolished the office of the sultanate. Kemal soon became the virtual ruler of Turkey. He directed the deliberations of the Assembly which enacted that Angora should replace Istanbul as the capital. He superintended the campaign against the Greeks in Asia Minor, and on their crushing defeat in the autumn of 1922 commanded the Turkish troops to occupy the Dardanelles neutral zone. This action very nearly brought about war between Britain and the Turks, but was averted by the firmness and tact of Sir C. Harington, the British commander, who induced Kemal to sign a pact in October.

Kemal's attitude throughout six months of negotiations ended in Turkey's recovery of practically her pre-war European territory as embodied in the treaty of Lausanne, July, 1923. In October, 1923, he became by decree of the national assembly, president of the Turkish republic. On March 3, 1924, the grand national assembly at Angora disestablished the Moslem religion in Turkey, abolished the caliphate, and expelled the remaining members of the ruling family. Under his rule the Turkish republic prospered amazingly and he was the central figure when the tenth anniversary of its foundation was celebrated at Angora in October, 1933, rather more than a year after the country had joined the League of Nations. A biography of Kemal under the title of Grey Wolf appeared in 1933.

*DIARY OF EVENTS*  
*1919-25*



# DIARY OF EVENTS

*From January 1, 1919 to December 1, 1925.*

1919

- JAN. 1.—M. Paderewski arrives in Warsaw.
- JAN. 2.—Germans evacuate Riga.
- JAN. 4.—Bolshevist troops capture Riga.
- JAN. 6.—Fighting in Berlin. Spartacus party attempt to seize the administrative offices.
- JAN. 8.—Sir Douglas Haig's dispatch published, dealing with operations of British armies in France and Belgium from May to November 11, 1918.
- JAN. 9.—Announced a supreme council has been established by associated governments, to deal with revictualling and supply of liberated and enemy territory.
- JAN. 11.—Members of new ministry announced.  
Mr. Lloyd George and other British delegates leave for Peace Conference in Paris.  
Republic proclaimed in Luxemburg.  
Government forces in Berlin defeat Spartacus party.
- JAN. 12.—Inter-Allied Conference representatives of Allied and associated governments sitting as the Supreme War Council at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, consider various matters connected with the renewal of the armistice with Germany.
- JAN. 13.—Fall of Medina to King Hussein.
- JAN. 15.—New Armistice Convention signed at Trèves prolonged armistice until February 17.  
Peace Conference. Announced that Britain, America, France, Italy and Japan are to be represented by five delegates apiece. Two delegates are allotted to Australia, Canada, South Africa and India, and one to New Zealand. Brazil is to have three, and following states two—Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Rumania and Serbia. Other states to have one.  
Announced M. Paderewski prime minister of Poland.  
Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the leaders of the Spartacists, killed in Berlin.
- JAN. 18.—First Peace Conference meeting.
- JAN. 20.—Peace Conference occupied with subject of Russia
- JAN. 25.—Second plenary sitting of Peace Conference.
- JAN. 26.—Commissions are appointed to deal with breaches of the laws of war, responsibility of the authors of the war, reparation for damages, and other points.
- JAN. 27.—The chief peace delegates in Paris discuss the future of German colonies and possessions in the Far East.
- FEB. 3.—League of Nations Commission preliminary sitting.
- FEB. 9.—Supreme Economic Council decided on.
- FEB. 14.—League of Nations Covenant read by President Wilson to plenary sitting of Peace Conference.

## DIARY OF EVENTS 1919-25

- MAR. 14.—Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain.
- APRIL 29.—Full text of the League of Nations Covenant published.
- MAY 1.—German delegates formally received at Versailles.
- MAY 7.—Terms of peace presented to Germans at Versailles.
- MAY 14.—Nurse Cavell's body arrives in England for burial.
- MAY 21.—Period of grace granted to Germans for their observations on peace terms extended until May 29.
- MAY 27.—German counter-proposals to Allies peace terms announced from Berlin.
- JUNE 2.—Terms of peace presented to Austrian delegates.
- JUNE 16.—Allied final reply to German counter-proposals for peace communicated to Germans at Versailles.
- JUNE 21.—End of German fleet. At Scapa Flow all interned German battleships and battle cruisers, except battleship Baden, five light cruisers, and a number of destroyers, are sunk by their crews.
- JUNE 28.—Peace Treaty signed. The peace treaty with Germany is signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles by representatives of 26 Allied and associated Powers and Germany.
- JULY 19.—Victory march in London.
- SEPT. 10.—Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye with Austria.
- NOV. 27.—Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria.
- 1920
- APRIL 19.—Conference of San Remo allots mandates.
- APRIL 23.—Great National Assembly at Angora.
- JUNE 4.—Treaty of Trianon with Hungary.
- JUNE 24.—Greek advance against Turks in Asia Minor.
- JULY 5-16.—Spa conference on Reparations.
- AUG. 10.—Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey (unratified).
- NOV. 12.—Treaty of Rapallo (Italy and Yugo-Slavia).
- NOV. 15.—First Assembly of League of Nations.
- 1921
- MAR. 18.—Russo-Polish peace of Riga.
- 1922
- JAN. 6-12.—Cannes Conference.
- FEB. 1.—Five Power naval treaty signed at Washington.
- APRIL 22.—Soviet-German Treaty of Rapallo.
- SEPT. 9-14.—Turks burn Smyrna and march on Straits.
- OCT. 1-11.—Neutrality of Straits preserved; armistice of Mudania.
- 1923
- JAN. 11.—Ruhr occupied by French and Belgian troops.
- JULY 24.—Treaty of Lausanne with Turkey.
- OCT. 29.—Mustapha Kemal, Turkish president.
- 1925
- DEC. 1.—British begin evacuation of Cologne.

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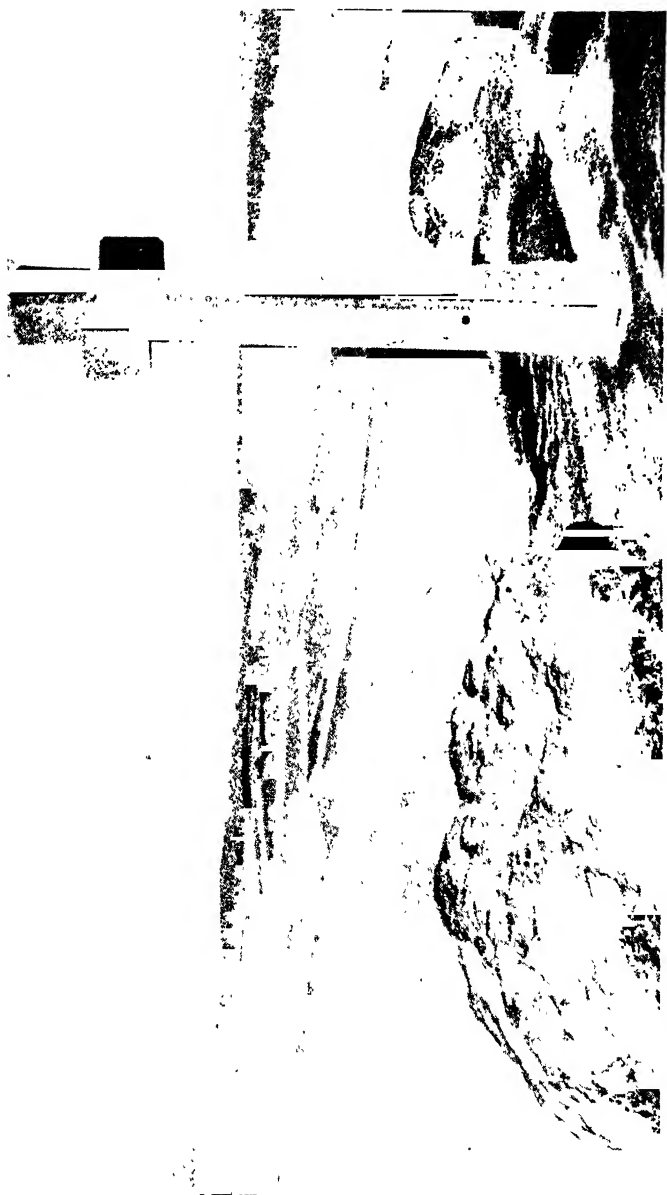
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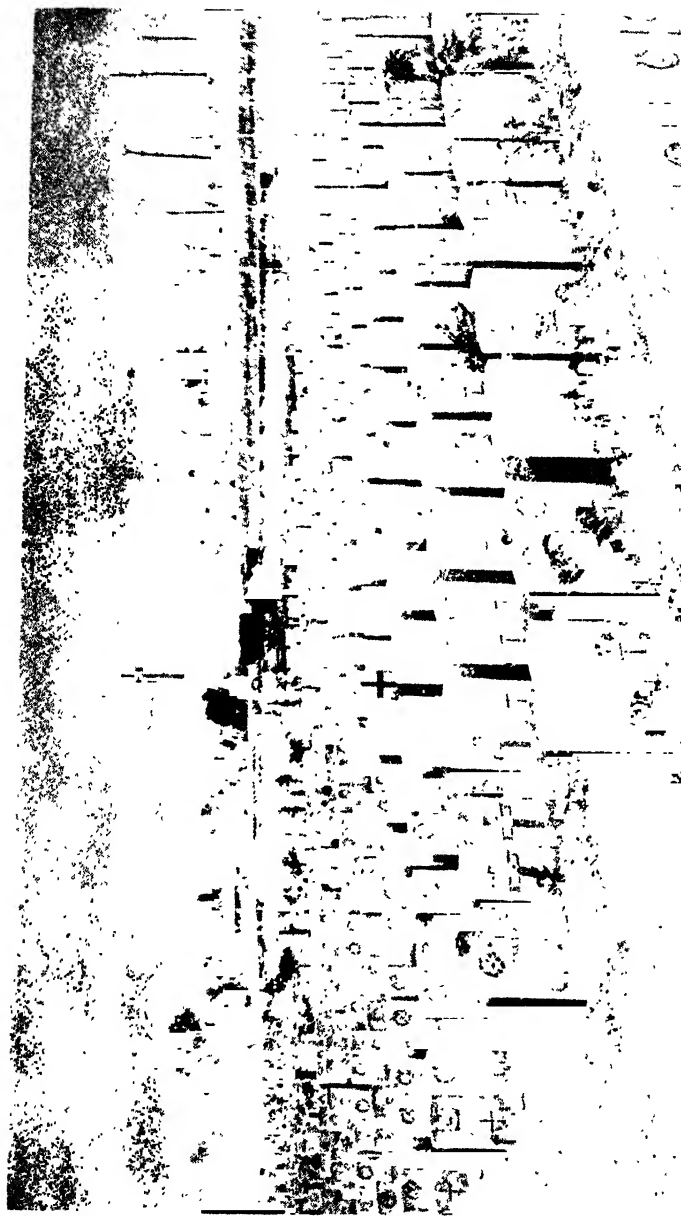
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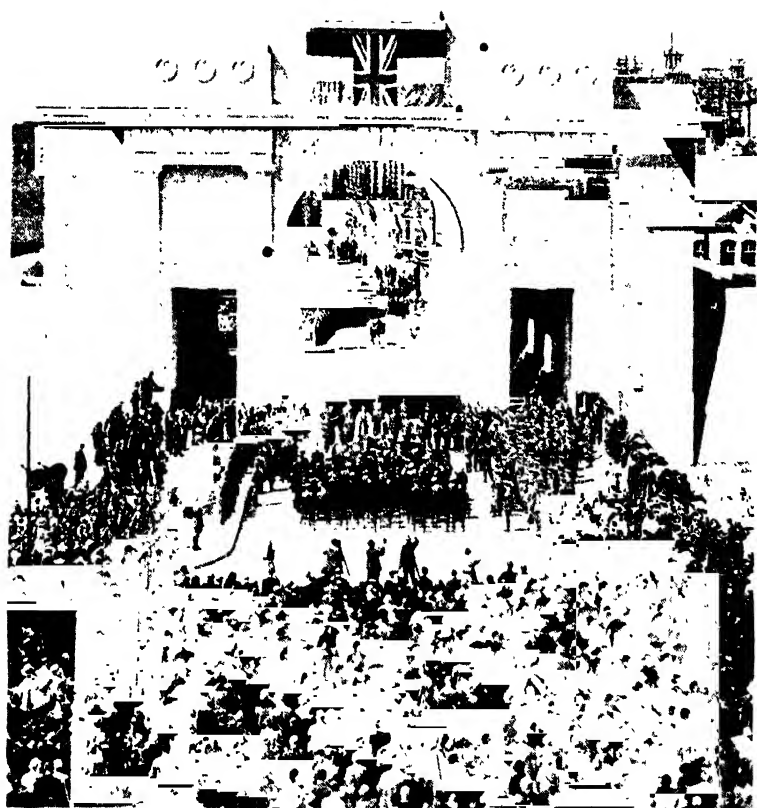
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**TO THE GALLANT MEN OF DEVON.** This plain granite cross at the old stannary town of Chagford, on the borders of Dartmoor  
*Frith*  
has been put up on the high, boulder-strewn ground adjoining the churchyard.



**"THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE."** The photograph shows the British war cemetery at Abbeville, France. All the graves conform to a uniform plan, irrespective of rank. On the headstone appears the badge of the regiment or unit, name and date of death of the soldier, the symbol of his faith, and inscription chosen by his relatives.



**TO THE HEROIC DEFENDERS OF YPRES.** The Menin Gate memorial at Ypres shown in this photograph, taken at its unveiling on July 24, 1927, commemorates the terrible sacrifice of the British troops in the Ypres salient. It is also a monument to the 60,000 men who died there but have no known grave.

*The Times*



**THE CEMETERY AT ETAPLES.** The town of Etaples, 17 miles south of Boulogne, was an important British base and hospital centre in the war. Its cemetery, containing 11,300 graves, is typical of many others in France designed and cared for by the Imperial War Graves Commission.

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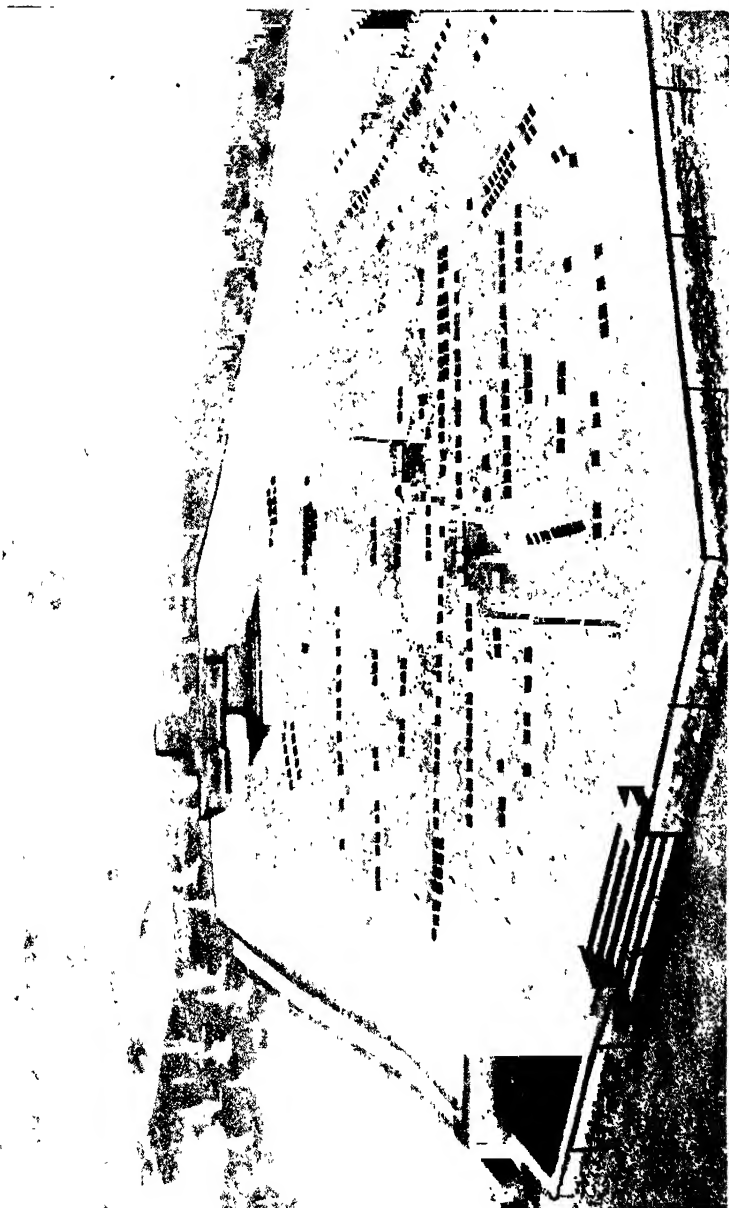
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THE BRITISH WAR CEMETERY IN SHRAPNEL VALLEY, GALLIPOLI PENINSULA



**IMMORTAL HEROES OF THE SOMME.** The great memorial at Thiepval, France, an aerial view of which is here given, was unveiled by the Prince of Wales on August 1, 1932. It commemorates the 73,357 British officers and men missing in the Somme battles. This memorial marked the close of the fifteen years' work of the Imperial War Graves Commission in commemorating the Empire's million dead.

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